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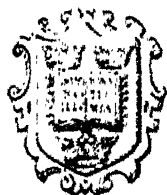
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HAND-BOOK  
TO  
LAND-CHARTERS, ETC.

*EARLE*

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London  
HENRY FROWDE



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# A Hand-Book to the Land- Charters, and other Saxon- Documents

BY

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## PREFACE

THIS book has grown to something beyond its first design. A further text-book being required when the available things were exhausted, it was to have been just a few specimens of land-charters, so grouped as to exhibit roughly the contrast of genuine and spurious. On this principle the book was begun and so far proceeded with that the first sheets bear permanent traces of a plan which was afterwards enlarged. At an early stage of the work, when I was discouraged by some inceptive difficulties, I had the happiness to obtain the help of my friend the Rev. Charles Plummer, of Corpus Christi College in Oxford; and this imported into the task an element of pleasure, which had an expansive effect. As any improvement suggested itself with the progress of the work, I adopted it without stopping to question what the effect would be on the symmetry of the whole. Accordingly, I have to confess that the First Part contains some pieces which would not have been there, if I had had from the beginning a matured prevision of the grouping of the Second Part. This is a defect in form which I thought it well to incur, rather than miss any possible gain in the way of critical discrimination.



Upon a consistent plan, the First Part should have contained no documents from the Worcester Chartulary (Heming), which forms the basis of Group ii in the Second Part; nor should there have been any from the Rochester Book but in Group iv. The gift of Osric to Bath should not stand where it is (p. 6) any more than that of Headdi to Glastonbury (p. 9). A good general indication of an original document (in the First Part) is the presence of contractions. This is due to the circumstance that many of the best documents were printed straight off from the volumes of the British Museum Facsimiles. The student who has handled the *Codex Diplomaticus* will not find it strange that an abbreviated text should be a token of high quality. Where the documents could be compared either with the original manuscript or with a facsimile, they have for the most part been printed as they stand and the contractions have been kept. The want of uniformity, whereby contracted and expanded texts are intermixed, will not be without its advantage. The unexpanded documents will afford exercise in reading contractions, for which the expanded texts will supply the key.

In the Introduction I have ventured to emancipate myself from the authority of Kemble in two matters of great importance, one chronological and the other constitutional. As regards the former, I have only exercised a right of choice between his statement and another; but as to the latter, I have taken upon myself to reject his view of the elementary scheme

of English life, and I have offered an entirely new exposition of my own. If I am right in my opinion that the manorial system was part of the first plantation, it ought to approve itself by the luminous effect which new truth generally has in lighting up places that are dark. And I seem in my own mind to have found it so;—for it has awakened most unexpectedly a new interest in the Donation of Æthelwulf, a problem which I had long ago abandoned as hopeless. If I have now contributed anything towards the solution of this old and acknowledged difficulty, it has been wholly due to the light which a new elementary truth threw upon the general situation; the explanation grew naturally out of the new conception of the functions of the lord of the manor, and if it should be approved, it will tend to confirm that view. This explanation did not present itself until after the Introduction was in type, so that it had to go into a footnote, where, though condensed, I hope it will be intelligible<sup>1</sup>.

The study of these documents has its place as a natural antecedent to the study of Domesday Book, and the two studies are in fact two parts of one whole. The progress which has been made in the knowledge of the great taxing-book, as evidenced by the recent appearance of 'Domesday Studies,' seems to promise a new era of enquiry into our early his-

<sup>1</sup> See page lxi. Lord Selborne's book, 'Ancient Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes' (1888), in which a chapter is devoted to the Donation of Æthelwulf, appeared too late for me to benefit by the use of it.

tory. We in our day enjoy a great advantage over the men of any former generation, in that we can have the very reflection of the original in our hands and read it at our ease, as light as a pamphlet, and almost as cheap. It is to the late Lieut.-General Sir Henry James, Director-General of the Ordnance Survey, that we owe the facsimiles of Domesday, and with them also three volumes of facsimiles of land-charters, and other documents, which were edited and translated by Mr. W. Basevi Sanders. The example of printing facsimiles of these early charters was given by the authorities of the British Museum, the First Part of whose work is dated in 1873; and it was continued with results so much the more important, as the original documents at their disposal exceed in value all other collections put together. The four volumes of British Museum Facsimiles were edited by Mr. Bond, who has since become the Principal Librarian. These invaluable publications are not merely the stimulants of historical curiosity;—rather let us say that as they furnish those external criteria which are the true counterpart of the internal evidence, they complete the data upon which criticism is to work, and impart to historical studies a scientific quality.

The period in which we live will be characterised by and bye as the period in which great provincial Libraries were founded. Now is the time to store up some things which will ere long be inaccessible and beyond price, and among such I would reckon

the three sets of Facsimiles above described. If any borough is so happy as to have a Library Committee which thinks that something should be acquired beyond the standard of immediate demand, perhaps they might be disposed to look favourably upon these great national publications. For books like these tend to awaken local investigation and to illustrate the land we live in, the land our forefathers 1400 years ago took possession of, the land in which they have through toil and struggle and vicissitudes grown to be a mighty nation, the land they have made illustrious and classical; and there is no kind of study so varied, so healthy, or so favourable to social geniality, as a study which has country for its object, and especially a country in which all men are interested.

The time may perhaps come when the average aim of life will be somewhat modified, when a larger sphere will be accorded to the intellectual part, when commerce will be relinquished for contentment as soon as a modest competence is assured, when men will cultivate a garden of their own, and will seek in books not merely anodyne from care and passive amusement, but materials and tools for the exercise of their mental energies.

Then will rise a demand for such books as I have named, and I will name another of like national rank with them, the New English Dictionary, now issuing in Parts from the Clarendon Press—a work of unprecedented compass, a work which is a library in itself,

a work which (apart from its design) affords, to an extent that is truly marvellous, a first introductory key to every kind of human knowledge.

I close this Preface as I began it, with grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Plummer, not only for his constant and valuable help, but even more for the solace of his companionship; and at the same time I thank the Delegates of the Press for the readiness with which they promoted my wish for a coadjutor.

OXFORD,  
*March*, 1888.

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## CORRIGENDA

P. 201, l. 19, *add* T. p. 206, S. ii 7

„ l. 21, *for* Sundbury *read* Sunbury

P. 209, l. 9, *for* 39 *read* 36

P. 326, l. 18 *for* K37 *read* K371

P. 417, heading, *for* Group X *read* Group XI

„ l. 14, *for* mongeus *read* mongeus

## INTRODUCTION

AMONG the less explored remains of Saxon antiquity are the numerous legal documents of which the largest and best-known collection is that by J. M. Kemble, in six octavo volumes, under the title of *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*. Some inconsiderable additions to this collection were made by Thorpe in his *Diplomatarium Anglicum*; but what distinguishes this volume, and gives it a value peculiar to itself, is that all the Saxon portions are furnished with a translation in a parallel column. Thorpe neglected to indicate for the reader's convenience what were the new pieces in his volume, and hence it is not easy to sum up the total number of deeds when his are added to those of Kemble. But we are safe in saying that the total number would fall under 1400. Mr. de Gray Birch is now engaged in making a new collection, which is to be as comprehensive as possible, and we are told that it will embrace between two and three thousand documents. It is entitled *Cartularium Saxonicum*, and two volumes have already appeared. We must not expect to find that the substantial addition to Kemble's material will be in proportion to the numerical increase of the documents. Kemble first reaped the field, and he left for his successors little more than gleanings. But there is this great advantage in a collection which is thoroughly exhaustive—that it improves to the full the chances of illustration by comparison, and such illustration may often rise from records of an inferior order, which have been hitherto neglected. In many a later and, perhaps,



slovenly abstract, there may be something preserved which is not elsewhere to be found<sup>1</sup>.

But, though as yet imperfectly explored, these documents are no longer so obscure that it is necessary for an editor to advocate the utility of them. The writings of historians and constitutionalists—such as Sir F. Palgrave, Dr. Stubbs, Mr. Freeman, J. R. Green, Professor Pollock in England, and Nasse, Konrad Maurer, Steenstrup, Gneist abroad—have abundantly demonstrated their importance, and even to some extent popularized the knowledge of them. For the rich and peculiar information they contribute towards the early history of property, society, and institutions; for the manifold light they cast upon the English language; they are beginning to be almost famous: and if more were needed for their recommendation, it might be added that their very defects, confusions, and deformations, offer for the cultivation of the critical faculty such an admirable field of exercise as can hardly be found anywhere else in the world.

The matters which demand explanation in these documents are so numerous and so various, that it will hardly be possible for me to touch on them all in these preliminary pages. Perhaps the Notes and Indices at the end of the volume may serve in some respects as a supplement to the Introduction. But here I find it necessary to guard against the danger of being desultory by a definite selection, and the parts of this

<sup>1</sup> The increased bulk of the collection is not wholly due to the insertion of deeds that were unknown or disregarded by Mr. Kemble; but further by the incorporation of pieces not of a strictly diplomatic character, such as professions of obedience by newly-elected bishops, papal correspondence, and other ecclesiastical documents; in defence of which the editor pleads that they serve to illustrate the deeds by the side of which they stand.

wide subject which I propose to keep before me are—First, The outline and structure of the Land-charter or public grant of land, including some notice of the marks of degeneracy ; Secondly, The relations between land-tenure and the elementary frame of English society ; and Lastly, The varying conditions of the two languages employed in the composition of these documents.

## I

The whole institution of written contracts is with our people an adopted practice, which they had learned from the Roman world. Still, there is a local character about our deeds, and if we compare the Frankish muniments, or their formula-books, we shall easily see that with a broad general likeness, there is a well-defined specific difference.

The earliest documents are rather vague in outline, running sometimes into the address of an epistle (25 h), but at length the land-charter assumes a very definite form consisting of the following parts or members:—  
1. The Preamble. 2. The Grant. 3. The Sanction.  
4. The Description. 5. The Date. 6. The Signatures.  
Each of these parts will admit of a few observations.

i. The *Preamble* is sometimes prefaced with an Invocation, or it may be that the Invocation itself constitutes the Preamble, as in the Charter of Hloðari A.D. 679 (p. 8). When the Preamble is extended, it will contain either a pious reflection upon the transitory nature of earthly things, and the duty of making a good use of them ; or else a commendation of the practice of recording contracts and gifts by the use of written documents, 196 t.

The theme of documentary contracts reminds us that

our ancestors had but recently begun to make use of written conveyances, and that the practice was but imperfectly established. Their ancestral usage had been to convey land by a symbolical act like that of cutting a sod and handing it to the new owner, in the presence of witnesses legally qualified<sup>1</sup>. Thus the right, or at least the origin, of ownership depended for its evidence upon living testimony, which was liable to accidents and contingencies, and in no case could last beyond a certain term of years. When writings began to be usual, the ceremony of the sod was not dropped; the old symbolism and the new record went on together. The veritable conveyance consisted in the performance of the symbolical act in the presence of the qualified witnesses: the written sheet was (or purported to be) but the record and memorandum of this formal transaction. In a royal grant of the eighth century, the king is made to say to the grantee:—

‘But because there is need of care lest our grant of to-day be in the future disowned and called in question, I have thought fit to prepare this document (*hanc paginam*), and together with a turf of the fore-said land to deliver it to thee; whereby I prevent not only my successors whether kings or princes, but also my own self, from dealing otherwise at any time with the said land than as it is now settled by me.’ (p. 50 t)<sup>2</sup>

The documentary habit did not for many centuries

<sup>1</sup> When land was given to a church the sod was laid upon the altar. Mr. Plummer says that in Irish *fód for altóir*, *fód fri altoir* (lit. sod upon, sod to, the altar) is a regular phrase for church lands. *Four Masters*, A. D. 645 (where O’Donovan’s note is misleading); *Chronicon Scotorum*, Rolls Series, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Where a letter is added to the number of a page, it is to signify as follows: t=top; h=high; m=middle; l=low; b=bottom; r=repeatedly. For other abbreviations, see p. 479.

extinguish the ceremony of personal giving and taking; the old custom survived into the period when Norman-French became the language of law, and then it was called *livery of Seisin*, and the feudal investitures were conducted with a solemn delivery of possession. A short paragraph from Stephen's Commentaries will bring this subject down to its present position.

‘This method (which is still capable of being used) is called a *feoffment*, and the parties between whom it takes place are called a *feoffor* and the *feoffee*. By the common law, the donation with which the livery is accompanied might be merely oral; but, by the Statute of Frauds (29 Car. II. c. 3), some instrument in writing under the signature of the feoffor (or of his agent by writing legally authorized), was made essential.’

The two prevailing topics of the Preamble bear a reasonable relation to the transaction itself and to the times in which it takes place; but this does not hinder the frequent appearance of an extreme conventionality and unreality in this introductory member of a document. Conventionality has reached to the point of absurdity when, in the ninth century, we find Æthelwulf booking as private property to himself a portion of the public land with a preamble to the following effect:—

‘Whereas nothing of all his labour is secure to a man except what he has bestowed in good works, therefore I have, with consent of my lords, ordered twenty manentes of land to be booked to me as private and heritable property’ (p. 120t).

Such an incongruity can only be accounted for by the supposition which all the data seem to warrant, that there was no educated profession of notaries, and that the person who acted as notary or clerk for the occasion

would help himself to a prologue out of a ready collection of such compositions, like the Frankish Formula-book of Marculphus.

What I have called the Preamble, is divided by Kemble into two parts, the Invocation and the Proem, and he closes his examination of the Proem with five general rules which I here transcribe for the benefit of the critical student.

1. 'That the early charters have generally a simple form.

2. 'That in the cases which are exceptions to this rule, it depends more upon the nature of the contents, than upon their amount or complication, whether the document is, or is not, to be received as genuine.

3. 'That allusions to the approaching end of the world, are not to be taken as evidences of forgery; such being found in Gregory's letters, and in Marculf's and other formularies.

4. 'That complicated proems, filled with Greek words, such as *cosmi*, *protoplastos*, *soter* and the like, are confined to the period subsequent to the commencement of the tenth century. If found in documents professing an earlier date, they are strong evidences of forgery.

5. 'That narrative proems are suspicious, whatever be the supposed date of the instruments in which they are found.'

ii. The *Grant*. Here we must notice the persons between whom the transaction passes, the estate conveyed, and the conditions attached to it.

1. The names of the Grantor and Grantee are for the most part stated either in the formula *Ego M dono tibi N* (54 h); or *Ego M dono cuidam comiti* (ministro, abbati, episcopo) *nomine N* (96 l).

A motive is often added, which is either of a religious nature; e. g. *for my soul's ease, and for hope of eternal reward*, 137 m; *pro redemptione animae meae*, 304 m; or it intimates services performed; e. g. *dabo Æðelnoðo prefecto meo fidelissimo*, &c., 751; *I give and grant to my faithful thane Ealdhere for his humble obedience and because to me he hath in all things been always a faithful servant*, 124 t; *cuidam meo fidei ministro nomine Eadulfo*; 173 m; *Quapropter ego Eadredus rex Anglorum ceterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector Cuidam mihi fidelissimo ministro Oswig nomine, devotionis eius sollertia eiusdemque placatus obsequio dignatus sum impertire bis denas mansas*, 1821;—209 m, 293 t<sup>1</sup>. Sometimes in this place a valuable consideration enters; *pro eius amabili pecunia*, 157 b, 242 h.

2. In the more important instances the effect of the Grant is to convey a manor with the village that is upon it, with seignorial rights and hereditary possession. We find nothing about occupation tenures, nothing which involves any agricultural details. In a certain number of instances the estate is leased for a term of lives, after which it is to revert to the representative of the grantor. There are many documents of this kind by Oswald, Bishop of Worcester and his successors (e. g. 207 l, 234–242), and they are mostly for

<sup>1</sup> It is curious and interesting to see the same formula in Scotland down to the 16th century:—‘In the year 1504, the barony or manour of Auchinleck (pronounced *Affleck*) in Ayrshire, which belonged to a family of the same name with the lands, having fallen to the Crown by forfeiture, James the Fourth, King of Scotland, granted it to Thomas Boswell, a branch of an ancient family in the county of Fife, stiling him in the charter *dilecto familiari nostro*; and assigning, as the cause of the grant, *pro bono et fidei servitio nobis præstito*.’ Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*, anno 1776; in Dr. Birkbeck Hill’s admirable edition, vol. ii, p. 413.

three lives (sometimes for one life, 248 h), after which the land is to revert to the See. But these are not coordinate with the land-charters; they form a class apart, as will appear in the next section. Usually 'the free and entire fruition of the land with all its advantages, its woods, its waters, its birds and beasts and fishes, is made over to the grantee,' in full and unrestricted possession and with complete power of disposal. The great bulk of our documents imply royal grants of territory with perpetual and testamentary rights, and with all the privileges of superior tenure which establish lordship. The testamentary clause, usually unlimited—*cuicumque post se voluerit heredi derelinquat*—is in a few Mercian grants by Offa and Burgred, limited to grantee's descendants or kindred or even heirs male<sup>1</sup>.

The land which is granted is commonly characterized as 'terra juris mei,' an expression which is explained by Kemble as 'the King's common of pasture.' See note on p. 453. This seems to me unsatisfactory. I take it to mean 'land in my jurisdiction, in my right, of which I have the disposal.' In a Mercian deed of A.D. 811 (871) there is an interesting variation of the phrase, 'Coenuulf rex has terrulas sui propriae publicae juris cum predicto concilii consensu,' i.e. *lands of his own proper public right*, which would seem to mean lands at his disposal in his public capacity. Kemble seems to have generalized from an accidental combination like 'juris mei ad pascendum' 35 t.

This assertion of right we see combined with another by which it is limited, namely, 'cum consensu et licentia meorum optimatum,' and this phrase is so constant in the earlier centuries that the consent of the witan must

<sup>1</sup> See Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* vol. i, p. xxxii f.

have been regarded as indispensable to the king's act of bestowal. Offa of Mercia denied the right of Ecgberht (a former king of Kent) to give land with hereditary right (83 b), presumably without consent of the witan. This consent is almost uniformly alleged in all grants before the middle of the ninth century, e. g. Ecgberht of Wessex 107 m; Æthelwulf 120 h, 123 b; Æthelberht 125 b; Æthelred 137 h; but the phrase is omitted by Æthelberht (A. D. 863) 133, by Alfred 157, by Æthelstan 173 m, by Eadmund 175 b, by Eadwig 194 h, by Æthelred 209 m. The folcland thus appears to have become almost assimilated to royal demesne.

3. In these grants, there is only one limit to plenary possession, and that limit is constant. It is that obligation which is known by the name of the *trinoda necessitas*.

The *trinoda necessitas* or threefold burden incident to all property in land, was also sometimes called *communis labor, generalis incommoditas, onus inevitabile*. The three burdens were—(1) *fýrd*, military service; (2) *bricg-bót*, repair of bridges; (3) *burh-bót*, repair of fortresses. The Latin phrases for the specific burdens were subject to variations; but the most prevalent terms were 'expeditio et pontis arcisque restauratio.' In 858 (p. 126 b) it is 'absque expeditione sola et pontium structura et arcium munitionibus.' In the vernacular it is 'butan wall geweorc and brycg geweorc and ferd socne<sup>1</sup>' (242 m).

<sup>1</sup> A difficulty has been made about the bridgebote; some have even proposed to understand roads, or embankments across low ground, by the word *bricge* or *pons*. Moritz Heyne, in his tractate *Ueber die Lage und Construction der Halle Heorot*, thought that the bridges meant in the *trinoda necessitas* were the draw-bridges crossing the moats of the burghs! I cannot see what occasion there ever was for making a difficulty in the matter; I suppose it rose from an



In ecclesiastical leases church-rate is sometimes added, e. g. 248 h.

The duty of the *trinoda necessitas* is undefined as to quantity. Kemble cites two examples (Intro. p. lii) in which the grantee is to be required to send on *Expeditio* only so many men. Of these examples one is plainly post-Norman (K214), and the other may be seen below, p. 48 h.

The Grantee receives his land in full ownership, with complete freedom of testamentary power and alienation. He has moreover no 'services' to perform in return for the land, as the occupiers of folkland have. In the land-book, of which the Latin part is given in brief abstract below, p. 166, these clauses run as follows:—*ut ille eam sine iugo exosæ servitutis, cum pratis, pascuis, silvis, rivulis, omnibusque ad eam utilitatibus, rite pertinentibus, liberaliter ac æternaliter, quamdiu vivat habeat; et post generalem qui omnibus certus incertusque hominibus constat transitum, cuicunque successionis heredi voluerit, imperpetuum derelinquat.* Variations of the same formula may be seen on p. 124 h, 133 n, 140 h, 142 l, 173 l.

Such a privileged estate is called in Latin *libertas*, liberty or franchise, and it is said to be held *liberaliter*, 196 h; and in English the estate or the charter conveying it is called FREOLS 197 l, or FREOLS BOC 221 l, and the restoration of this franchise where it had been interrupted is described by the verb GEEDFREOLSIAN refran-

exaggerated notion of the barbarism of the Saxon era, as if there were at that time no bridges to speak of, and as if the rivers were only crossed by fords. But there were undoubtedly many good stone bridges, which had been built by the Romans, and of this we might be sure even if we had not the direct evidence of Bede. But he says in H. E. i. 11, 'that the cities, bridges, and roads, to the south of the wall of Severus, bear testimony to the Roman occupation.'

chise, 197 l. In a grant by Edward the Confessor it is thus expressed: *aeterna liberalitate impertior* K769.

Towards the end of this period we find the jurisdiction attaching to such estates described as *sacu and socn, toll and team, infangenthef and flymenafyrmth*, &c., formulæ very familiar to all who have dipped into our legal antiquities, but nevertheless rather obscure. And this will seem only natural when we observe that though the terms themselves are pure Anglo-Saxon, yet the transmission of them has been mostly through Norman scribes, who did not understand what they wrote, and could not spell the words. Kemble says that *sac and soc*, &c., is not found in any genuine grant before the time of Edward the Confessor. I go a step further and add, that I do not know of any genuine grant of Eadweard's that has the *sac* and *soc* in it. I should be inclined to look very narrowly at any land-book purporting to be of the Saxon period which had *sac* and *soc*. But here I make a distinction between a land-charter and a deed of general confirmation where estates are enumerated in a land-roll. Such is K817, purporting to be of the year 1065, and having the *Sac* and *Soc* clause;—here I leave the question of genuineness open. But if the clause is not found in Saxon land-books, it is found in writs, and as an example I would point to a writ of Cnut's, below p. 233; a document which seems to be quite above suspicion.

When this formula appears in land-charters or even in confirmations of territorial possessions which purport to be older than the Norman Conquest, it is mostly an alteration which took place in a later redaction, under Norman rule (340 l);—but there is in general no reason for suspecting any misrepresentation in regard

to the powers or rights claimed by the use of this formula as having been exercised during the Saxon period. This is one of the incidental lights which bring to our knowledge the fact that the Saxon charters are very inexplicit, that they imply more than they express, that they indicate only by general phrases those territorial prerogatives which were sufficiently guaranteed by local tradition.

There is no reason to doubt that these terms represent incidents of the superior tenure, though it is hard to define the exact limits of the class to which they belonged. By *TOL* was meant the right of a lord to have a tariff of his own within his domain; to require of those who conveyed goods through his territory to pay something for the accommodation of the road or the water-way. By *TÉAM* was meant the legal recognition of bargains and contracts, which primarily belonged to the Tything, but which upon certain manors could be held by the lord's agent. By *INFANGENTHEF* was meant the right to execute justice upon a thief taken within the domain. Sometimes *UTFANGENTHEF* is added, claiming the right to deal with the thief taken off the manor. By *FLYMENAFYRMTH* is meant a claim to appropriate the whole or a part of the fine exacted for harbouring proscribed persons. These are but branchlets of this memorable formula. The nucleus upon which they centre, and the term which is of the highest importance, is *sócn*. This is the common basis, the right of the lord generally, the prerogative of the manor, indeed the Saxon term which was superseded by the Norman 'manerium.' This is a word of the earliest period of our history, and one that yet lives as *Soke* or *Soken* in many local names. It meant jurisdiction, from the verb *saçan* discuss, contend. At the

head of the file stands *sacu* litigation, an ordinary colloquial word prefixed to the formula for alliteration sake, and the sheen of its novelty is manifest by contrast with the mellow obscurity of the venerable terms in its suite.

iii. The *Sanction*, i. e. 'the punishment attached to the violation of the premises' (K). After the Grant comes the utterance of an imprecation, good or bad, upon any who may promote or counteract the intention of the grantor. Rarely, as 14 m, it is only a benediction upon those who uphold the deed: ordinarily there is the darker counterpart of a malediction, and this member exhibits an expansive tendency. He who shall divert the grant is sometimes excommunicated (p. 8); sometimes he is threatened with final doom (9 h, 242 l). A complete formula of this clause, and of a moderate type, may be seen in 236 h. It runs thus: 'The man that upholds this, God uphold him: and the man who diverts or diminishes it, God diminish his reward in the life to come; unless he before his end make the deeper amends.' Sometimes this member was expanded with a grotesque luxuriance of malediction.

The notion of employing curses in defence of property is very ancient. Maitland ('Church in the Catacombs,' p. 52) quotes a heathen epitaph saying '*olla eius si qui violarit ad inferos non recipiatur.*' It was mostly applied to objects that were peculiarly exposed to depredation, such as graves, books, deeds. The various imprecations that are inscribed in old books are well known.

Besides this spiritual sanction, there is in the Frankish muniments also a temporal sanction consisting of a money penalty, of stated amount, to be exacted by the fiscal authorities, in case of infringement. This kind

of sanction is quite absent from our land-charters. The Frankish formulary may be seen in the Codex Dipl. vol. i, p. lxiv.

iv. The *Description* or *Perambulation*. The boundaries of the land are described, starting from such a point, or such an object, and passing through a series of stations, until the starting-point is reached again. As a general rule this part of the deed is in English; sometimes however in Latin or a mixture of Latin and English. It must not however be imagined from the use of the vernacular in this part that this member is more native than the rest of the deed. It is just the continuation of an old Roman usage, the formula of which may be seen in the book of Hyginus, the land-surveyor<sup>1</sup>. It is the formula that was used by the agrimensores of the Empire, when they had to describe irregular ground, which did not well admit of their rectangular system of mensuration and allotment.

Still, there is a true originality in the phraseology of the topographical description; the expressions are in themselves very genuine, and they prove this quality by growing in depth and attractiveness to the patient student. It sometimes happens that a conversational remark, not alien to the business, is interjected in passing, which has an enlivening effect, like a human figure in a landscape. Thus, 197 f, þonne is seo mæd gemæne=by the way the meadow is common.

These perambulations offer an attractive field for local investigation, as it is not improbable that some of them might still be verified with the aid of the maps of the Ordnance Survey, and a good knowledge of the local

<sup>1</sup> Hyginus, ed. Lachmann, p. 114, quoted by Mr. Seebohm, *English Village Com.* pp. 9, 375.

names, including those of the fields, streams, paths, lanes, and any other landmarks. But here it must be admitted that little is known of the original accuracy of these descriptions. How far the landmarks were taken down from actual perambulation, how far the details were gathered from the memory of some old inhabitant, whether the bounds of any township being once in writing were ever revised, or whether they served for a common formula for deeds concerning that township for ever after,—these are points which might even yet be tested by actual survey, and with the further aid, where it may be had, of old manorial maps. Meanwhile, we may safely assume a general verity of outline in the better sort of documents, though the degree of accuracy remains untested<sup>1</sup>. There are indeed occasional specimens which we cannot hesitate to pronounce worthless, having evidently been made up with some arbitrary variations from an earlier deed to which we can point. Thus the perambulation on p. 290, which is clear and well described, has evidently been the chief source from which the clumsy farrago in K1198 has been trumped up.

From an examination of the Abingdon chartulary Nasse argued that, in the smaller grants, the perambulations describe the bounds of the whole common field of the township, and not the particular piece or pieces which are dealt with in the conveyance. This seems probable; but it is much to be wished that these boundaries could be subjected to patient investigation by local field clubs. According to Mr. C. S. Taylor, the boundaries of manors as described in the Charters will generally be

<sup>1</sup> The facts being of a patent nature—his notissimis confiniis circumcincta 51 b—juxta terminos videlicet antiquos et indigenis certissimos. BC199.

found to agree with the parochial boundaries as marked on the Ordnance map<sup>1</sup>.

But apart from the identification of the boundaries and the verification of the area of a given ancient transaction, there are incidental points which are curious and worthy of investigation. For example: our documents sometimes speak of an 'Avon' which is not found in the Maps. It would be interesting if local enquiry could establish the fact that there have been more streams bearing that British name than there are now. Another point to be observed is the way in which the local names impinge upon Folk-lore and the old mythology. The more prominent points have been noticed by Kemble and others; lately Mr. H. Bradley added a new and interesting surmise that 'Hódes ác,' 446 m, may give the clue to the name of Robin Hood<sup>2</sup>.

v. The *Date*. In this member we have to notice an important documentary improvement, an improvement which originated among ourselves, and which other nations have copied from us.

We take up the discussion at the point where it was left by Mr. Kemble. He urged that the use of the era Anno Domini must have been introduced into this country by Augustine and his fellow-missionaries<sup>3</sup>, and he earnestly combated the idea of referring it to so late a date as that of Bede or his times. He relied upon the fact that the era was certainly known and used in computation before the mission of Augustine;—but the

<sup>1</sup> *An Analysis of the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire*. By Charles S. Taylor, Vicar of S. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol (1887), p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> For other examples see Glossary vv. Béowa, Eomer, Fitela, Grindel, Hermódes þorn, Hnæfléah, Scucca, Scylf, Teowes þorn.

<sup>3</sup> Echoed by Thorpe; *Diplom.* Pref. xx.

question as it arises here is, not whether the era was already existent, but whether it was made use of in the practical affairs of life. The question here is—At what time was the era introduced into deeds of contract? We shall see that it dates from Bede's time, and was largely due to Bede; and that from England began a practice which has spread through Christendom.

This enquiry must be kept altogether distinct from the scientific work of chronologists. The general rule of history is that chronological standards have come in late, and even then they have been little regarded by the general public and have been very limited in their field of application. The chronological standard of Greek literature is that of the Olympiads, but Thucydides did not reckon the years of his history by Olympiads; his only constant era is measured by the duration of the war which he describes. In Xenophon's History, the date is only once stated by the Olympiad, and that in a passage which is suspected. And when the literary use of this era had become established, it did not obtain a universal application. Not a single Greek inscription has been found with the Olympiad upon it.

The Roman era from the Building of the City (A.U.C.) is commonly found in Latin historians, but it was never used in ordinary life. Neither public acts nor private letters were dated by it, nor has a single inscription been found with the era A. U. C. upon it. Thus it appears that an era may be in existence, and yet so confined in area, that its general utility is unthought of.

The Era of the Incarnation had been determined in the course of the enquiries which were made for the purpose of fixing the time of the Easter festival. The calculations originally took their start from the Cruci-



fixion, and by a subsequent inference they arrived at the era of the Incarnation. It was in the year 532 that Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman abbot, put forth his scheme initiating the chronological system which ultimately prevailed, and which is known to us by the familiar expression *Anno Domini*. Mr. Kemble thought it safe not only to assume that these tables must have been brought to Britain by Augustine in 597, which is eminently probable, but also to infer that the use of this new era must have been at once appreciated and generally adopted, an inference which is as contrary to the particular evidence as it is to the general analogy of history.

About the same time that Augustine came hither, Gregory of Tours was engaged in writing his history, and though this was already three quarters of a century after the publication of the Easter Tables of Dionysius, yet he takes no notice whatever of the new era. Still more weighty is the negative argument from the voluminous writings of his contemporary Gregory the Great, who does not mention the Dionysian Era. It was the habit of that pontiff to date his letters by the regnal years of the emperors; and letters so dated may be seen inserted in Bede's Ecclesiastical History as they were copied from Roman archives. This is the more forcible as Gregory the Great was somewhat of a reformer in the matter of the Calendar. He initiated one improvement which though but feebly supported at the time and then long neglected, has since been universally adopted. For he discarded the old and obscure divisions of the month into Nones, Ides, Calends; and he numbered the days serially from the beginning to the end of the month as we do now. Examples of this method are not common,

but it may be seen in our documents, e.g. 8 b : 'in mense maio in die septima'; and again 17 t where the elder formula is added as an interpretation 'tertia decima die mensis Junii quod est Idus Junii'; and again 71 t, 'xi<sup>a</sup> die. iiii<sup>a</sup> idus octobris.'

The history of our modern habit of dating by Anno Domini was briefly this. Early in the sixth century Dionysius Exiguus was continuing the Easter calculation of Cyril, which had extended to a period of 95 years and which was then expiring. He not only produced a continuation of another 95 years upon the lines of Cyril, but he prefaced his Tables with an argument (Epistola ad Petronium) which had the happy effect of removing an old cause of strife and dissension between the East and the West.

But while his method was the same as Cyril's, there was one highly important innovation. The Bishop of Alexandria had numbered his years by the Diocletian Era, as was usual in Egypt. Dionysius altered this, and substituted the Era of the Incarnation. His motive is best told in his own words :

*Quia S. Cyrillus primum cyclum ab anno Diocletiani centesimo quinquagesimo tertio coepit, et ultimum in ducentesimo quadragesimo septimo terminavit, nos a ducentesimo quadragesimo octavo anno ejusdem tyranni potius quam principis inchoantes, nolimus circulis nostris memoriam impii et persecutoris innectere, sed magis elegimus ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Iesu Christi annorum tempora prae-notare.*

So he, as he says, not choosing that his work should serve as the memorial of an impious and persecuting tyrant, framed his new Tables upon the Era of the Incarnation, and thus he introduced a change which

slowly and gradually pervaded Christendom. The Easter Tables were subsequently continued by Isidore, Beda, and others, according to the era A.D., and this era from being the constant medium of the Easter Tables gradually became familiar. For a long time it was confined to the Calendar, then it passed into literature, and then into the Acts of Synods; but it took centuries to bring it into civil use. Beda was the first to plant it in literature, as in his *De Temporum Ratione*, cap. 45, entitled *De Annis Dominicae Incarnationis*, and still more conspicuously in his History, which is chronologically framed upon it. Indeed this way of reckoning time holds so conspicuous a place in the structure of his History as to suggest the idea that the skeleton of his work was a series of annals arranged upon a scale of years Anno Domini, like the work of those English chroniclers who must be regarded as his successors in the historical office. Two hundred years before he finished his history, this era had been the basis of scientific computation in the study of a Roman abbot, and it had got so far as to be posted in annual notices upon church doors, but it required a further movement to bring it into literature and correspondence and the transaction of business. Bede, in his *De Ratione Temporum*, has recorded the following incident:—In the year 701 some of his brethren—that is, brother-monks of Jarrow or Wearmouth—being in Rome at Christmas-tide, saw a notice posted up on the tablets of St. Mary's church, of which they made a copy there and then:—‘From the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ the years are 668.’ The motive of this graphic little narrative is of a scientific nature—namely to settle the chronological interval between the Birth and the Death of Christ, and

to claim the authority of the Roman See for the statement that the years of that interval were 33.

Thus it appears, that the first literary use of the era now so universally established, is identified with the name of our native historian, the Venerable Bede. The chronological evidence of our early documents, so far as it goes, tends to the same conclusion. When Kemble says that the documents on which we can rely are too few to found a negative proof upon, this is indeed a perfectly true statement in itself; but it does not forbid us to use their data in combination with other evidence. If we take a series of eight documents at the highest date where such a series can be formed with a certainty of their genuineness, they will be of the following years:—679, 692, 697, 732, 734 || 736, 740, 759. These eight documents have been selected as a true representative series of the first quality; and of this series the first five, though all more or less dated, whether by the month or the regnal year, or the Indiction, or by all these at once, have not the year Anno Domini<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the last three agree in using the era<sup>2</sup>, and from this time the practice is continuous. In the intervening year which breaks this series into two parts, falls the death of Bede, A.D. 735, and this coincidence harmonizes with the rest of the evidence in associating this great practical improvement with the Anglian historian and chronologist.

An important contribution to this enquiry is afforded by the decree of a Council holden in 816, where it is ordained that the bishop shall put the Acts of the Synod into writing, and date them by the Era of the Incarnation. Such an order could have been enacted only in an

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 8 b, 14 t, 25 m, 28 h, 408 b.

<sup>2</sup> At pp. 30 t, 35 l, 46 t.

interval of transition ; it bespeaks a time when ecclesiastics knew the era well enough, but had not acquired the punctual habit of using it ; which is indeed very much the way in which the matter stands even now with a section of the letter-writing community at the present day. Here then we have a formal epoch, a point of time from which it became obligatory to attach the date *Anno Domini* to a particular class of documents.

Thus it appears that the documentary usage of the Christian Era established itself in England between the death of Bede in 735, and the year 816, when the practice was enjoined upon all bishops in regard to Synodal Acts. And we are justified in concluding that this now universal practice comes down to the modern world from the hand of the Venerable Bede, that it grew and prevailed first of all in England, that it passed from this to other countries, and that ultimately it was adopted at Rome itself, which in this particular was a tardy follower of Anglian practice<sup>1</sup>.

Under Charles the Great and his early successors the era was rarely used, and during some of the Karling reigns it was neglected altogether. So much was this the case that Charles the Fat (d. 888) has been credited with the introduction of the practice ; and although this is incorrect, yet so slow was the progress which it made on the continent that it did not become general in France and Germany until the tenth century.

<sup>1</sup> The materials of the above argument, except what these documents contribute, may be found in Ideler, but I am not aware that it has yet been presented in any English book. I must however add that I am indebted to my [lately departed] friend Mr. Dale of Balliol College for having called my attention to it, and that my ideas on the subject have been much enlarged by the conversation of another friend, Mr. Boase of Exeter College.

It has been asserted that this era was established by the authority of the see of Rome<sup>1</sup>. Such an assertion looks strange by the side of the fact that Mabillon found no papal document so dated before Leo IX in the middle of the eleventh century. And even after this time the era was sparingly and mistrustfully used in papal bulls, nor was it until the fifteenth century that it came to be systematically adopted in the city of Dionysius;—the first Pope who so used it being Eugenius IV (1431–47)<sup>2</sup>.

Another way of characterizing the year, is by the ‘Indiction,’ which is often added in our documents. This term is not used to signify an era; it does not measure the present time by any fixed epoch in the past; but it defines the year by its beginning and its end, and gives the place which such a year holds in one of the small cycles of fifteen years which followed one another continually. At first the use of this cycle was fiscal, being connected with the tribute due from public lands, which was newly assessed every fifteen years, and the new rate was announced by public Notice (*indictio*). This recurring event was naturally of great interest to farmers, and it generated a mode of popular chronology which was found to have qualities that fitted it for diplomatic use. The ideal epoch from which Indictions began to run, is B. C. 3, three years before our Era; and it seems not improbable that in some partial sense they were actually in use from that epoch. But practically the Indiction, as a note of time, starts from A.D. 312, the first year of Constantine’s undivided empire;

<sup>1</sup> And Kemble is under this impression all through. See his Introduction, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, ii. 366 ff.

and towards the end of the fourth century it is found entering into dates. Its advantage lay in the fact that it afforded a means of *defining* any given year at a time when the ordinary means were failing:—the consular years being unsettled by the irregular appointment of the consuls, and there being no uniformity of practice as to when the year began. The formula of ‘such a year of the Indiction’ (or briefly, ‘such an Indiction’) indicated a well-defined and particular twelve months, beginning always with September 1 and ending with August 31. This was a welcome gain, and the Indiction won great repute. Duranti, writing in the thirteenth century, says: ‘Tantæ fuit auctoritatis indictio, ut nullus sine eâ fieret contractus, nec privilegium, nec testamentum, nec alia scriptura sollennis: et etiam hodie eandem obtinet auctoritatem’<sup>1</sup>.

Sometimes a charter is dated by the regnal year of the reigning king: according to Thorpe our earliest example of this is K175, a charter of Coenulf of Mercia, A.D. 798. Compare 295 b.

vi. The *Signatures*. These are not autographs. The names appended to an Anglo-Saxon deed are not the manual subscription of the signataries: they are all scribe’s work. And further, it is not the names themselves that constitute the signatures. The essence of the signature consisted in making the ‘sign’ of the Cross, which presumably may have been at the outset traced by the hand of each of the signataries. In A.D. 732 it is explicitly said that king Æthilberht wrote the sign of the cross (251). But in general the appearances suggest that the crosses too were prepared by the scribe, and that each signer perhaps went over it with a dry

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* v. Indiction.

pen or laid a finger upon it<sup>1</sup>. There is therefore nothing autographic in these lists of witnesses; they are simply a written record of the fact that such persons assisted at the execution of the deed.

The terms for the emblem of signature are in Latin *signum*, and its diminutive *sigillum*:—in English *rode tacn*, 103 h; *mid cristes rode tacne*, 110 m. The simplest formula recording the act is '*signum manus illius*,' e.g. 9, 14, 26 t, 28 m, 55 t, 59 m, 333 l.

The force of custom in such matters is very strong and lasting; so that we cannot from the absence of manual subscription conclude anything about the general progress of the art of writing, much less about the inability of individuals to write. In a genuine deed of the eighth century by Wihtried of Kent, the king says '*pro ignorantia litterarum + signum sanctae crucis expressi*' (p. 333 note). The general inability to write at first would have set the custom which afterwards operated collectively<sup>2</sup>.

The ratification by such signatures is of two kinds. A person may sign either as a party to the transaction, or as a witness only (52 t). These two functions are pretty clearly distinguished, even where the generic phrase '*signum manus*' runs throughout, as on p. 9, where the

<sup>1</sup> In K816\* the king says:—in hac cartula coram subnotatis testibus manu propria dominicæ crucis depingo signum.

<sup>2</sup> Mabillon quoted this instance, and added two parallels, one of the eighth century by Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, and one in the ninth century by Heribaud, comte du palais under Lewis II (A.D. 873); as if these proved general inability to write. The authors of the '*Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie*,' produced a fourth example in the case of Gui Guerra, count of Tuscany. But it was urged by Dr. Maitland, '*Dark Ages*,' p. 13, that the fact of a man's name being written for him by a scribe is no proof that he was unable to write, though no doubt such was often the fact. The very uniformity of the non-subscribing habit excludes all argument touching individuals.



giver is distinguished as such in the attesting list which in other respects is uniform. Such a distinction seems to attach to those whose consent would naturally have been asked for the disposal of public land (p. 46, 59 m, 102 t, 125). Sometimes the signatures seem to represent the deliberative council, as p. 108.

Instead of 'signum' the diminutive 'sigillum' sometimes occurs, as a mere variety of expression and without any distinctive meaning. The first sense of this diminutive became merged in its later sense of seal, and this misled Hickes, who condemned any charter wherein a 'sigillum' was said to be affixed. This error was corrected by Kemble. Hickes was however so far right in his general position, that the genuine documents of the Saxon period were not ratified with seals, at least not until the time of Edward the Confessor<sup>1</sup>. Whether this negative assertion can be made absolutely concerning all the earlier reigns, is perhaps still open to question;—but such is the general state of the case. This is the more remarkable, as Sir F. Madden observed long ago, inasmuch as the practice of sealing had prevailed among the Franks from the time of Clovis<sup>2</sup>.

Sealing was however something more than a national or local custom. The use of seals is one of the institutions of the elder world; it is almost as old as the art of writing, and, being a rudiment of printing, it may be said to make the sister arts of writing and printing coeval with one another. The antiquity of seals is familiar to us in the Old Testament; in Jeremiah xxxii. we see the seal associated

<sup>1</sup> A charter of Edward the Confessor, granting the manors of Cleygate (Surrey) and Staines (Berks) to the Abbey of Westminster, is exhibited under glass in the Chapter House there. This charter has a seal appended on a self-strip of the vellum.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 355.

with a purchase-deed. In the earlier Christian centuries seals were ordinarily impressed on wax from rings often set with gems, but sometimes they were made in a simple metallic matrix, like that of Dagobert I (A.D. 628-38) which is extant, bearing the king's face, and the legend DAGOBERTVZ REX FRANCORUM<sup>1</sup>. The importance of the seal in public transactions is represented by the titles of high officers to whom the several kinds of seals were confided: in the Holy Roman Empire the Elector of Mainz as Imperial Chancellor, was Keeper of the Seal of the Empire, and he wore it round his neck on high occasions of state. In England we have the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, who is the Lord Chancellor; the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal; and another great official in Scotland is called the Keeper of the Signet<sup>2</sup>. It is with reference to this official seal that a public notary in Scotland is called a Writer to the Signet, a circumstance which gains in historical interest from the fact that it was the profession of Sir Walter Scott's father.

After the Conquest, the use of seals, at first confined to kings and great men, passed gradually into general use, and by the thirteenth century it was regarded as a necessary part of a deed, and from that time for some centuries every man who had important dealings had a seal of his own. The habit is now effete; seals are only used by corporations; in private transactions the figure of sealing is retained but the authentication depends solely upon duly witnessed subscription.

The absence of seals from the transaction of public business in the Saxon period is further remarkable from

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, v. Seal.

<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Glasgow is 'Lord Clerk Register and Keeper of the Signet'—according to Whitaker for 1887, p. 301.

the fact that eminent men had their own private rings and seals at that time, which they used for the authentication of notes and letters by sealing ; for so we must understand those passages where we read of the 'insegl' being sent as a credential, unless we suppose that the ring or seal itself was sent to give certainty to an order or message<sup>1</sup>.

The order of the signatures is available as historical evidence of rank and precedence, and so it has been used by Mr. Freeman in an instance quoted below, p. 227. We know that the sentiment was strong in the first century from Juvenal's Third Satire 81, 'me prior ille signabit?' shall such as he sign before me? But it must be added, that there are examples of a disregard of strict precedence in favour of a fanciful order of signatures. In K118 (Heming) Offa of Mercia signs first, his queen Cyneðrið last but one, and then, last of all, their son, 'Ecðfrið filius amborum.'

In the eleventh century we see the pretence of signing is sometimes abandoned, and a mere enumeration of witnesses inserted instead ; as with the goodly company 242 b.

A few more remarks upon the degeneracy of these documents, in addition to what has already been said incidentally. Their depravation is for the most part associated with progress of time and change of cir-

<sup>1</sup> Two matrices of seals are preserved in the British Museum ; one of 'Godwine, a Thane,' and another of 'Ælfric.' The latter was erroneously quoted by Sir F. Madden as 'Leofric' in *Archæological Journal*, xiii. Also in the same case a leaden bulla of Coenulf, king of Mercia, 800-810, which Mr. Franks thinks was probably taken from a document of foreign transaction. It is only reasonable to suppose that in diplomatic intercourse with people who used the seal we should have done the same. Concerning a seal of Offa, king of Mercia, see *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (Smith and Cheetham), vol. ii. p. 1872 ; and BC259.

cumstance;—the suspicious writings, whether fabrications or modified revisions, are generally products of the times subsequent to the Norman Conquest. Not that contemporary forgeries were wanting, but either they have not come down to us, or we are without evidence of their falsity. That there were many such, we gather from repeated allusions, e.g. 44 l.

But for our enquiry it is practically the first question in the examination of a document:—What is the date of its present form? When charters are arranged in the order of the dates which they purport to bear, as in Kemble, we have a series of writings apparently in order, but really in chronological chaos. And therefore in the Second Part of this book, the later copies or compositions are grouped in a descending scale of gradation which (with this hint) will enable the student to make his own observations. It would require much space to illustrate each particular, but a few examples may be useful.

The inconsistency of the professed date with the veritable age of the composition is sometimes betrayed by continental terms which were not in use with us before the Conquest: thus, in K 236 *graphio, palefridis*; and in K 1001, 1050, the title *comes* in the Norman sense. Another of these words is *vasallus*, for which see the Glossary.

One of the commonest indications of a later hand is recognised in explanatory bits of historical or antiquarian lore:—e.g. *unam villam quod nos Saxonice an haga dicimus*, 336 l; *quae patria lingua hagan appellari solent*, 403 t; *a taxationibus quod dicimus witeredenne*, K 1063. And generally, any proffer of explanation is suspicious: e.g. *when I went over sea to Rome*, 337 h.

Here however it must be added (and this fact makes it hard to lay down general rules), that there is hardly any feature in spurious deeds but something like it may be found in those which are genuine, e. g. 87 m.

It is however a broad feature of spurious documents that they are industrious in explanation and allusion. They import historical events, as if to rivet themselves the more securely upon the time purported, and by the very effort they betray themselves<sup>1</sup>. Sometimes the documentary is merged in the narrative tone of the historian, as in BC620, partly given in this volume, p. 290. Historical events so imported are often quite correct. It would be too much to rank such allusions as trustworthy evidence which might safely be used as authority sole;—but when other grounds, even by themselves imperfect, exist for giving probability to such statements, they may be made available, not only in confirmation, but even in extension of our knowledge. A good example is K 233. This document, purporting to be of A.D. 833, is manifestly spurious; but it alludes to an assembly of the magnates of the realm convened by Ecgbert to take counsel about the Danish invasions, and there is every probability that such a meeting was held about that date<sup>2</sup>. But when in K731, Cnut is made to address his thanes as ‘twelfhynde and twyhynde’; as we have no other example of ‘twyhynde’ thanes, and as this document bears other suspicious marks, it is not available as historical material. In K816\*, Edward the Confessor says—‘*manu propria dominicae crucis depingo signum, et meae imaginis adnecto sigillum.*’ This document being a manifest fabrication, we might have treated

<sup>1</sup> See Kemble, Introduction, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Steenstrup *Vikinjetogene*, p. 39.

with undeserved contempt the mention of the king's seal with his own image upon it, if we had not known from extant impressions that it is a fact. The Seal of this king is the first of the Great Seals of England which form an unbroken series down to our own day. It bears the full-faced figure of the king seated; with this superscription:

✠ SIGILLVM EADVVARDI ANGLORVM BASILEI.

This section would not be complete without a few remarks upon the external and material form of these documents. The originals are upon parchment, and a few of the earliest are written in uncial or minuscule characters. A word that will frequently meet the student's eye is Chirographum, commonly spelt Cyrographum. This Greek word for a Hand-Writing, is sometimes blazoned out large on the upper margin or the under margin, or both; e.g. 242, 243, 244, 247. It seems to apply particularly to Contracts, and the practical import was, that the agreement being written three times upon one skin, with this word stretched over the interval between the copies, the knife was then passed through the two interspaces and so through the middle of the letters of this word, leaving the upper apices on one copy and the lower relics of the same word upon another copy, in such a manner that the original oneness of any two of the copies could at sight and without perusal be verified, if not by comparison with one another, at least upon the production of the third. When the skin had been thus divided into three, one part was taken by each of the contracting parties, and the third deposited in a place of security. Examples 216 b, 236 h, 244 l, 247 m.

## II

THE systematic study of these documents was first entered upon by Dr. George Hickes, in his *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, 1705. Since his time the chief explorer in this field has been Mr. J. M. Kemble, whose results are seen in the Prefaces to his *Codex Diplomaticus*, and in his later work *The Saxons in England*.

The enquiries of Hickes were limited to the technicalities, such as the points of evidence of genuineness or the reverse; but Kemble, after having made a careful technical analysis, proceeded to study the documents as materials for the illustration of our early constitution. His enquiries led him into a reconstruction of our unwritten insular history, and the lines which he laid down, though challenged here and there, still continue to furnish us with the current tracings of our early institutions, and constitute the basis of the outstanding discussion.

He availed himself freely of that Comparative Method which in his time was a new discovery; and he drew material from the kindred nations to serve in rebuilding the early framework of English society. A remarkable completeness of outline was thus attained; but the benefit must be accepted with caution. In order to use his work profitably the student must distinguish between those things for which we have domestic evidence in our own documents, and that which has been taken over from comparative analogies. The Comparative Method is a fine aid to reconstruction when cognate sources mutually

supplement each other's flaws and defacements; but when the entirety of any institution is guaranteed by foreign sources only, the improved method of enquiry is apt to become a snare. It is now generally admitted that something of this kind happened to Kemble in his picture of the 'Mark' as the unit of our early social state.

Kemble says: 'Among the Anglosaxons land so held in common was designated by the names Mark, and Gâ or Shire<sup>1</sup>.' The word MEARC occurs repeatedly in the documents, but never in the sense of the area of occupation, still less in the political sense of the occupying community<sup>2</sup>. What Kemble calls 'its restricted and proper sense of a boundary' (KS. i. 43) is the *only* sense it bears in our records<sup>3</sup>. Kemble imagined the Marks as primary units which were grouped into districts bearing the name of 'Gâ.' This is entirely derived from

<sup>1</sup> *Saxons in England*, i. 36. The word shire *sofa* has been much discussed; it seems to me that the territorial sense is secondary, and that the primary sense is simply that of function or office. In the oldest glosses it represents *procuratio*; *dispensatio*, *negotiatio*. Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 624. This is the sense in all the three places which Kemble relied on in his chapter on the Shire, from the Laws of Ini, Sections 8, 36, 39; though in the third instance the thought of area is simultaneous.

<sup>2</sup> *Saxons in England*, i. 42, 53.

<sup>3</sup> The most manifest examples are such as in 200b, to Oswiðes mearce and Eadwoldes, *to the dividing line between Oswið and Eadwold*. The doubtful cases, if any, are few. The compound *mearc-lond* signifies, not the land of the community, but land on the border, outlying wild or forest land. Kemble's 'mearc môt' occurs but once, in a poor document, stigmatized by himself, in the form *mercemôt* K 568; and it may very well have meant a moot for the business of the moorland. For *mearcbeorh*, which he translates 'Markhill,' saying it is not at all of rare occurrence, I know but three places, as given in the Glossary. I see in the recent Number of the Bosworth-Toller Dictionary that this compound is explained (rightly as I think)—'A hill which forms part of a boundary.'



the comparative sources, and it is nothing less than the introduction of a word unknown to our insular literature. Kemble thought that he had recovered the term 'Gâ' as equivalent to German Gau district, and that its existence and constitutional use was vouched for by the document printed below, p. 458; whereas the appearance was deceptive, and those names are but genitive plurals in *-inga*; some of them ill written.

An author is at liberty to borrow what terms he pleases from historical analogies if they will aid him as technical terms in the expression of his meaning; but the student must be warned against accepting them as if they were based upon domestic evidence. In Kemble's reconstruction, Mark and Gâ are not historical but theoretical terms. This being once understood, it will be recognised as an open question whether his Mark theory is justified by further examination. According to Kemble, each Mark was an agricultural community managing its own affairs with republican equality and simplicity, there being as yet no manorial lords. And although at the first moment of full historic light we find manorial rights everywhere, yet this he considered as a departure and a degeneracy from the local autonomy of the primitive settlement, and he traced it to some abuse of power.

Mr. Kemble's sketch of the cradle of our institutions has by no means given general satisfaction, but it cannot be said that in the criticism it has undergone it has received any definite or substantial rectification. Little is gained by rejecting the terms he adopted if the substance of his plan is retained;—the real source of his weakness is in the defective nature of his elementary plan. That the conquerors did really establish some

such an agricultural system as the Mark, seems to be quite certain. Tacitus at one end, and the agricultural Reports at the other, establish the fact so well, that it must be taken as immoveable and axiomatic.

‘The Mark was a voluntary association of free men, who laid down for themselves, and strictly maintained, a system of cultivation by which the produce of the land on which they settled might be fairly and equally secured for their service and support; and from participation in which they jealously excluded all who were not born, or adopted, into the association.’ *Saxons in England*, i. 54.

So far is common ground:—but when he goes on to develop the Mark-courts as at first quite independent of lords, and to tell us that ‘even long after the downfall of the primæval freedom, the lord himself had been only the first Markman’—we are led by our data to part company with our guide. Our contention is not so much against what Kemble asserts, as against what he denies. We have not a word to say against Kemble’s Mark as an agricultural system, except that the picture is mutilated in its social and political relations. It will be the aim of the following pages to show that from the first there was an authority over the Markmen, and that the lord of the manor is an essential member of the original settlement.

The influence of Kemble’s Mark theory has been very wide, and its consequences may be traced even where the theory itself is not accepted; for there is a sort of tacit assumption that the beginnings were different in constitution from anything that history reveals, and that between the beginnings and the time when evidences become available an agrarian revolution had taken place. The lords of manors are thought to have attained to their position through usurpation of power by lucky members of the community who somehow had

emerged from the primitive equality and had grown powerful over the rest. Besides the arbitrary nature of such a conjecture, entirely unevidenced, there is the *à priori* improbability that such a fortuitous evolution would have resulted in a net-work of little local dominions wherein a highly organized structure is combined with that broad identity of family likeness with which the manors, under all their minor diversities, are so conspicuously stamped.

In the study of these land-charters we are driven by very necessity to construct for ourselves a plan and a picture of the original land distribution of the country, and therewithal to form an elementary sketch of the whole social and political fabric; for without some such a plan in the mind it is not possible to get any definite idea of the nature and bearings of the transactions represented in these writings. The large number of documents of one general type which time has spared us, is such as to suggest that as a body of writings they have a significance beyond that of a fortuitous aggregation of transfers, which may just shed some incidental light upon the page of history. The circumstance that a large proportion of them concern monastic lands has perhaps had a misleading effect. It has been thought sufficient to refer the whole collection to the religious enthusiasm of our simple forefathers in the days when Christianity was recent among them, and so to explain the Grants as so many offerings of piety or superstition. There is not a little in the documents themselves to flatter such a view of the case. And indeed it is true so far as it goes. But as an explanation it is by no means commensurate with the facts to be explained. It may seem to cover a large part, but it manifestly does not cover

the whole of the data ; and to say the least of it, we should require a separate explanation for the motive of those Grants which were made to lay hands. In these matters it is quite impossible to obtain a right point of view, unless we first have a definite notion of the relation that subsisted between the distribution of the land and the general fabric and intercourse of society. Indeed, it is only from an orderly view of the latter that we can see the reason of the former ; and it will be (incidentally) an evidence that our view of the structure of society is right, if it carries with it a solution of the perplexities of the land-tenures.

At the entrance of our fathers into this island (I am thinking particularly of the invasion by way of Hampton, which was the latest and therefore conducted, presumably, upon the most matured plan) they advanced inland and occupied the ground in the face of the enemy without making any distinction at the moment between a military occupation and a colonising settlement. Their banded forces were divided by hundreds, and by hundreds they spread over the face of the land, and under the exigencies of war with the guidance of their plan of campaign they shaped the first draft of the political map, such as in its most elementary groundwork it continues to this day. At this moment the Hundreds on our map represent the first permanent encampments of the invading hosts, and the military organization of the country was worked on that first outline for many centuries. The civil administration fell into the mould of the military, and at this moment the old common law remains, though now made statuteable, that the Hundred is the unit of our finance and police administration, where personal or corporate respon-

sibility is not otherwise provided for, as in the case of destruction by rioters, or by wreckers<sup>1</sup>.

It must be remembered that the military hundred contained twelve tens, and accordingly we find in the internal division of the Hundred there were twelve 'Hyndens,' or, as they afterwards came to be called, Tithings. The two words mean the same thing, for the word HUND at first meant, not 100 but 10. In HYNDEN we see a feminine abstract substantive derived from *hund* in its elder sense, with umlaut of the *u*. And this explains the terms TWELFHYNDE and SIXHYNDE as expressive of ranks of men. The former was originally a captain of 120, the latter of 60 men<sup>2</sup>.

The first internal work to be done by the Hundred, as soon as they had leisure to look about them, would be the land distribution. This would naturally be conducted upon traditional principles and according to national custom, except where the novelty of the circumstances required some innovation in detail or led perhaps unconsciously to the creation of some new form of institution.

The allotted land was of two distinct kinds. Certain

<sup>1</sup> When Nottingham Castle was burnt by the mob in 1832, the Hundred was sued, and the owners recovered damages to the amount of £21,000. *Annual Register for 1832*:—'Leicester: The Duke of Newcastle v. the Inhabitants of the Hundred of Broxtowe.'

Within the last two or three years destruction of property at elections has come upon the Hundred, and ratepayers have had occasion to learn that the Hundred is not dead. The Hundred is still alive as a financial division. My friend Mr. Alfred Hill writes me from Birmingham: 'I am a Commissioner of Income Tax, Land Tax, and Inhabited House Duty for the Hundred of Hemlingford.' He adds that this Hundred was rated to pay for the Birmingham riots of 1791 and of 1839.

<sup>2</sup> The twelfhynde man's life-price was 1200 shillings, *Inc* 70; but this does not appear to me to contain the reason of the name—rather to be a consequence of it.

land was given absolutely to every head of a family and indeed to every free man, for a perpetual inheritance in the family, and subject to no burdens but such as were elementary and essential as conditions of general security. Other lands were assigned, not to individuals, but to each township as a corporate body, every member of the township having his share in the use and enjoyment of it according to traditional custom. When all present demands were satisfied, there still remained land unallotted, and this was the property of the nation, this was the *FOLC LAND*, or as it was also sometimes popularly called *No man's land*, *NÂNES MANNES LAND*<sup>1</sup>.

The historical word, which designated land allotted under the first of these conditions, was most likely *ÊDEL*<sup>2</sup>. To this corresponds the Frankish *alod*, not by any etymological affinity, but by a practical equivalency of signification. The word *alod*<sup>3</sup>, in its latinised form *alodium*

<sup>1</sup> 'The village greens which still exist in many parts of the country, may fairly be regarded as a remnant of old unappropriated common land.' F. Pollock, *Land Laws*, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> The word *êdel* is of high antiquity, being found in every Teutonic dialect, and it had early passed to a secondary stage of signification in which it was expressive of nobility of descent. This divided sense may have been the cause which led to the continental invention of the term *alod*. At the time of the English colonization *êdel* must have been already tinged with the secondary sense even in our dialect, but it was still serviceable in its original and proper sense as a designation of the family inheritance, and it seems to have been used as the general term for the patrimonial estate whether great or small. It is perhaps some evidence of this that with us *êdel* became the general word for home or native country, and in Latin studies the recognised equivalent of *patria*.

<sup>3</sup> This term is resolved by Grimm into *al* and *ôd* (A.S. *éad*) i. e. whole or solid property. R. A. 493. This derivation was, I believe, new; but *feodum* had been derived long ago from *féo* and *ôd* by Wachter, *Glossarium Germanicum*, quoted by Robertson, *Charles V*, vol. i. note 8, 'intimating that it was stipendiary, and granted as a recompense for service.' Both these derivations are sustained by the authority of Dr. Murray in the *New Dictionary*; v. *Alod*.

or *allodium*, first entered this country with the Normans, and appears often in Domesday. Not only was the estate and residence of the noble called his *ÆDEL*; but also I imagine that each detached hut in the village or in the fields, with its breadth of curtilage about it, and a few acres of croft or paddock around, was the *ÆDEL* or private estate of the commoner<sup>1</sup>.

To the second class of allotted land belongs the much-questioned term Hide *HID*, *HIGID*. What was the relation of this word to the former as a question of terminology? Was it another word for the same thing, a mere equivalent of *Ethel*? This seems to have been Kemble's view, as he puts the two words upon a level, but he is not very explicit upon the point. Certainly the same natural title was at the base of both kinds of property; but heir-land and common land must have had their several designations, and we will suppose (at least provisionally) that these two terms were thus distributed. This at least appears certain, that the term *HID* is as old as the time of the very first settlement. The universality of its use and the obscurity of its definition are two threads of evidence which seem to converge upon the cradle. On the other hand, there is no indication of a higher antiquity than the time of the colonization; the word is not found in any of the sister dialects, and is distinctly an insular term. As to the portion of the soil

<sup>1</sup> Modern authorities call this *ÆDEL* either 'family land,' as Mr. H. Cabot Lodge in his '*Anglo-Saxon Land Law*' (*Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, Boston, U.S. and London 1876); or 'heir-land,' as Professor Pollock in his *Land Laws*, p. 191. The latter phrase is supported by the term *ERFES*, 1491. This is the *terra salica* of the Franks; Grimm, *R. A.* 493. In 327m there is a remarkable expression 'Edferðes eald land,' which seems to indicate land of this nature.

which it designated, I think Kemble's view must be preferred, that it applied particularly to the arable land;—including perhaps the rights of pasture which were appended to the arable.

Beyond the village of the commoners and its circuit of Ethel-land lay the common arable field with its environment of meadow and pasture. These lands were enjoyed in common by rules of ancient custom which were administered by officers annually chosen. Each household had its share in all the various parts and sorts of land according to the working of agricultural custom. Each household had a household's portion, called in Latin *casatus*, *manens*, *mansa*, &c., and these Latin words represent the vernacular *HID*.

When the work of distribution was finished, there remained wide tracts of unappropriated land, and such surplus land was the property of the nation, and was called *FOLC LAND*; in Latin *terra communis*, 394 l. It was completely analogous to the *publicus ager* which occupies a prominent place in Roman history. This was the great reserve fund of the nation, by which the public service was provided for, and from which were made those grants and l  ns which we shall come to by and bye. In the meantime it will be useful to take a general view of the situation.

But first, there is one little remark to be added about the folk-land. Apparently not all folk-land was held by the nation at large, it was not all king's folk-land, '*terra juris mei*.' We find mention of Tithing-land *TEOÐUNG LOND* 164 b; and it seems reasonable to infer that the Hundred held land<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, as there must have been

<sup>1</sup> I do not understand K. Maurer's reasoning in *Ueberschau*, i. 69, where he concludes that in England the Hundreds had no common land.



expenses attending the business of the Hundred, it is not clear how these were to be otherwise met. The Hundred and the Tithing were the first elementary centres of administration, one of which has kept up a continuous function even to our day, while the other had a broken and patched career<sup>1</sup>.

The system was originally military, and out of the military grew the civil administration. It is sometimes difficult to follow Kemble so as to verify the consistency of his views about the first organisation of English society. In particular, I cannot reconcile his democratic Mark with a sentence like the following, a sentence which rivets attention by its intrinsic probability, and which I perceive also has had a strong attraction for Dr. Stubbs, who recurs to the idea more than once. Kemble's words are—'there can be no doubt that some kind of military organisation preceded the peaceful settlement, and in many respects determined its mode and character' (*Saxons*, i. p. 125). This fruitful idea has had no organising effect upon Kemble's treatment,

He shows from Nordström, that in Sweden, besides common fields of the village (*bys-almänningar*), and national lands (*lands-almänningar*), there were also lands of the *Herad*, a division like our Hundred (*häraths-almänningar*), and the parallel is more forcible than anything suggested against it. See Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, c. v. p. 97 note. As to the Shires, however, which have been coupled with the Hundreds in this question, I do not think that in early times they did hold public land.

<sup>1</sup> The later institution of the *FRID BORN* or Frank Pledge, *plegium de stando ad rectum*, which ran in personal groups of ten, *fidejussio decennalis*, must be carefully distinguished from the territorial area of the original Tithing. But there is also a sense in which the two institutions must be associated; for the later institution seems to have been a substitute for the original Tithing which had become effete.

nor, so far as I have observed, upon that of subsequent constitutional historians. Nothing can be much further from the idea of military organisation than Kemble's idyllic sketch of the self-government of the ceorls.

Of all principles of military regiment there is none so necessary or so elementary as this, that all men must be under a captain, and such a captain as is able to command prompt and willing obedience. We have abundant experience that this was recognised as the most elementary principle in Anglo-Saxon politics. Upon this military principle I conceive the English settlements were originally founded, that each several settlement was under a military leader, and that this military leader is the ancestor of the lord of the manor.

There appears in our early history an order of men who are manifestly in a position of superiority but of an intermediate and subordinate kind; they are called *gesīðas*. They are distinctly recognised in the early Laws as constituting one of the divisions of society, but are no more heard of after the eighth century. The term fades away as that of *þegn* comes into prominence; and I venture to suggest that this order of men, for whom no local habitation has yet been found, are the commissioned officers of the invading bands and the first incumbents of our manorial lordships.

Kemble has indeed assigned to the *gesīðas* a sphere, and in his famous chapter on 'The Noble by Service' he has made the development of our most prominent institutions to turn upon the agency of this order of men. But whatever the merits of his argument as an explanation of the growth of feudal nobility, it seems to me quite wide of the mark as concerns the nature of the lord of the manor.

The *gesîðas* being identical with the *comites* surrounding a *princeps* in the description of Tacitus, he traces their growth into a little standing army about the king, a band much admired by the simple *ceorl*, who only sees in the institution a troop of volunteers ready to take the military duty off his hands, little suspecting the danger with which his own order is threatened. These *gesîðas* are (we are told) men who have abandoned their freedom to live in military insolence under a lord, being all the while in their own personal rights nothing but menials 'the unfree chattels of a prince<sup>1</sup>.' Gradually the freemen are overawed, and rights of lordship are established over them, and in this overbearing usurpation we are invited to recognise the origin and growth of a new nobility upon the ruins of the ancient orders *eorlisc* and *ceorlisc* alike, and this new growth gives also the development of the manorial lordship;—for what took place about the person of the king took place also (we are told) in the several communities, and so the manor is represented as a deductive result from the *comitatus* or military institute of the royal court.

There is no direct evidence for this representation, but Kemble, having committed himself to the assertion that the first colonists lived in Marks which were so many autonomous little republics, found it necessary to reconcile this theory with the fact that when the open daylight of history succeeds to the obscure dawn of the Mark, all village communities are found to be living under lords. This transformation had to be explained,

<sup>1</sup> Professor Pollock (*Land Laws*, p. 29) says: 'Kemble's opinion that this relation [that of the *gesîð*] involved the loss of freedom can only be called the eccentricity of a man of genius. It is disposed of by Konrad Maurer, *Kritische Ueberschau*, ii. 391 sqq.'

and the above is Kemble's explanation. So he started with a misconception of the *gesithas*, which, though but a film from the truth at first, diverged with progress, and was incapable of rectification in his hands, because he was interested in the error.

Kemble's argument appeared as a counter-statement to that view of our agrarian constitution which had long ruled the law-books, and which is thus formulated in the oft-quoted words of Blackstone:—

‘Villeins in process of time gained considerable ground on their lords, and in particular strengthened the tenure of their estates to that degree, that they came to have in them an interest in many places full as good, in others better than their lords. For the good-nature and benevolence of many lords of manors having, time out of mind, permitted their villeins and their children to enjoy their possessions without interruption in a regular course of descent, the Common Law, of which custom is the life, now gave them title to prescribe against their lords, and on performance of the same services to hold their lands, in spite of any determination of the lord's will. . . . Thus it appears that copyholders are in truth no other but villeins, who by a long series of immemorial encroachments on the lord, have at last established a customary right to those estates which before were held absolutely at the lord's will.’

The doctrine which Kemble laid down is the reverse of the above; he held that the rights of the lord of the manor have grown by encroachment upon the original common ownership of the free and independent markmen<sup>1</sup>. He seems throughout his argument to confuse two

<sup>1</sup> I say ‘doctrine laid down’—but the fact is Kemble never fairly faced the problem of the manor at all; he had in the background a pre-

things, which sprung out of the same elements and have a natural similarity, but which need on this very ground the more carefully to be distinguished, namely, the manorial system and the feudal system. These two systems are from one nest, and that nest the comitatus, the band of companions in arms who follow chieftain or king; and springing from this common parentage, they have a family likeness apt to deceive; for, much as they have in common, they belong to different times and circumstances, and even the character of the comitatus itself differed at the birth of the two. The manor sprang from the comitatus of the chieftain, the adventurer; the feudal system from the comitatus of the long-established king. The manor is far older than the feudal system and has over-lived it; the manor has seen the feudal system come and go, and yet there is life in the manor.

Upon the origin of manorial rights there are two chief theories, and Mr. Scrutton has aided the discussion by providing these rival theories with technical names, calling the elder of the two, that authorized by Blackstone, the *legal* theory; and the modern one, which has sprung out of later economic and historic enquiries, the *historical* theory. According to the legal theory, the lord of the manor is the absolute owner of the soil, and whatever rights or benefits the community enjoy, they owe to his concession and clemency. According to the historical theory, on the contrary, the Manor is a degenerate transformation of the Free community, through the aggrandisement and usurped powers of one

conceived opinion, which he referred to when convenient, like any axiom. Thus:—‘in Manors, where the territorial jurisdiction of a lord has usurped the place of the old Markmoot, &c.’ KS i. 54.

of its members :—the Freemen of the Township having sunk down into the Villeins of the Manor<sup>1</sup>.

Mr. Scrutton thinks that there is room for both these theories, inasmuch as the historical theory may well represent the state of things in England before the Norman Conquest, while yet the legal theory may furnish a correct legal statement of manorial relations for the period which followed after William's grant or regrant of almost all the land of England<sup>2</sup>.

Athwart these rival theories comes Mr. Seebohm's ingenious argument as if to effect a compromise between them, or rather to blend them together in one continuity of historical development. He urges that the Saxon invader found in Britain a system of agriculture which is the true antecedent of the manor. Upon his view of the case the legal theory triumphs; not, however, to the exclusion of the historical theory, but rather by its subordination and absorption. The original type is the Roman villa with its gang of slaves, and from this the manorial system has been developed through the wise and humane policy of the lords. This theory assigns to the whole community on a Saxon estate a servile origin, and whatever its defects, it does at least afford adequate explanation for the in-

<sup>1</sup> *The Law Quarterly Review*, October, 1887. I have to thank Mr. Whittuck, of Oriel College, for putting this Article into my hand, and for other good suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> My impression is, that the so-called historical theory (as usually stated) does not represent a state of things that ever existed at all. I do not deny that encroachment took place; there always is encroachment by every order of men when in a position to encroach. It seems to me that there was a growing tendency on the dominical side of the Soken to absorb the commoners, and to assimilate them to the condition of the customary tenantry. But I contend that we cannot find in such encroachment an adequate cause for the origination of manorial lordship.

cidents of servile tenures, which are not so well provided for in the historical theory.

The objection which has been raised against Mr. Seebohm's view is that it leaves no place for those free proprietors, who (it is well known) were necessary to the constitution of a manor. This objection may be put in another way. It may be asked—Where then are all the rank and file of the conquering Saxon host? They could not every one of them step into the place of a wealthy Romano-British proprietor, and become the progenitor of a race of manorial landlords. These certainly became allodial owners, and they must be accounted for in any theory that purports to be complete. What favours Mr. Seebohm's view is the strange paucity of free tenants in Domesday. But here we must bear in mind that in the course of 600 years many causes of decline might occur, which would press heavier on the small proprietor than on the man of liberal estate<sup>1</sup>.

If Mr. Seebohm's explanation cannot be accepted as satisfactory and final, I believe that he has considerably advanced the discussion, and has brought the problem

<sup>1</sup> One such cause we see in operation below, 275 m. But I think there is another matter to be considered. Is it certain that we rightly understand the 'liberi homines' of Domesday? The earlier sense of Latin *liber* and English *free*, with their derivatives, may sometimes escape observation. The following quotation presents the case with double-barrelled authority:—

'And how keen and true is this criticism on the changed sense of the word "liberty":—"A great many words have changed their meaning. The word *liberty*, for example, had at bottom among the ancients the same meaning as the word *dominion*. *I would be free* meant, in the mouth of the ancient, *I would take part in governing or administering the State*; in the mouth of a modern it means, *I would be independent*. The word *liberty* has with us a moral sense; with them its sense was purely political."'

Matthew Arnold, *Essays in Criticism*, 'Joubert.'

much nearer to solution than it was before. The Roman Villa does seem to supply with a remarkable fitness that dominical element in the Manor, which is alien to the free agricultural Community, and which cannot be derived from it but by a violent and arbitrary hypothesis of aggrandisement and usurpation.

But, on the other hand, the idea that a co-tillage Community was developed out of the servile household of a Villa, is surrounded with an atmosphere of improbability. The process may not be inconceivable in itself, but what are its relative probabilities when compared with that obvious explanation which is already in possession of the field, namely, that the conquering Saxons when they settled upon their new territory continued those habits of agriculture in which they had been reared? If we accept at Mr. Seeböhm's hands the dominical side of the manorial constitution, we must on the other hand continue to derive the Common Fields from those free ancestral customs for which our text is Tacitus<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It is recorded of Aristotle that he advised the conqueror of Asia to govern his Greek subjects as a president, but the conquered races as a master. This wise counsel aptly represents what took place at the English Conquest of Britain. The course which Alexander did not take, though advised by the greatest of political philosophers, our forefathers were led to take by their political instinct in following the lead of circumstances. The conquerors found a system of agriculture worked by families of slaves in Roman villas; they kept what they found, only putting an English lord into the place of a Romano-British dominus, and so without further change they founded the 'domain' or 'vill' of the English manor. The *gesis*, who was a lord to the conquered people, was but a captain and president to his own kindred. This striking parallel is from Grote, *History of Greece*, c. 94. He quotes Plutarch, *Fortun. Alex. M.* p. 329; οὐ γὰρ, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης συνεβούλευεν αὐτῷ, τοῖς μὲν Ἑλλησιν ἡγεμονικῶς τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις δεσποτικῶς χρώμενον, . . . ἀλλὰ κοινὸς ἦκειν θεόθεν ἀρμοστής καὶ διαλλακτὴς τῶν ὄλων νομίζων, κ.τ.λ.



When the CEORLAS received their land, they proceeded to divide and administer it according to traditional rules, subject however to this additional circumstance that they were planted as an army corps, and transacted all their affairs under the ruling hand of a commander, that is to say, under the presidency of a commissioned officer. The military character of that officer continued for centuries, and even outlived the Norman Conquest; but a civil character was engrafted upon the military character, as this officer was held responsible for legality and local order towards his superior *drihten*, the *hundredes ealdor*.

That which has occasioned the difficulty in the history of the manor is its composite nature, but this difficulty exists only on the assumption of perfect simplicity and equality at the outset;—the difficulty vanishes if the manor had a composite origin. The military officer settled with a suitable provision by the side of his company is the lord by the side of free owners. We have not to resort to any theory of encroachment on the part of some overgrown ceorl, as the votaries of the historical theory have found it necessary to do; nor need we make the lord the generous source of free rights as in the legal theory; nor thirdly, we are not driven to base the growth of a common agriculture upon the sagacious ingenuity of landlords as Mr. Seeböhm does. All the essential parts and members of the manor are found in the germ of the original institution.

This view is quite compatible with the acceptance of almost all that recent authors have said about community of land and rotation of tenure; all that system which we now understand by the ‘Village Community.’

That system has been abundantly evidenced by modern agricultural Reports, which have directed public attention to the remaining traces of common-field cultivation in association with manors. The time is hardly beyond the reach of living memory when this system was still prevalent in some parts of the country. The reconstructed picture of the life of our first colonists on the 'Village Community' plan is true so far as it goes, but it is not the whole truth. By the side of, and in a kind of presidential authority over, this agricultural republic was seated a lord, who had his own separate domain and an establishment of slaves and of tenants in various degrees of servitude or of personal dependence upon his will.

In later times, when tenures are described by legists, we find the manor in possession of two courts, the court baron and the customary court of the copyholders. This duality of administration within the manor is the natural and mature outcome of a duality that was stamped upon the primal settlement. The court baron is the original court of the free settlers under a president; the second court is a development, and this development consists wholly in the growth and expansion of new rights to the limitation of that absolute power which the lord enjoyed at the outset<sup>1</sup>.

The modern manor with its two courts and two systems of agriculture existing and working along side by side is but the faithful conservation of the original

<sup>1</sup> My subject does not require me to speak of the Court Leet, because it was not inseparably incident to a Manor of common right, as the Court Baron was. I gladly pass it by, because I can find no light upon its history. Dr. Stubbs can only say that the grant of *sac* and *soc* is probably the basis of the Court Leet. *Const. Hist.*, i. 85.

type. These two courts are the organs of the two groups of population, which may perhaps at one time have been discriminated by the two terms which are now used synonymously, namely, *township* and *vill*. The township is the settlement of the free men, the rank and file of the conquering nation; the vill is (I apprehend) the seat of their captain, as a territorial lord. And what the lord was in his village or his batch of villages that the king was over the nation. Both are of the same moment and of the same motive. Much of the enquiry into the Growth of the Royal Prerogative might have been spared, if it had been seen that the royal office was military in its inception, and hence we might expect to see it elevated and imperial in its nature, even at the earliest date at which evidence begins to be available<sup>1</sup>. The royal character is a natural development from that of a chieftain with his council of war around him<sup>2</sup>.

Most surely Kemble's instinct led him right, when he fixed upon the *gesîðas* as an order of men around whom the problem revolved. These are the words in which he

<sup>1</sup> Æthelberht's Laws, cap. 8, 15. Stubbs, *Const. History*, § 71. Gneist has a note on the clever monograph of Allen, 'Inquiry into the rise and growth of the Royal Prerogative in England' (1830), in which he says: 'In the background one can perceive in this author the idea of usurpation and a continual dislike of monarchy; everything that is immature and anomalous in the development of kingly power he accordingly places in the foreground.' *The History of the English Constitution*, tr. Ashworth, vol. i. p. 17. The same kind of prejudice is only too perceptible in Kemble. It sometimes leads him into extravagant errors (as it seems to me) of interpretation, or at least helps to content and confirm him in them; e.g. *Cod. Dipl. Introduction*, pp. 53, 56.

<sup>2</sup> The history of the Council after the Norman Conquest is developed in the Arnold Prize Essay of 1860 by Mr. Dicey; entitled *The Privy Council*. Republished 1887 (Macmillan).

introduces us to the *gesîð*. 'As the proper name for the freeman is *CEORL*, and that for the born noble *EORL*, so is the true word for the *comes* or comrade, *GESÎÐ*.' As much as to say, that *gesîð* is a term of such significance as claims to rank third by the side of those two words which represent the most radical and exhaustive distinction in the early composition of free society<sup>1</sup>.

This is a profound observation, and one that was by no means self-evident; but the statement is not matured to that aphoristic lucidity which renders exposition superfluous. Consequently, some explanation is needed to bring out its meaning and application, and to win for it due estimation as a guiding historic sentence. For it is not plain on every aspect of the case that *gesîð* has a claim to be brought near to *eorl* and *ceorl*, those matchless patriarchal designations. Indeed at the first glimpse we are rather struck by a glaring disparity of condition between this third term and the elder two. Each of these absolutely covers its own field, and there is no synonym for either; whereas *gesîð* is by no means singular as a word for *comes*. On the contrary, the group

<sup>1</sup> 'The origin of the distinction it is in vain to search after; the difference of the *Eorl* and the *Ceorl* is a primary fact from which we start; it is as old as the earliest notices of Teutonic institutions; and the only attempt at its explanation is to be found in an ingenious mythical story in a Northern Saga.' Freeman, *N. G.*, i. 88. The story referred to is the *Rígsmað*, for which see Vigfusson and Powell, *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, vol. i. p. 234 ff. It should be observed that 'eorl' here is not a title of nobility, but the common designation of an upper class, a superior order in free society; this word does not appear in England as a title until the eleventh century, and then it is an adaptation of the Scandinavian 'Jarl.' Still more important is it to keep the Saxon *comes* distinct from the *Comes* of the Normans, which still stands for the Latin equivalent of the titular 'Earl.' The so-called 'Asser' has this *Comes*; and it is ominous.

of words importing companion is so numerous as to obscure the fact that amidst such a vocabulary of comradeship there was one word and one only which represented *comes* in the Tacitean sense, and in the sense which interests the constitutional historian. It was Alfred's employment of the word to translate the titular *comes* of Beda that led Kemble to the discovery which he has embodied in the above dictum.

The most ordinary word for companion is *GEFERA*, from *faran* to go. Etymologically, this is the most exact representative of *comes*. It is obliquely represented in the German *Gefährte*. In 421 we have the signature of a 'cinges gefera.'

In the poetic literature we have *GESTEALLA*, one who shares the same place (*steal*); *eaxl gestealla*, companion at a prince's shoulder; *fyrd gestealla*, marching comrade; *hand gestealla*, close companion; *lind gestealla*, shield-fellow; *will gestealla*, chosen comrade.

A rarer poetic word is *GESELLA*, dweller in the same hall (*sál*); whence *hand gesella* in the *Beowulf*. Current as an ordinary word in German *Geselle*.

An uncommon word is *GEÞOFTA*, of obscure etymology, which is glossed *colibertus*, *contubernalis*, *cliens*.

A word of great importance is *GENÉAT*, which is extinct in modern English, but lives in Dutch *genootschap*, and German *Genosse* companion, *Genossenschaft* society. It is connected with *NÉOTAN* enjoy, and it rests upon the idea of fellowship in domestic accommodations, especially the common fire and the common board. The phrases are *BÉOD GENÉAT* table-companion, *EALD GENÉAT* old comrade, *HEORÐ GENÉAT* hearth-fellow; the first and third in *Beowulf*, the other in *Maldon*.

But of all this set of words the one which has had the longest and most prominent career is GERÉFA, still extant in English *reeve*, and the second part of *sheriff* scĪR GERĒFA, a word which Grimm's derivation (*Rechtsalterthümer*, 753) based upon the shelter of a common roof and rafter. If phonetic laws exclude this etymology, the derivation from an adj. RÔF excellent, seems contrary to analogy<sup>1</sup>. In the Parker Glossary (8th century) occurs the entry '*Proceres*, geroefan<sup>2</sup>.' It seems to be generally agreed that any connection of this word with the Frankish *graphio* and the German title of nobility Graf must be abandoned, and that these words are to be traced back to the Greek γράφειν write<sup>3</sup>.

We come now to the term which alone is capable of ranking with EORL and CEORL, namely GESİÐ. In Moeso-Gothic it appears as gasintha, from sinthan to travel; —the *n*, which in our word is merged, retains its place in the modern German Gesinde and its diminutive Gesindel. The present signification of these words in current German takes a humble range, but this is perhaps due to degeneracy, as the figure which the word makes in the Lombard laws implies a certain dignity, not unlike that of the English GESİÐ<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Kemble himself, who is the author of this derivation, did not like the adjective for a source, and therefore he feigned a substantive *rôf* clamor. *Saxons*, ii. 154. His two arguments against Grimm's derivation seem to me unsatisfactory, both of them.

<sup>2</sup> At an early date this word became so official that we seldom find it in its first sense of companion. It is, however, sometimes intermixed and confused with GEFERA in the MSS., and in particular may be mentioned the *Law of Ine*, 63, where HIS GERĒFAN is in the Latin version rendered *socios suos*.

<sup>3</sup> Weigand, v. *Graf*; Skeat, v. *Reeve*.

<sup>4</sup> In a Table of Wergilds:—'Gasindius maximus .ccc. solidi. Gasindius minimus .cc. solidi.' See Robertson, *Scotland's Early Kings*, ii. 278.

In Middle High German the *Gesinde* is a military companion or man-at-arms, and this is apparently the sense which the word had commonly borne at the departure of the Saxons from their mother country. It was natural that this word should rise in value and get intensified through the organisation and struggle of the invasion, where I apprehend the general term for the well-born officers was *GESÍÐ*. Of all the titles of companionship hitherto enumerated none but *GESÍÐ* seems to have been capable of the most familiar and affectionate epithet—‘*swæse gesiðas*,’ as it is in *Beowulf*. But what particularly justifies the aphorism of Kemble, is the fact that this term actually supplanted the term *EORL* as a designation of the noble in contradistinction to the commoner. I do not know that a clear instance of *EORL* in this original sense can be found after the *Laws of Aethelberht*, though there are many passages where it might seem so to the unwary reader.

In the early laws, the *GESÍÐ* appears as the local police officer. In the *Laws of Ine* (before A.D. 694) it is assumed and implied that there is in every township a *gesið*. This is a universal institution; the local administration of public order rests everywhere upon the *gesiðas*.

One of the most important functions that devolved upon the *gesið* was the outlook against banished men, a duty which implied the cognizance of strangers in general. The harbouring of such outlaws was called *flymena fyrmð*, and this is a crime of which we learn the importance by the numerous and emphatic repetition of the sanctions. The penalties were at first ruinous, but they appear to have grown more lenient with the progress of society and the growth of security. What demands our attention at this point is the remarkable

fact that the penalty fell not only upon the actual offender, but likewise, and with equal weight too, upon the *gesiðman*. Thus it is laid down *Ine* 30: 'If a man of ceorl's degree be charged with harbouring a fugitive, let him clear himself on penalty of his wergild. If he cannot clear himself, let him redeem himself with his own wergild, and the *gesiðman* do likewise with his wergild.' The meaning of this is plain. The *gesið* ought to be so vigilant as to know what is going on; and if the law is infringed without his knowledge, such ignorance in a chief official makes him partner in the guilt.

Nor is this the only text which evidences the stringency of the *gesiðman*'s obligations as a guardian of the public peace. In *Ine* 50 we read: 'If a *gesiðcund* man makes peace with the king or the king's alderman for members of his community, or if it be with his lord that he makes peace for unfree or free, he, the *gesið*, takes no share of the fine in such a case, because he did not choose to keep people out of mischief at home.' Here we see that the *gesið* had ordinarily his share of fines arising from the administration of justice in his district, and this is in itself a magisterial privilege. We learn moreover from *Ine* 23, that the *gesið* shared escheats with the king himself. 'If a foreigner is slain, the king has two-thirds of his wergild; the other third goes to his son or relations. If he has no relations, the king has half, and the *gesið* half.'

Who then were these *GESIÐAS* who constituted an order of such national importance, whose ranks supplied the entire staff of the primary local magistracy; and how came this title to import so much more in English than in any cognate dialect? My surmise (already



implied) is, that they are the original captains and officers of the Conquest of Wessex, men of eorlisc birth, the co-adventurers who organised and led the invasion, and who obtained a share of the conquered soil duly proportionate to their services or contributions to the successful venture<sup>1</sup>.

All we know of the *gesîð* is in perfect keeping with the character of a military officer, who had naturally developed into a local prefect of police. But while the ordinary duties of the *gesîð* in time of peace were of a police nature, this does not alter the fact that his function is primarily and essentially military. He is a military officer to whom in the relaxation or rather intermission of military duties a district of police administration has been assigned. I say intermission, because I imagine that garrisons were still kept up in every Hundred or small group of Hundreds, and that every village was required to march out its contingent when the season of the year came round. On such occasions of muster the same band of men would supply the garrison as soldiers (*FIERD*), and work at repairs of forts and bridges in the district around, and thus the obligations of their tenure as described in the *trinoda necessitas* would be discharged<sup>2</sup>.

We saw above that Kemble had joined the term *GESÎÐ*

<sup>1</sup> It is not without force as a parallel, that the warrior kings of Macedonia conferred upon their choice and favourite troops, the heavy cavalry, composed wholly or chiefly of native Macedonians, the honorary designation of The Companions. Grote, *History of Greece*, c. 92.

<sup>2</sup> We catch a glimpse of the local military administration in Sax. Chr. 894 (p. 92m of my ed.) where the king's thanes are seen 'at home,' that is to say, posted in their several garrisons (*æt hām at þam geweorcum*). Compare also 'of þam niehstum burgum.' Chr. 921 (p. 106b). These 'works' and 'burghs' I apprehend to be no other than the green earthworks so familiar to our eye all over the country.

comes, on to the two terms EORL and CEORL, which expressed the first simple division of free society. It has a vital relation to those terms. For the GESÍÐAS were an order of men who sprang out of the eorlisc ranks but gained a new distinction by special service. Presently we see the term EORL drops out of use, and remains only as a word in Epic poetry<sup>1</sup>. Widely different the fortunes of these two cardinal terms EORL and CEORL, for while the latter kept its place all through, the former was supplanted in life by a series of substitutes. Already in *Wihtraed* 5, we see the *gesiðcund man* and the *ciorlisc* divide society: the same in *Ine* 51, 54. From the time of Ine the gesið disappears from our laws, and after lingering a moment in the Alfredian literature is lost altogether<sup>2</sup>. The term which steps into its place is þEGEN, and in 229 h we may see all free society comprised in þEGENAS and CEORLAS. After the Saxon period we see another term figuring as the antithesis of CEORL, namely *knight*; in the thirteenth century everybody was either of knightly or of churlish blood. This term had its growth and character impressed on it in the Saxon period, though it does not yet make a prominent figure. See Glossarial Index, v. Cniht. In the thousand years from the fifth to the fifteenth century we see a train of words succeeding one another in the same office, and if they fail to be absolute equivalents, it is because of changes in the times, and not in the relative social incidence of the terms. These words are, eorl, gesið,thane, knight, squire, gentleman. The last two run abreast.

<sup>1</sup> It should be noticed that with Cnut came in a secondary use of EORL, its titular use, which though written in Saxon form is really the Scandinavian 'Jarl.' See 229 l.

<sup>2</sup> With one remarkable exception, to be noticed below. See p. lxxvii.

The functions of this order of men were rather indefinite, and upon this quality their peculiar usefulness hinged. The *gesîð* had not much, if any, routine administration, but a general responsibility that things should go right. Others called out the Fierd, others witnessed bargains or fined trespassers, others parcelled out the fencing or gave the ploughs their daily task ;— but the *Gesîð* meanwhile took account of the military duty and of the administration of the law, and of the fair conduct of the co-tillage. If any dispute arose, he was looked to as the arbiter ; if a question of law, he was the interpreter. While minor officials administered the rigid letter of the law, he was there to supply the element of elasticity when occasion arose. In later days when the manorial courts were presided over by the steward, the lord still retained the prerogative of equity ; he was chancellor in his dominion<sup>1</sup>.

The bearings and influence of such an order extended upwards and downwards. To them the people looked up as to their natural leaders, through them opened the vista from the plough to the throne, and the sense of national unity was cultivated or sustained. Much of the spirit of this office has in later centuries passed into the ranks of the parochial clergy, who in some sense were instituted by, and who for some purposes now are the genuine representatives of, the early *gesîðas*. For it is to such an instrumentality that we must trace the hitherto imperfectly explained establishment of our parishes. The parish priest was at first a priest engaged by the *gesîð* and his people for the regular administration among them of the word and sacraments. In this, which

<sup>1</sup> Scriven, *On Copyholds*, p. 339 ; and Index v. Court Baron.

seems to me the only possible explanation, lies also the history and the reason of lay patronage<sup>1</sup>.

An expressive memorial of this relation is often seen in the contiguity of the manor house to the church. In

<sup>1</sup> A signal light upon this early relation between squire and parson is afforded by the Donation of Æthelwulf. Kemble is altogether in confusion about the meaning of that act; though in sweeping away the notion, prevalent since Selden, that it was somehow the establishment of tithes, he did good service. Moreover, we thankfully acknowledge his excellent catalogue of the materials, *Saxons* ii. 480 ff. Besides the notices in historians, he refers to eleven documents in Cod. Dipl., viz. 270, 271, 275, 276, 1048, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1057. To these eleven we may now add four more from Mr. Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, namely, Numbers 471, 474, 483, 485; so that we have fifteen diplomatic writings touching the Donation of Æthelwulf. A comparative study divides these into three classes, viz. (1) K 270, 271, 1050, 1054, and B C 471, 474; (2) K 275, 1048, and B C 483, 485; (3) K 276 (p. 336), 1051, 1052, 1053, 1057 (p. 349). (Only two of these are among the texts printed in this book; in fact, I did not know what to make of them, and the light I now have has come to me in the course of the work.) The third class consists of late fabrications, which just avail themselves of the Donation of Æthelwulf for colour's sake. In these we may catch a phrase or two that reflect a genuine source, like *pro decimatione agrorum quam cæteris ministris meis facere decreri*, 336 l. The second class is united in itself and distinguished from the rest, by the rare word *witeræden* in the clause of exemption from services; as also by a Preamble of more than common reality, which may indeed have stood at the opening of the original Donation; and further, they agree in a general characterisation of the act, *consilium salubre ac remedium uniforme affirmavi*. Of the first class it will be enough to say that they all contain the following lines with almost exact agreement:—*consilium salubre cum episcopis comitibus et cunctis optimatibus meis perfecti, ut decimam partem terrarum per regnum nostrum non solum sanctis ecclesiis darem verum etiam et ministris nostris in eodem [v.l. eisdem] constitutis*. These, combined with other scattered indications, all in Kemble as above referred to, point to the following conclusion. The king granted to each local and residentiary squire a tenth part of the spare and available lands in his district, part for himself and part for religious purposes, namely, the maintenance of the clergy, the sustentation of the fabric, and the relief of the poor; and if there be any parishes which possess lands traditionally devoted to any of these purposes, their history being unknown, it is possible they may date from Æthelwulf's Donation. (PS. A

recently formed parishes the parsonage is, if possible, placed next the church; but in those ancient parishes which grew by nature and without design, the grouping of the church with the manor house is the typical arrangement. This manor house may be taken in bulk to represent the seat of the *gesith* or *thane*; and there are places where, the manor house having changed site, the earthworks of the Saxon mansion are still extant. Local archaeologists will do well to form a habit of looking over the church-yard wall. The most remarkable instance known to me is that of Laughton in the West Riding. Earls Barton in Northamptonshire, the place with the remarkable Saxon tower, has a mound and ditch which tell the same story. Such a Saxon mansion was often the successor of a Roman villa. In Mr. Seeböhm's map of Wymondley, in Hertfordshire, we see, as it seems to me, the banks of a Saxon fortified house outside the church-yard wall, on a site richly stored with Roman remains.

The admirable cementing of society which was thus achieved was probably due to no one man's policy, but to the half-conscious wisdom of national instinct. Perhaps it may have been partly a continuation, partly an improvement upon a like distribution of *eorl* and *ceorl* in the old country. It is dangerous for the state when two widely differing conditions of men live side by side without constitutional provision for their sound mutual relations and their healthy influence upon one another:

sixteenth instance of *Æthelwulf's* Donation is preserved in the Register of Sherborne Abbey, now in the Phillips Library at Cheltenham. It is neither in Kemble nor Birch; but it is (minus the preamble) in Hearne's Collections, now being edited by Mr. Doble for the Oxford Historical Society; vol. iii. p. 450; with a sight of which I have been kindly favoured.)

—as in the France of last century and the Ireland of this.

It may surprise the reader to learn, that the *gesîð* whose traces have been so carefully followed, does not appear by that name so much as once in all our land-charters. This, however, is only because the grants are expressed in Latin, for the grantee is sometimes styled *comes*, which is the equivalent of *gesîð*, and sometimes he is styled *minister*, i. e. *þegen*, a title which, as we saw, succeeded to *gesîð*. For all purposes of constitutional argument the *comes* and the *minister* are identical. Whether under the one or the other title, these grants are directed towards the endowment of a local squirearchy, as a guarantee of legality and order, and as a means of embracing in a body politic all the parts of a scattered population. If we have in our hands fewer grants made to *comes* or *minister* than of those which were made in favour of religious houses, this is not because the latter were historically the more numerous, but because they have had better chances of preservation. The monastic grants are not the types, but they are rather to be considered as an imitation and a variety of those which were made to lay hands. The whole must be looked upon as a general movement and as the expression of a policy for which a demand was felt, and perhaps a demand that was always still in advance and never quite overtaken by the progress of endowments<sup>1</sup>.

In the generations next after the first Conquest, the primary settlements sent off new swarms. It is in

<sup>1</sup> In confirmation of the general view here taken of the order of society, I may point to a remarkable passage in 37 b, 40 h, where *comes*, *presbyter*, *diaconus*, *clericus*, *monachus*, stand in that order, as a list of persons removable from office.

these, planted without circumstance of war, that we must look for the reproduction of the simple Mark, the lordless village Community. That there were townships in the country without squires we can see by Domesday, where we read from time to time of an estate held as a Manor by two, or five, or nine freemen<sup>1</sup>! When we come upon such a case we seem to see a settlement upon the simplest plan, without a *gesið*, as in Kemble's Mark. But the recognized policy was, to follow the type which war had initiated, and to plant a royally commissioned officer by the side of each rural community.

The real difficulty of our problem is to reconcile this manorial jurisdiction with the functions of the Hundred. The *gesið* was plainly subordinated to the *Hundredes ealdor*, and that functionary was his immediate *ealdorman*. But the incidence of subordination is obscure, and especially the relation of the Manor to the *Hynden* or original Tithing.

The area of the Hundred framed within itself a complete system of magistracy and local authority both military and civil. With no clerks, no writers to speak of, all transactions were in community. Not a head of cattle could change hands, but the tithing-man and witnesses must take account of it. The business of one was the business of all. All life was communal, and the ranks were interwoven. With the king's representative always in view, and yet the daily administration of so popular a kind that it was shared in turn by all 'true' men, there grew up that full and neighbourly understanding which constitutes mutual confidence and makes a nation compact.

It is to this consolidating internal policy that I would

<sup>1</sup> Only here again, have we caught the true sense of '*liberi homines*'?

attribute the ultimate supremacy of Wessex. When everything else was dissolved, Wessex alone proved equal to check the Danes in the maturing stages of a victorious career. The subsequent union of the country made the system of Wessex the system of the whole: and this has been the making of England, and the basis of national sturdiness.

And as strength lay in the native policy of combination, so Cnut's subdivision into provinces proved when his strong hand was withdrawn to be a mere disruption which gave the next invader an easy victory.

Our national solidity was however to prove its mettle in the ordeal of the Norman Conquest and its sequel. In the Saxon period the nation had made that healthy and robust growth which enabled it, when apparently overwhelmed by the invader, to assimilate what it liked of the foreign element, and not to be assimilated by it.

The provision made for the *gesith* forwards us another step in the history of the land-settlement. So far as the *Ethel* and the *Hide*, there is no appearance of the instrumentality of written records. All facts affecting property were so patent, the habits of life were so interdependent among the members of the community that the common memory was a sufficient archive. Our people in the old country had used no writings for the transaction of business, whether conveyancing, testamentary, or otherwise. But, now, having become masters of this island, they had come within the pale of Roman civilization, and here it becomes a question of great curiosity and interest whether we should say that they gradually adopted the legal usages which they found established in their new country, or whether we should rather say that the usage of the Roman world was



first brought home to them along with other Roman influences at the Conversion. In either case we here encounter a new institution, and one of which it is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance. Hereditary estates, having all the desirable attributes of Ethelland, were created by government charter.

When the king and his witan made such a grant from the folkland, the concession was written on a sheet of parchment, and that sheet, in Latin *pagina*, *libellus*, *scriptura*, *documentum*, *cartula*, was in the vernacular called BÔC a book; and the nature of the tenure so created is expressed by the name of BÔC LAND. These grants carry with them the general purport of being made in consideration of services of a superior kind, and they are given with seigneurial rights (*liberaliter*), and with exemption from a variety of services which we shall have to consider presently. These land-grants are something more than conveyances, they are the creation of a parliamentary title, and the approved parallel is a private Act of Parliament<sup>1</sup>.

There is one attribute which we must particularly notice as an eminent distinction of bookland, namely this, that it carried with it the power of testamentary disposition which Ethelland did not. Every land-book has a clause of this type—*ita ut cuicumque voluerit post se heredi derelinquat*—so that he may leave it to what heir he will after his day. Examples 124 h, 133 m, 140 h, 142 l, 173 l. This attribute differentiates bookland from the conditions of feudal tenancy. In both cases the owner is an officer settled on land, and the circumstances have enough in common to account for the difficulty which some writers have experienced in discriminating

<sup>1</sup> Kemble, *Saxons*, i. 305. Pollock, *Land Laws* (ed. 1), p. 191.

them. But this testamentary freedom of bookland, which implies a power of alienation, is an incident of full ownership which was denied to the feudal tenant.

Besides its direct information, the clause just quoted has also an indirect and collateral value; it not only tells us of the rights of bookland, but it implies (by the fact of its careful insertion) that there were tenures with different conditions. And this difference is further emphasized by the word *immunis* which enters into this clause in the course of the tenth century:—*et post se cuicumque sibi placuerit heredi immunem derelinquat*, and after his time he may leave it to what heir he will un-subject to payment, 209 l, 293 h. Here we perceive that there were lands which if devised by testament were subject to a payment. These were the loan-lands, and this payment is seen in the Wills, and it is that which became the Relevium.

This grant of full ownership is followed by a separate clause (sometimes distinguished by a Cross of its own, e.g. 133 l) of exemption from all services except the inevitable and universal three. Examples 173 l, 181 h, 194 m, 209 l. This clause again conveys to us not only direct, but also indirect information. It not only describes a privilege of bookland, but it also reflects a side-light upon the tenure of those who had læns on the folkland, a tenure which is here the tacit object of comparison.

The general aim was to establish the nation according to its immemorial traditions in the two classes of eorl and ceorl, gentle and simple, that the whole population might be always in presence of a superior, that a gradation of ranks might be provided, as a guarantee of legality and social order. The inherited distinction

between noble and freeman was not only perpetuated, but was probably systematized as it never had been before, and this as an immediate consequence of the logic of events. To convert an army into a civil society is an undertaking that calls for the maintenance of discipline, and this discipline was carried out by the *gesíðas*. In the *Laws of Ine*, § 51, we see two classes of these officers, one landowning (*landâgende*) and the other not landowners (*unlandâgende*). I understand by the latter such *gesíðas* as had no family estate, whether ethel or bookland ; but were provided for in the common field. I conjecture that such a *gesíð* would have a double portion, namely two Hides.

The *gesíðas* were at first only so many military and police officers stationed at the villages over the land ; and some, perhaps the bulk of them, remained to the end of the period, with little change in their condition. Even these however acquired the prevalent title of *Thanes* (*þegenas*), and gained some degree of political ascendancy over the *ceorlas* beyond what was native to the original constitution. The advance which was gained by this more stationary section of the *gesíðas* was so much taken away from the powers of the original *Hynden* or *Tithing*, a sub-division which was the first to fall into desuetude. But the more favoured section of the *gesíðas* acquired a jurisdiction which supplanted the original functions of the Hundred itself ; and these may perhaps represent the estates which in modern times have been called *Honours*, by a translation of the Saxon term *ÁR* or *LAND ÁR*. And in this connection we find the term *GESÍÐ* not quite extinct in the twelfth century, for it crops up in the so-called *Laws of Henry I* (vi. 1) in the compound *síðes sócn* (as if *gesíðes sócn*).

There we read:—*Ipsi vero comitatus in centurias et sipes-socna distinguuntur; centuriæ vel hundreta in decanias vel decimas et in dominorum plegios.* i.e. The shires are divided into Hundreds and Sith-Sokens; the Hundreds into Tithings and dominical wards<sup>1</sup>. And this may account for the fact that there were seven Hundreds in Worcester-shire, which the king's sheriff had nothing to do with<sup>2</sup>.

It was a view of policy to endow the eorlas as an upper class of locally resident gentry, not suddenly by one enactment, but progressively as townships grew in importance, and as public servants gave proof of ability or merit. Of the way in which the FOLC LAND—which did not become BÔC LAND, but remained FOLC LAND—was dealt with, our texts give us no direct information. These transactions were not written, and our knowledge is to be gathered from incidental notices<sup>3</sup>. Our chief

<sup>1</sup> I might claim that this compound *sipes-socna*, in this context, imports the whole doctrine of the identity of the Manor with the Soken of the Gesith. But the text lies under some disadvantages of transmission, which may for a time retard its complete recognition. In the first place the Code in which it occurs is not authoritative, nor is it contemporary with Henry I, but it is a later and a private compilation, the credit of which must depend upon the criticism of its contents. Next, the writing of the MS. is *sipessocna*, from which *sipes socna* is an emendation. But these objections are met by observing, First, that the *Leges Henrici I* are judged to be no later than the middle of the 12th century, and that the paragraph in question bears every mark of validity; Secondly, that the confusion between *p* and *s* is so usual as to count for little or nothing; and Thirdly, that the harmony of the passage with our best evidences, and the flood of light which it lets in upon our local institutions, are such as to dissipate any remainder of uncertainty.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *C. H.*, § 47; quoting *Domesday*, i. 172.

<sup>3</sup> There is no extant deed which deals with *folc land* as such; it is only mentioned incidentally in deeds of *bôc land*. A chief text is that of A.D. 858 where the king exchanges land with a thane; the land he gives is to be discharged 'ab omni servitute regali operis,' as had already happened to the land he receives. Both estates were manifestly taken from *folc land*, one at the actual date, the other previously.

text is printed below (pp. 149-151, and note), and we gather from it that it could not be held by a woman, and was not hereditary, and could not be testamentarily devised, but that the continuation of it in the family depended on the will of the king. Such a tenure was called a *LÆN* i. e. loan, and the word was used in the same sense in German *Lehen*, which has not become obsolete, but still survives both in the simple form and in a multitude of compounds redolent of old feudal relations.

The leading characteristic of *læn* land was this, that the lender never finally divested himself of his original right, and the land was always liable in certain contingencies to revert to the original owner or his representative. In the bulk of instances the owner was the State, and we see it reverting to the State in p. 149, where it seems to be in the power of the king (naturally in *gemôt*) to decree its continuance in the family. There is no reason to think that the succession was ordinarily disturbed; but the holder of loan-land had not a legal right of testamentary bequest.

When *folc land* became *læn land* it seems to have remained liable to certain burdens peculiar to itself, and which are in keeping with its nature<sup>1</sup>. Being essentially national property it might be used when required by the king and his chief officers; it was bound to help when a house had to be built for the king's service; and we see special remission of such obligations e. g. p. 100 l, 112 m, 140 h, 397 l. It is a like class of burdens from which the land is exempted that *Æthelwulf* got

<sup>1</sup> The affinity between the liabilities and the nature of the property seems to have suggested the expression in K 118, 'tributum publicallium rerum.'

booked to himself (p. 120 m); but here we gather that one of the burdens incident to such land was to aid in the execution of justice, as in the pursuit and capture of a thief. To be exempted from such liabilities Eadulf, bishop of Crediton, gave to Athelstan in the year 933 sixty pounds of silver (p. 170 h).

Our evidences justify us in saying that it was a recognised principle that this land, being public, must be employed in the public behoof, whether as reward of public services done in the past, or as a retainer and guarantee for the future discharge of such services. That such a principle was acted upon can be sufficiently demonstrated. The largest recorded grant of folkland is found in the Chronicle under A.D. 648, where we read that Cenwalh gave to his relative Cuthred 'iij þusendo londes be Æsces dune.' The name of Ashdown still survives on the Berkshire hills to the south of Didcot, and the grant probably represents a large part of that county. It seems clear that there was a military obligation attached to the grant; that this territory was the bastion of Wessex against the dreaded power of Mercia, and that the corollary of Cuthred's possession was the defence of that border, and a constant posture of vigilance against invasion. Presently, in 661, Wulfhere, the king of Mercia, did invade the territory and harried it, but got no further than Ashdown. Again, in 871, we find the Danes arrested in their westward course at Ashdown, and they have to fight a great battle there.

A less conspicuous instance of the same principle is that where, in A.D. 997, a grant of bookland in Cornwall is made subject to coast-guard duties, which obligation is incorporated in the *trinoda necessitas* clause, 295 l. These are extraordinary cases, but they

seem to furnish evidence of the principle which was understood to rule all dealings with the public land.

Our chief source of information as to the kind of duties which were ordinarily and normally attached to the enjoyment of a læn on the folkland is found in the clauses of exemption for those privileged beneficiaries who received their lands subject to duties of a higher order. The ordinary beneficiary was liable to be called upon to entertain the king and those in authority under him, and to furnish such persons with a house of call when they were upon their journeys in the public service. *Inter alia*, they had to provide for the 'fæsting men,' perhaps the relays of men who garrisoned the forts and acted as a rural police; then they owed to their chief patron the king some gratifications as if he were their private landlord, such as the fostering of dogs and falcons; and generally they would seem to have been at his service in all that concerned the appliances of sport. So even to our own day has it been no uncommon thing for a tenant-farmer to have about him a couple or so of young foxhounds which he keeps and rears for his landlord's use. In those days the sitter on a læn not only kept the dogs but the dog-keepers too. A more important and onerous duty was laid on the holders of these lands. They were bound to aid the executive in the prosecution of justice against criminals, even if we may not almost say that they largely constituted the executive of the criminal law. This part of their duty was called *WITE RÆDEN*, in Latin *res penales* criminal concerns. It seems they had to pursue and capture a malefactor and presumably to undertake his custody until he could be brought to justice.

A good illustration of these liabilities may be seen (1001) where the king says :—‘ Moreover I will free the aforesaid land from all subjection in worldly matters, from entertaining the king, bishops, lords, aldormen, bailiffs, keepers of hounds, horses, hawks ; from boarding and lodging all those who are called “fæsting men,” from all services works burdens or inconveniences—what more or less shall I enumerate or say?—from all liabilities greater and less, known and unknown, let the land remain in all respects free for evermore, excepting these four things which now I will name : expedition against pagan enemies, bridge-building, fort-making or removing.’

Again, 1261, the king grants exemption in the following terms : ‘ in such a manner that from all over-lordship of royal tributes and compulsory works and criminal concerns and thief-capturing and every worldly burden, saving alone fyrd and bridge-building and burg-making, it is to remain secure and exempt, &c.’

In K1063 the exemption is thus worded :—‘ *liberam ab omnibus terrenis difficultatibus omnium gravitudinum, sive a pastu regis, principis, exactoris, et ab omni aedificiorum opere, tributo, a parvaredis, a taxationibus quod dicimus witeredenne, omnium rerum secularium perpetualiter libera sit, excepta expeditione et pontis aedificatione,*’ etc. That is : the land to be free from every burden in the nature of a land-tax, from entertaining king, prince, reeve, and from all building work, tribute, post-horses, from the liabilities called *WITE RÆDEN*, etc. The obligation to pay ‘gafol’ in kind for the provisioning of the king’s villas is sometimes given in detail, e. g. 311 b<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> What relation this has (if any) with the tenure now known as



The tenant of such a læn on the folkland, if his farm was near the chief routes, must have had to keep open house perpetually, and this was probably one of the means of forming our good old-fashioned country inns which of late years have become so rare. In K 261 we see the English word for this indefinite obligation, namely CUMFEORM, which in K 258 is thus expressed in Latin, 'ab hospitorum [i. e. hospitum] refectione,' from providing refreshment for callers, presumably only callers who are on the road in the public service<sup>1</sup>.

It resulted from this state of things that fiscal difficulties were unknown; there was no annual revenue to be raised. All things were consumed where they arose; there was no system of collecting provision to a centre, or of dispensing it from a centre. The king and his court made their stated progresses from one royal vill to another, and enjoyed the fruits of the earth where they had grown. All expenses of government and administration were met by the proceeds of land on the ground where they were incurred, first of all by the system of the *trinoda necessitas*, and next by the obligations of the sitters on the læn lands. As all holders of land were bound to a yearly term of military service, and as they actually did serve even in peace, there was always a ready means of bringing an army into the field. Even the navy was supplied by local means. Every county had to produce its contingent of ships according to its hidage, and the minor details of arming and outfitting were conducted on the same footing. We find no instance of general taxation earlier than A.D. 991, when

Gavelkind, I will not here enquire;—I will only point to an uncommon passage in 334 b, which may possibly have some bearing upon it.

<sup>1</sup> For more examples 133 b, 140 h.

ten thousand pounds were collected to buy off the Danes; this happened during the reign of Æthelred five times altogether, and these are the only instances of public imposts in money which we meet with in the Anglo-Saxon period. So completely did the land-system provide for all the branches of public expenditure<sup>1</sup>.

Such was the general plan of the distribution of the land in the Saxon period. So far as I can judge, it was politic and economical;—calculated to favour industry and good neighbourhood, and likewise to promote the moral and religious improvement of the people. That it was well adapted to educate a nation politically, and that it did so educate them, needs hardly be said. The History of England is the sufficient vindication of the wisdom of our early institutions.

I do not forget that there were abuses, and that the abuses had serious consequences. We know that in course of time some families possessed an altogether disproportionate share of land (222 h), and it is not difficult to imagine the sort of arts by which influential men might accumulate grants of bookland or lænland. It was indeed this, joined to the excessive development of private jurisdictions, which made the richer nobles too powerful, and reduced the king to isolation and impotence. It was this that caused the wretchedness of the later reigns, this that gave William his opportunity, and it was just this that his policy rectified, by reinstating the king in a position from which he might not only reign but also govern.

<sup>1</sup> On this subject, how much was done without the medium of money, see Freeman, *N. C.*, i. 369, on the assessment for raising a fleet in 1008. If the method was clumsier, the risk of malversation was less. A useful outline of the heads of public expenditure in the fifteenth century may be read in Sir John Fortescue's fifteenth century English in his *Governance of England*, c. 6; ed. Plummer (1885), p. 120.

But now to bring the whole argument to a point at its bearing upon our land-charters. Diverse as are the aspects which the tenures assumed, there is a uniformity of principle underlying all the varieties which restores simplicity. The land was assigned for public services. This is repeatedly declared in the grants, especially those which are made to a *gesið* or a thane, *comiti* or *ministro meo*, and these are grants of lordship, i. e. of manors. These were not merely social positions, but were offices of trust and jurisdiction, and upon them reposed the good order of the country generally. The lords of the manor presided over the administration of justice, the military organization including the roads and bridges as well as the forts, and also over the agricultural economy. They were not the agents of daily administration, but they were general surveyors. The lands booked to them for these services are the same as our manors, and the principle on which they were booked is the same principle as that on which *laens* were granted though the terms are very different.

The real state of the case is obscured by the fact that so large a proportion of our land-charters are in favour of monastic institutions. This is supposed to be something different in principle from the grants to *gesið* or thane; but it is not so. In both cases alike, the broad and general principle of the concession was public utility; the best means for ensuring legality and public security and good neighbourhood, and the general welfare moral and religious. Here it is that the leases of the bishop of Worcester, already noticed in the previous Section<sup>1</sup>, afford a most acceptable light. These are the instruments by which the house gave to the estate a

<sup>1</sup> See p. xv f.

layman for a lord, and it is among these lessees that we must recognize the character of the 'biscopes þegn' (*Sax. Chron.* A 1001).

In monastic or ecclesiastical grants the terms are the same as in lay grants, the grantees have no exemptions from the burdens commonly incident to the possession of bookland. They have to fulfil their share of military service, and of public works on fortresses and bridges. The motives which led kings to make these liberal grants to the monks were not exclusively religious, or as some historians call it superstitious; they were chiefly influenced by considerations of social and political utility. The monks were for many centuries the best landlords; they took a more personal interest in the welfare of their tenants than did the average lay proprietor; they had more cultivated minds, more knowledge of agriculture and every branch of good husbandry, and they kept up a correspondence with the most civilised countries. We may be quite sure that life upon a monastic estate was more quiet and more orderly, and that the monastic tenantry presented to the observer a manifest superiority in manners and in comfort. Their military duties they discharged by forming a corps of military men, who were supported by *pro rata* contributions from all the tenants on the estate; thus making the military art a separate profession, and securing for the bulk of their population more leisure for the arts of peace<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In this connection the first chapter of Sir W. Scott's *Monastery* will be found very good reading. The great romancer was endowed with a rare historic sense.—In *Waverley*, the Clan of Fergus Mac Ivor is the best description anywhere to be found of a comitatus in its rudimentary and less disciplined form, somewhat perhaps as it worked in Germany in the time of Tacitus. This remark was, I believe, first made by Sir H. Maine.

There had been a time in the beginnings of our Christianity when lands granted to religious houses were absolutely exempt from public burdens, and we see this roundly expressed as a fundamental principle in the first capitel of the laws of Wihtred, A. D. 699. But we know that this worked badly and led to dangerous abuses, of which Bede complained in his epistle to Archbishop Ecgberht; and although the peculiar mode of tenure called *jus ecclesiasticum* does not appear to have been quite discontinued, yet the general rule in charters granted to religious houses in and after the eighth century was to subject them to the same burdens with laymen<sup>1</sup>.

The time indeed came round again when all tenures underwent a new change, and then the original immunity was restored to the lands of the Church, which were held subject only to divine service, exactly as in the old law of Wihtred. This was the change which followed the Norman Conquest, when ecclesiastical lands were again held free of military service in *frank almoigne* as it was called, that is to say, in free alms<sup>2</sup>.

After the Norman Conquest all the varieties of tenure were assimilated to lán-land. Every other kind of tenure was obliterated, and all the land of the country was made to assume the character of Loanland, whereof the king was held to represent the original owner<sup>3</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> This is the meaning of the exclamation of Boniface, that in no part of the world was such servitude imposed on the church as among the English. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, chap. vii. Part i; vol. ii. p. 141 (ed. 1856).

<sup>2</sup> Some of the lands of ecclesiastical corporations to this day are ancient bookland, which has been held without a break from the original Saxon charter. See Professor Pollock, *Land Laws*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, vol. iv. p. 25 note) was the first to point out the connection between a sentence in the Chronicle 1066

Loanland was the nearest approach made in the Saxon period to the nature of that feudal tenure, which was rapidly matured after the Norman Conquest. One of the consequences of this tenure was the general suspension for centuries of the devising of land by testamentary bequest. In Saxon times, as we have seen, this privilege attached to one form of tenure only, namely Bookland. It was a well-understood rule of Saxon law, that every species of property was stamped with its own principle of succession. This was determined by the nature of the original acquisition. The *êðel* land was hereditary according to ancient custom; it went its own way, there was no place for a Will. How the Hide land passed is not plain, but when we consider the interests of the community in the co-tillage, we cannot suppose that it could be broken up at the discretion of a testator. Most likely it attached to a house, the house of an *êðel*, and remained undivided;—or, if divided, there were limits set to the process of sub-division<sup>1</sup>. It is very tempting to see in the transmission of the Hide the natural and proper occasion for the incidence of Borough English. Where the house rather than any particular

*and syððan heora land bohtan*, and an incidental notice in Domesday, ii. 360: *Hanc terram habet abbas in vadimonio pro xi. marcis auri, concessu Engelrici, quando redimebant Anglici terras suas.* If this does not necessarily carry with it any alteration in the character of the tenure, if it is only an extraordinary event which like the ordinary and periodical Relief taxes the tenant but does not disturb the tenure; yet, in practical working, it afforded the starting-point for a new assumption in the legal doctrine of tenures, and it introduced the ideal principle that all land is held of the sovereign.

<sup>1</sup> On this point very telling are Mr. Seebohm's data from the Middlesex Domesday, of holdings in the definite grades of hides, half-hides, virgates, and half-virgates. *English Village Community*, p. 92. Compare also p. 77; where however I do not agree with him as to 'the reason underlying.'

member of it was the unit of the community, there seems a fitness in pitching upon the youngest member to personate it, for in him generations are stretched to the longest and transfer of hands is made rarest; he is the one longest tied at home, and surest to be found when a corporate duty is to be claimed of the house; he is at once the most insignificant and the most serviceable, and his elder brothers have had their nurture before him, and have had time to move away and better themselves. So long as the word of Tacitus held good—*superest ager*, there is always more land; so long the natural right of the youngest to take the homestead and its belongings is very easy to understand, and this arrangement seems to fit well with the tenure of *éðel* and *híd* in the early times<sup>1</sup>.

Of *læn-land* we know that it did not give the holder the right of testamentary disposal, and yet nevertheless it was as a matter of fact bequeathed by Will. The king could give permission, with the approval of his council (227 m), and we see Wills which acknowledge the necessity of the royal consent and some which even provide for the contingency of its being withheld. On p. 217 may be seen a formal permission by the king in Council (not without onerous conditions) that a

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of Borough English, see Elton, *Origins of English History*, c. 8. Of the various ways in which junior-right has been explained, he treats on p. 198 ff. Some have thought the custom merely perverse; such was the opinion of N. Bacon, *Laws of England*, 1739:—‘The custom was caught we know not how, and by the name may seem to have been brought in by some whimsical odd Angle that meant to cross the world.’ Sir H. Maine associated it with the prerogative of the *pater familias*; the unemancipated son being preferred in the inheritance. But when we consider the wide and various distribution of ultimogeniture as described by Mr. Elton, a doubt may rise whether any one explanation, however plausible, will avail to cover all the instances.

certain Will may stand. Here we have a sufficient explanation of the petitionary preamble which appears in many of the Wills<sup>1</sup>. The prayer was accompanied with a valuable present, which gradually assumed the character of a payment for the continuance of the property in the family. Under the matured feudal system this was the *Relevium*, the relief, recovery, payment made for the retaking up of the estate. The further determination of the heir according to the rule of primogeniture for the military convenience of the lord made Wills superfluous, and they in fact ceased as instruments for the succession to land until the end of the feudal period<sup>2</sup>.

The tenancy of the dominical side of the manor has been unnoticed in the above; it makes little figure in our documents, though it has filled a large space in modern legislation. The domain was farmed first by the lord himself in the home farm (*IN LAND* 376 m, BC609); next, by *GEBÚRAS* who paid him rent in labour and in produce and in money, 276 f, 376 f; and thirdly, by *cottiers* who cleared the wild land of the domain, and occupied the *essarts*: 385 b, 388 t & h, 394 m. These are the *bordarii* and *cotarii* of Domesday. They are the *INWARE* and *ÚTWARE* of 235 b. These two classes of dominical tenants are apparently the ancestors of the modern copyholders.

<sup>1</sup> Kemble made out of this an argument to prove the servile status of the *gesibbas*; so hardly bestead was he to maintain his theory.

<sup>2</sup> 'Complete freedom of dealing with land by Will was a result of the abolition of military tenures, an event which may be taken as marking the full close of the mediæval stage of the law. . . . The Act of the first Parliament of Charles II for abolishing the military tenures and their incidents was passed in 1660.' Pollock, *Land Laws*, p. 124 f.



## III

THE subject of this Third Section is the two languages which are employed in these documents, namely, the Latin and the English, in both of which the variations of form are numerous and interesting.

1. *Of the Latin in these documents.* The transactions which these writings purport to record are spread over a range of time from the seventh century to the eleventh, and the genuine originals are comprehended within that limit. But, inasmuch as they have been the subject of transcription, revision, reconstruction, and the most varied manipulation, down to the sixteenth century, the result is that we have here to deal in one part or another of our field with variations of language ranging over the nine centuries from the seventh to the sixteenth.

At first the deeds were wholly in Latin, or with an occasional word in English, then the languages were sometimes mixed, 87 m; especially in the description of the bounds, 142 m; and at length the bounds were expressed wholly in English.

In the seventh and eighth centuries the Latin is in itself a distinct feature of interest. It is so rude as to suggest a doubt whether the school-Latin of the scribe did not retain some mixture of the vernacular Latin of the Roman province<sup>1</sup>. Gradually it becomes more

<sup>1</sup> H. C. Coote, *Romans of Britain*, p. 465, considered that we have in the Latin of the earlier documents the native forms of current or traditional Latin which from the Roman period long continued to survive in this island. Especially he cited the expression 'trinoda necessitas,' as a form of words that does not exist either in Gaul or Spain, though the burdens to which it refers were as usual in those countries as in Britain, and he therefore thought that it was a phrase

grammatical and literary; in the tenth century it is rhetorical and turgid; in the secondary period when imitation has set in, we get the earlier varieties curiously alternating, now strong grandiloquent Latin, now feeble and barbarous;—the most curious of all is where the good Latin scholar of the thirteenth century sets himself to make a deed of the eighth, and accordingly tries to be barbarous, but some subtle bit of Latin culture (*e.g.*, a nice use of the subjunctive) slips into his fabrication, he little suspecting what a tale it will tell some future day. It will be convenient to follow the order of time, and notice first the Latin of the earliest documents.

It would be a mistake to suppose that this ‘*infima Latinitas*’ were a thing to be scorned as destitute of interest. On the contrary, it is rich in relations which are interesting and curious in a high degree.

(1) First among these points of interest must be accounted any ray of light they may seem to afford as to the relics of current Roman speech in this island after the date of the English Conquest.

(2) Its peculiarities sometimes illustrate the disturbances which have happened in the transmission of Latin classics, and which have tended to introduce some of their various readings.

(3) Sometimes we catch glimpses of the history of forms or significations of words which characterize the early stages of the modern Romanesque languages. The same may be said as to transitions of idiom or of Syntax.

(4) It is not uninteresting to observe sometimes that which had been invented by the Romans of Britain and inherited by the Saxons.

the Latin catches the influence of the living English of its time.

By attention to these points we shall see how very unsatisfactory it is to blend all the Latin writings of the Dark and Middle Ages under the one indiscriminate designation of 'Monastic Latin.' The Latin we have to consider is not 'monastic' until we come to the later stages of its career.

ORTHOGRAPHY. The most conspicuous divergencies from the received orthography are those which concern the labial series P, B, F, V.

1. B for V; *impleberint* (impleverint) 35 m; *silba* (silva) 101 h; *exarrabi* (exaravi) 121 l; *conbertere* (convertere) 124 l; *bicissitudo* (vicissitudo) 126 t; *uibentium* (viventium) 137 b; *cibitate* (civitate) 138 h; *cabeata* (caveata) 186 t; *octabo* (octavo) 284 m; *debotissimo* (devotissimo) 288 t; *bica* (vica = vico) 288 h.

In verbs of the first and second conjugations this change tends to confuse the tenses, as the difference of B or V is often the whole difference of form between a Preterite and a Future verb. The context generally determines the tense, *e.g.* *memorabimus* (memoravimus) 9 t, and I am not aware of an instance in which it has been the cause of ambiguity in these documents, as it has been in classical authors.

2. U (V) for B: these are fewer, *siui* (sibi) 93 h; *liuenti* (libenti) 126 t; *liuerabo* (liberabo) 126 h; *liuertas* (libertas) 126 l. In the Vespasian Psalter the future *-abit* is written *-avit* (Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 185). This mixture of B and V has been a source of various readings in the texts of the classics, and of disputed meaning; thus Juvenal *Sat.* iii. 168, *negavit* and *negabit*; ix. 80, *servabit* and *servavit*.

3. B also stands for P; *blebi* (plebi) 1981; *obtimates* (optimates) 2951; and vice versâ P for B; *puplica* (publica) 132 h, but this is rare and perhaps derivable from archaic Latin; *apsit* (absit) BC296 is affectation.

4. F for V; as *æfum* (ævum) 100 b.

A few other substitutions, though of less importance, may be added:

K for C; *karorum* (carorum) 100 m.

T for D; *set* (sed) often; *aliut* (aliud) 1241; and D for T; *deliquid* (deliquit) 293 m; *velud* (velut) 300 m; *inquit* (inquit), 322 h.

Under this head it only remains to notice the abnormal presence or absence of a G or an H. Abnormal absence of G: *eliens* (eligens) 169 b; *aio* (hagio) 312 b. These instances happen between vowels, and they seem due to the national pronunciation which gave little consonantal value to *g* in such a situation, as witnessed by the frequency of such orthographical duplicates as LUFIGE, LUFIE, I love. Abnormal presence of G by substitution for I; *juris meg* (mei) BC370.

Abnormal presence of H at the beginning of a word or of a syllable; *hei* (ei) 124 t, 133 m; *hubi* (ubi) 133 m; *histius* (istius) 152 b; *honeris* (oneris) 196 h; *hoboedientia* (obedientia) 1331;—*coherceret* (coerceret) 88 h; *saxhonica* (saxonica) 134 h;—especially curious those before *s*; *hsabaoth* (Sabaoth) 133 h; *hsi* (si) 134 r; *hsatis* (satis) 134 l.

Abnormal absence of H: *is* (his) 100 b; *ostes* (hostes) 101 t; *auendum* (habendum) 124 h; *abuerat* (habuerat) 126 h; *abet* (habet) 126 m.

FLEXION. The reader must not be very dependent upon the grammatical accident of the Latin, but must catch the sense over the heads of words that do not

always display the approved tokens of concord in Gender, Number, and Case. For example, 121 m, *Si quis autem huius*, &c. A few particulars may be added in detail :—

as to Gender : *in ipsa antememorato die* 8 b ; *ad imaginem suum* 175 b ; *prisco relatione* 176 t ; other examples on 101 f. In documents purporting to be by Offa ; *nobile thesaurum* 396 h ; *tale thesaurum* 398 m.

as to Number : *ab omni gravitatibus* 100 b.

as to Case : *hos omnes consenserunt* 132 b.

There are some Case-endings to be noted ; e. g. *vires* (*vir*) 48 h ; but the most peculiar is an ablative singular in *-ae*, generally of the first Declension, but not always : *seriae* (*serie*) ; *ignorantiae avaritiaeve* 611 ; *cum ignorantiae et insipientiae* 62 t ; *canitiae* (*canitie*) 316 l. A singular instance is *servitu* (*a cuncto sit immunis servitu*) 194 m.

These examples will suffice to show that the reader of the earlier documents must pass lightly over the flexional terminations, although the confusion here is far less than that which is seen in the Merovingian writings, and especially in the formulae of Marculfus. In fact, we find ourselves at the great turning-point in the history of the Latin language, between the ancient and the modern, between the vernacular and the scholastic. Flexion being no longer understood, and being written only by dint of blind traditional habit, the principle of coherence is transferred to the collocation ; and the only way to read such Latin is to shut one's eyes to the grammar of flexion, looking only at the stems of the words and reading it as if it were a modern language. On the one hand, flexion had fallen away from the living parlance, or if retained it had no syntactic value ; on the

other hand, elementary education was in decay (of this fact Gregory of Tours is the witness and the example), perhaps less so in Britain than in Gaul;—when accidence is recalled to Latin composition, it is due to the scholastic revival, the Renaissance of the seventh and eighth centuries, of which the seat was at first Anglia, and then Frankland.

In this connection it will be interesting to trace a few indications of the affinity of our specimens to that colloquial vernacular Latin which generated the Modern Romanesque languages. Both in the signification and in the symbolism of words, as well as in one conspicuous verbal flexion, we may see the modern usage anticipated in the old literary speech, or what represented it.

As to Signification : *parens* relative 13 b; *causa* thing, affair 48 h; *pietas* mercy, 'pity,' 10 l.

As to Symbolism : *illud monasterium* 111 b, has little of the demonstrative pronoun about it, and is nearly if not quite equivalent to 'the monastery;' so also *illa congregatio* 118 l. This is already a Definite Article.

Perhaps this will be the right place for a peculiar use of the Conjunction *quatinus*=in order that, 176 t, 406 m; and see *sive, seu* in the Glossary.

Of peculiar interest is the pluperfect subjunctive, when put where classic Latinity used the imperfect or perfect subjunctive. Thus *curavi ut facilius potuissent* (possent) 83 h; *si quis scire desiderat quare hanc donam dedissem* (dederim) 101 m; *rogaverunt dominum abbatem ut dedisset* (daret) 406 l. The interest of such examples is enhanced by the fact that this pluperfect subjunctive was the selected one of several forms of preterital subjunctive which survived through the transition and was continued in the younger vernaculars; thus in the verb

*esse*, the French subjunctive of the past tense is not from *esset* or *fuert*, but from *fuisset*, i. e. *fût* <sup>1</sup>.

In matter of Syntax our early period is characterized by an Accusative Absolute: *manentem hanc donationis chartulam in sua nihilominus firmitate* 8 l, 14 h, 33 m.

To the early period belongs also a tendency to introduce poetic cadences: *super ethera regnans in sedibus altis ima et alta omnia sua dicione gubernans* 133 h; or heroic collocations: *inlesus atque vitalis spiritus in corruptibili carne inhereat* 176 t; to which we may add the elaborate rhyming colophon, 283 l.

Yet, mingled with all this antique or rustic oddity, we see the little beginnings and crude efforts of the Renaissance which reaches not to maturity, nor covers the whole composition, until late in the tenth century, and hardly even then. Among such I suppose we must reckon those prepositional compounds in which the prefix is studiously reclaimed (Tacitus-like) from the obscurity of assimilation; *conruens* (corruens) 175 b; *inrignis* (irriguis) 176 m, 181 m; *immunem* (immunem) 209 l.

With the progress of the Latin revival is mixed also an ambition of Greek, and we witness some rather grotesque affectations in the strain after erudition:—thus *fastidiosam melancoliæ nausiam abominando . . . peripsema quisquiliarum abjiciens* 169 b; *cosmi sother* 189 l; *universis sophiæ studium intento mentis conamine sedulo rimantibus* 209 h.

Here we fix the beginning of that period in which the Latin may with propriety be called ‘monastic.’ The Latin of the time before the tenth century and

<sup>1</sup> Cornwall Lewis, *Romance Languages*, pp. 188, 191.

even much within that century is to be distinguished from monastic Latin; it may perhaps be rightly styled 'ecclesiastical,' but not 'monastic.' The latter term is fully applicable only to the age which comes after this.

THE SECONDARY LATIN. The Latin of the Secondary documents so far as it differs from that of the primary, is a result of tampering with the old deeds, in the way either of improvement, alteration, or pure fabrication.

Fabrication does not always condescend to imitation of diction; but when it does, it mostly exposes itself by its excess. Of the two forms of early Latin delineated above, it sometimes chooses the magniloquent strain of the tenth century, and sometimes the faltering Latinity of the more primitive specimens. In both varieties we are able to trace a distinction between the real and the counterfeit. There is, on the one hand, the elaborate style which is natural to a period of reviving scholarship, displaying a simple honest pride in the new-found magniloquence; and then there is, on the other side, an insatiable accumulation of pretentious words by the fabricator who, though he is stimulated by a tenth century pattern and thinks to imitate it, yet produces quite another effect.

And equally when the fabricator tries to imitate the rude Latin of the earlier documents, his proceeding is for the most part very transparent. There is no circumstance more suspicious than when archaism or barbarism is overdone, as p. 288, *debotissimo . . . linera . . . serbitia . . . is testibus . . . carrabas linguorum*; and then *bica*, not found elsewhere. Other examples of affected bad Latin are K 1064; BC296, which contains the abnormal variation *terra juris nostri*; BC536, *si quis autem obserbare boluerit serbetur . . . serbet*, &c.



On this ground such an incongruous phrase as *condemnatum fore* 407 m, might suggest suspicion, but in that place it seems probable that it is an honest blunder.

Sometimes the Latin is expressed with an English syntax, as: *cum his lestibus qui eorum nomina infra scripta liquescunt* 62 h; *sexaginta solidorum argenti* 315 l; *alicuius personis homo* (where *personis* stands for a genitive case, and the original pattern is *æniges hádes man*) 132 m, 314 h; a new turn is given to the phrase, 318 t; and to these we may add the familiar benedictory phrase, *habeat et bene utatur* 319 m; *feliciterque in diebus eorum perfruendum* 132 m. Cf. Beow. 1045, 2812.

## 2. Of the English in these documents.

The general rule is that the conveying portion is in Latin, while the description of the boundaries is in English. But with the progress of time there is an increase in the proportion of Saxon to Latin. The oldest deeds are indeed all in Latin, or have just a name and perhaps two or three peculiar words in English; towards the end of the period we get entire deeds in English. And, as to the form of the native language, if we confine ourselves to genuine originals, or to transcripts made within the Saxon period, we find two chief types of the old vernacular English. These are the Kentish and the West Saxon. The early Mercian specimens are in Kentish, as being the standard dialect of the time. We find nothing that can be called Northumbrian. Almost all the transactions belong to the south, and rarely have any relation to land north of the Humber. There is indeed K25, in which Ecgfrid of Northumbria endows Cuthberht and his successors with Crayke and Carlisle; but this piece is an ill-disguised adaptation of a paragraph in

Beda H. E. IV. 28, with the help of some other authority which is reflected in Simeon of Durham. i. 9.

The northern archives were exposed to two destructive epochs, first, the Danish ravages of the ninth century, and then the harrying of the North by William in the eleventh. The only relics, or rather traces, that have yet been recovered, of northern diplomacy, must be sought in that low stage of degeneracy which is represented by our Group XV.

On page 102 and following pages may be seen three writings in the Kentish dialect, the first of which is furnished with a translation. I here add a translation of the sanction which is appended to the third, 1061:—

‘I, Luba, the humble handmaid of God, appoint and establish these foresaid benefactions and alms from my heritable land at Mundlingham to the brethren at Christ Church; and I entreat, and in the name of the living God I command, the man who may have this land and this inheritance at Mundlingham, that he continue these benefactions to the world’s end. The man who will keep and discharge this that I have commanded in this writing, to him be given and kept the heavenly blessing; he who hinders or neglects it, to him be given and kept the punishment of hell, unless he will repent with full amends to God and to men. Fare ye well.’

We may recognize traces of Kentish as late as A.D. 934 (171 f), in the *io* and *léh* for *léah*.

The West Saxon prose falls into two periods, represented by the names of Alfred and Ælfric. The Alfredian prose is the natural link between the old Epic language and the most mature development that prose attained before the abrupt termination of its growth by the

Norman Conquest A few characteristics of the Alfredian stage of English will be useful here. The later and better known language is assumed to be most convenient as a standard of comparison.

1. In Case-endings *a* for *e*, as, *minas lafordas* 2401; *mid aða* (áðe) 164 h.

2. In the termination of the Plural Preterite *-an* for *-on*, as, *we rulan . . . we gehyrdan . . . we cwædan* 164 t; (hie) *forgeafan* 164 b.

3. Adjective or Participle in concord with Noun Feminine, ends in *-u*: *hwonne bið engu spæc geendedu gif*=when is any cause ended if &c., 164 h. The same form characterizes the Neuter Plural; *manegu yrfe geflitu*, many dispute about succession 145 m.

4. The combination *sð* for *st*, as, *wesðan* 188 m; *wesðe-weard* 188 b.

5. The peculiar construction whereby a dual Pronoun of the First Person is joined with a Proper Name to express 'I and N,' or 'mine and N's'; as, *healf uncer Brentinges*=half mine and Brenting's, 179 m; 144 mN.

6. There is one more peculiarity which I cannot omit. This is an old construction in which verbs of deprivation take a double government, namely the Dative of the person deprived and the genitive to express the privation; a construction made famous by Beowulf 5, and occurring in prose literature, so far as my observation goes, only in Alfred's translations. This construction is to be seen below, 212 h; *ofteah Ælfrice his bræðer landes and áhta* = he deprived Ælfric his brother of land and possessions.

These details are not only of general philological interest; they have a practical value in documentary criticism, especially in cases where we have to do with

later transcripts, purporting to represent documents of the Alfredian age. There is one particular document of pre-eminent interest, to which this applies. Alfred's Will, 144 ff, is not extant in the original nor in a copy of his day; we must allow that there is a wide interval between the original and our oldest extant copy. It is indeed a writing of such pith and force, that its very presence is evidential, and no ultimate doubt could overshadow its genuineness, even if the copy had suffered in transmission more than it has. But nevertheless, in a document of such high interest we must welcome every subsidiary proof which tends to make our confidence complete. Hardly anything can be more perfectly convincing than the traces of Alfredian English which cling to it, being of such a kind as either would not provoke imitation, or, if imitated, would surely betray the imitator.

In our copy the later orthography mostly prevails, the orthography of the copyer's time, as *forgeafon* 144 m, *gedældon* 144 l, *gecwædon* 145 t, *begeaton* 145 h, *hygerehton* 145 l; *we hæfdon* 148 m; mixed however with an occasional relic of the elder spelling, as, (we) *oðfæstan* 144 m, *hymihtan* 145 l. But then there is *wyt Æðered*, I and Æthelred 144 m; *manegu yrfe geflitu*, many litigations about succession 145 m; and if we needed evidence that the piece was no artifice of a later time, these alone would go far to assure us.

We may observe in these documents a certain conservatism of phraseology by which antique expressions are found later than in the general page of literature. It would be easy to explain this as an instance of the affinity of law for old and quaint diction; in other words, as the natural conservatism of a professional order

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We may observe in these documents a certain conservatism of phraseology by which antique expressions are found later than in the general page of literature. It would be easy to explain this as an instance of the affinity of law for old and quaint diction; in other words, as the natural conservatism of a professional order

of men. But it may be due to a different and indeed an opposite cause. It may be that the very absence of professional influence, of everything that can be called routine, would favour this vitality of old words and phrases. Some of the examples of Alfredian English given above are collected from documents many years later than the time of Alfred. Occasionally they appear in the midst of good English of the ripest præ-Norman development. This is part and parcel of the native character of these writings. This occasional archaism is pure simplicity and rusticity; it is a proof that although a new style had sprung up since the fresh revival of Latin studies, yet the conversation and correspondence of the country still retained much of the complexion of an earlier stage. And these writings have this peculiarity, that they are un-bookish, that they are full of the tone of conversation or free correspondence, in short, quite easy and unconstrained. In particular the Wills have a domestic homely simplicity and sincerity which is cheering and refreshing. There is nothing formal in them, but such as one patriarchal friend might write to another describing how he intended to dispose of his goods, and using the living words that came to hand. Examples 215 ff.

In the documents which have been transcribed, or in whatever sense re-written, or even originally composed, after the Norman Conquest, there is found a great variety of sorts of Anglo-Saxon, we might almost say a grotesque variety.

The first general movement which draws our attention is the formation of Chartularies or Registers. These were books into which the separate muniments of a religious house were transcribed and so collected together.

Of these collections the earliest now extant, and possibly the earliest that ever was made, is the Worcester Chartulary, written in the generation of the Norman Conquest, from which specimens are taken to form our Group II of Secondary documents.

With this we may class a book which was put together in the following generation, the Rochester Chartulary, which forms the subject of Group IV. It was compiled under Ernulf, bishop of Rochester, 1115-1125. The general character of these early Chartularies is honest transcription, and they are the best of their kind.

Of the stimulus given to the art of fabrication by the changed conditions of life after the Norman Conquest, Group III affords a curious example.

The twelfth century offers some remarkable features. Of the documents which were copied or compiled during this century, we observe two kinds. In the first sort the English is left free to its natural change in the process of deflexionization; and it is with such specimens that Group V is occupied. Here we come upon the overlapping of English and Latin; Latin texts, as most affected by Norman lawyers, seem to engross attention; old writings now appear in duplicate, English and Latin, and it is not always easy to say which of the two is the original, or whether both alike are products of scholastic ingenuity. The twelfth century was in our documentary history a bilingual age, an age of Latin and English <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> When the old native language fell into contempt, Latin translations were made of English deeds, and then the originals would sometimes be neglected and left to perish. The following is from *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, edited by the Rev. W. D. Macray in the Rolls



Priority of attention to Latin, with a growing neglect of the mother tongue, was the prevailing tendency in the first half of the twelfth century; but then came a reaction, perhaps only partial and local, of which our best specimens are in a book from Winchester. This movement is the subject of Group VI.

Here we see that the studious reviser and compiler of the old native muniments has become awake to the significance and characterizing value of the ancient grammar, and he has become a student of Old English composition, which he pursues as diligently as ever he strove to compose sentences in Latin. Consequently we observe all the tokens of a Renaissance of the Mother tongue. Just that mixture of crudity and scrappy splendour which characterizes the Latin composition of the tyro is here displayed in vernacular efforts. This school has not indeed abandoned the study of Latin documents, but their first attention is engaged by the English. It may perhaps be that they seek not so much to be intelligible as to be imposing;—but quite apart from the desire to produce an effect upon the inspector, the study has manifestly engendered a real taste for the royal style of the old language and a sincere passion to master the charm of it. Moved though we sometimes are to smile at the

Series, 1886. The unknown author speaks much of his labours of translation:—*donaria ... universa fere Anglice scripta invenimus, inventa in Latinum idioma transferri curavimus*, p. 65;—*litteris Anglicis quas nos in Latinum transtulimus*, p. 111;—*alia dona in figuris Anglicis neglecta remanserunt*, p. 112;—*quam de Anglico convertimus in Latinum*, p. 151;—*de Anglico in Latinum ad posterorum notitiam curavimus transmutare*, p. 161;—*universis itaque cartis quae in archivis nostris Anglica barbarie exarata invenimus, non sine difficultate et tædio in Latinas apices transmutatis*, p. 176. For these references I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Macray.

imagined strength and learned security of this school, there is nevertheless an æsthetic grasp and a conscious magnificence about it which compels admiration. But this recondite scholarship brings with it the ability and the temptation of imposture, and we see on p. 349 a bold and would be cunning fabrication, of which Kemble said—‘it bears marks of forgery in every line, and seems to have been made up out of some history of Æthelwulf’s sojourn in Rome.’ Saxons ii. 487.

The reader who has taken the trouble to acquire an exact grammatical knowledge of the old mother tongue, will find a curious interest in the genuine early forms that here and there peep out through the scholastic text, proving that the elaborator had really originals before him. The Dative case in *-a* for example, *æfter þære læna* 353 t.

A good bilingual example is that on pp. 355–360, which, like most of Group VI, is from the Codex Wintoniensis. Another is K 1053 from the same book. This Chartulary is our chief monument of the products of this Revival, but it must not be supposed that the proof of such a revival rests upon the sole evidence of a single book. The same influence is seen, at least so far as orthography is concerned, in a Harley Charter, p. 364 ff; and for another example of the same school contributed by another manuscript, I would instance K715, a fine specimen of an artificial bilingual writing from the manuscript Cotton Claudius A. III.

In the next two Groups, VII and VIII, the standard of the old language is kept up and bears marks of Renaissance;—and this brings us to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. After passing two Latin Groups, when we next touch

the mother tongue, it has gone far in degeneracy. Group XI and the following groups exhibit this decadence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries under varying aspects.

It will be readily perceived that a great character of these texts is their diversity, and the variety of materials they offer for increased knowledge of English. Some words not heretofore recognised will be found in the Glossary; particularly I would mention *ród* a clearing in the forest, related to the Dutch *roding* stubbing; see Weigand vv. Rod, Roden, Reuten. Here we have the source of our peculiarly English word for highway *road*, a word which awaited explanation. Besides this new and hitherto unnoticed noun, we find also the transitival verb therefrom, viz. *rédi* to clear ground<sup>1</sup>. Another word not previously understood, is *lacu* a running stream, the source of the west country *lake* in the same sense, and of our local terminations in *-lake*, as in *Shiplake*.

Some of the obscurer words suggest interesting queries. Thus, is *snoc* the older form of our *nook*?

<sup>1</sup> The verb to *reed* for to clear out a stable, is still current in Devonshire. They also talk of *reeding out* a dreng (drain). In an Ordinance of the Commission of Sewers for the Fens (A.D. 1616) it is ordered that the Old Ea "shall be roaded and cleansed to the old bottome and antient breadth." Wells' *History of the Bedford Level*, ii. 45. I now understand this 'roaded,' which I did not before. Upon this Mr. Plummer writes: 'To me as a Northerner the word "to red" (so we pronounce it) is perfectly familiar:—"Shall I red up the hearth? Shall I red up the room?" Where a Southerner would say "do up" or "clean up."'—It has been argued that the Saxons were not road-makers, on the ground that they took the Roman name for a road, *street*. But so far as language affords evidence, they *were* road-makers, because they enriched the family tongue with a new word thereanent, namely, *road* itself; not found in German, which has only the Roman *street* (Strasse) and the native *way* (weg).

Here I had intended to collect the relics of the British dialects which are sprinkled in parts of these texts, but by the length to which this Introduction has already run, I am deterred from opening a new theme.

To assist the student in reading the abbreviated words I here reprint Kemble's list of contractions :

oz . . .	orum.
b: . . .	bus.
t̃ . . .	uel.
7 . . .	and, et.
h̃ . . .	autem.
u <sup>o</sup> . . .	uero.
p̃ . . .	per, prae, pro.
p . . .	per.
p̃ . . .	pro.
t̃ . . .	ter.
.i. . .	id est.
÷ . . .	est.
q̃. q̃. . .	qui, quæ, quod.
o . . .	con.
o s̃ 7 sũb	consensi et subscripsi.
o señ 7 sũb	consensi et subscripsi.
đm. đī. đō.	deum, dei, deo.
dñs. dño. etc.	dominus, domino, etc.
ã. ũ. . .	am. um.
př. přs. p̃br.	presbyter. (princeps).
přin . . .	princeps.
diač̃. . .	diaconus.
s̃b diač̃ . . .	subdiaconus.
arč̃ diač̃ . . .	archidiaconus.
ẽps. ẽpi. episč̃ .	episcopus.
arč̃ episč̃.	archiepiscopus.

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PART I.

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS.

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I. GENUINE RECORDS DATED.†

II. GENUINE RECORDS UNDATED.†





## I. GENUINE RECORDS DATED.

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### SEVENTH CENTURY.

Textus Roffensis 119.

28 April, 804.

Kemble 1.

#### Æthilberht

king; his Donation to the church at Rochester. Mr. Kemble saw no reason to doubt its authenticity. The register in which it stands was made by Bp. Ernulf and has a high character among registers; but we can hardly expect a twelfth-century copy to preserve a deed of the seventh with absolute fidelity. Of this very copy, however, Hickes spoke in the highest terms:—‘Extant verò [chartae] quae VII seculo inito et deinceps confectae erant, vetustissimae. Scilicet charta Æthelberti I regis Cantwarorum, omnium antiquissima; cujus apographum extat in *Textus Roffensis* folio 119 a; . . . quae omnimodam veritatis speciem prae se fert.’ *Diss. Ep.* p. 79.

✠ REGNANTE in perpetuum domino nostro Iesu Christo saluatore! Mense Aprilio, sub die IIII kl. Maias, indictione VII, Ego Aethilberhtus rex filio meo Eadbaldo admonitionem catholicae fidei optabilem. Nobis est aptum semper inquirere qualiter per loca sanctorum, pro animae remedio uel stabilitate salutis nostrae, aliquid de portione terrae nostrae in subsidiis seruorum dei, deuotissima uoluntate, debeamus offerre. Ideoque tibi sancte Andrea, tuaeque ecclesiae quae est constituta in ciuitate Hrofibreui, ubi praeesse uidetur Iustus episcopus, trado aliquantulum telluris mei. Hic est terminus mei doni: fram sūðgeate west,

andlanges wealles, oð norðlanan tó stræte; 7 swá eást fram stræte oð doddinhyrnan, ongean brádgeat. Siquis uero augere uoluerit hanc ipsam donacionem, augeat illi dominus dies bonos. Et si praesumpserit minuire aut contradicere, in conspectu dei sit damnatus et sanctorum eius, hic et in aeterna saecula, nisi emendauerit ante eius transitum quod inique gessit contra christianitatem nostram. Hoc, cum consilio Laurencii episcopi et omnium principum meorum, signo sanctae crucis confirmaui, eosque iussi ut mecum idem facerent, Amen.

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Addit. Chart. 19, 788.

A.D. 674?

B. iv. 1.

## Wulfhere

king of the Mercians, conveys to Berhferth a relative 5 Manentes in perpetuity, at Dilingtun. He had received for the land thirty mancuses of pure gold. The date DCXXIII being inapplicable, I have adopted Mr. Bond's correction, which by supplying one letter makes DCLXXIII the last year but one of Wulfhere's reign.

✠ REGNANTE in perpetuum Domino Deo uiuo et uero sine fine ullo in aeternum, cuncta tempora labentis seculi in uelocitate deficiunt adque ad instar umbre meridiano tranando decidunt, et cotidie uolendo nolendoque de hoc seculo labimur. Ideo magnopere cogitandum est ut cum caducis et temporalibus rebus aeterna premia comparare ualeamus in coelis; memor illius exempli de quo Dominus dixit: Sicut aqua extinguit ignem ita elemosina extinguit peccatum. Ob quam causam ego Wulfhere rex Mercientium gentis pro amore omnipotentis Dei et illius fidelis ministri beati Petri

apostoli, et quia in euangelio dictum est Dilige proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum, et reliqua: ideo cum consensu et licentia amicorum meorum et optimatum meorum dabo Berhferðe propinquus meus aliquam partem agri in hereditatem perpetuam, id est .v. manentes, ubi ruricoli nominantur Dilingtun, cum campis et siluis et omnibus utensilibus rebus ad isto agro pertinente; aeternaliter ac perseuerabiliter possideat abendi vel dandi cuicumque eligere uoluerit. Hoc agrum liberatum est cum xxx mancusi cocti auri, et semper liber permaneat omnibus habentibus, ab omnibus duris secularibus notis et ignotis, praeter arcem atque pontem ac uulgare militiam. Si quis uero quod non obtamus [hoc in aliquo] frangere uel minuere temptauerit. sciat se anathematum ab omnipotenti . . . . . orum nisi hic cum satisfactione digne Deo et hominibus emenda[verit] . . . . . [ha]nc meam donationem signo crucis  $\overline{\text{XPI}}$  perscribere iussi . . . . . ege suisque p̃tipientibus perscripsi. ✠ Wita ep̃. ✠ Totta ep̃. ✠ Ofa princeps. ✠ Eadbriht princeps. ✠ Tepra priñ. ✠ Cynred priñ. ✠ Eadbald miñ ✠ Hearnbriht miñ ✠ Eada ✠ Eoppa ✠ Ofa ✠ Acta est autem haec donat' añ ab incarnat' Dñi . DCXXIII.

Haec sunt confinia istius ruris:—aerest andlong diling broces þ hi . . . n . . . to leofnes . . . þ be suðan þā broce xxx acera þ eft to þā broce andlong broces þ on . . . . . andlong broces to þam ealdan stræte up andlong straete be halh . . . . . þ west on þone feld up rihte wið þrim gemaerum andlong heges to ald . . . . . lthe rifflan . be fif acerum in ða lacu andlong þaere lace . . . . . norþmestan fennes in brocces bróc . þ eft in dili[ng broc] . . . . .

*Endorsed in a hand of the 10th cent. 'dillingtun.' B.*

C. C. C. Camb. cxi. 59.  
K 12.

6 Nov. 676.

## Osric

king of the Hwiccas, gives land beside Bath for a monastery of nuns. The place had been distinguished as a seat of heathen idolatry, and therefore the more to be selected for a Christian foundation. Osric had been converted by Otfor (Beda iv. 23), and had founded the See of Worcester.

This document is only preserved in a Register book; but Mr. Kemble passed it without challenge. Mr. Thorpe (Dipl. p. xx) spoke of it as a charter 'the genuineness of which there appears no reason to question'; and as perhaps the earliest undeniable instance of reckoning by the year Anno Domini. The deed of Wulfhere (above) was unknown to Mr. Thorpe.

*De . c . Hildis qui adjacent civitati Bathar.*

✠ REGNANTE ac gubernante regimonia regni Osrici regis, anno recapitulationis Dionisii, id est ab Incarnatione domini nostri Iesu Christi, sexcentesimo septuagesimo sexto, indictione quarta, mense Nouembrio, viii<sup>o</sup>. idus nouembris. Cum nobis euangelica et apostolica dogmata post baptismi sacramentum, deo suffragante, fuissent delata, et omnia simulachrorum figmenta ridiculosa funditus diruta, tum primitus ad augmentum catholice et orthodoxe fidei pontificalem dumtaxat cathedram erigentes, iuxta sinodalia decreta construere censuimus. At uero nunc cum gratia superna longe lateque profusius enitesceret, cenobialia etiam loca sparsim uirorum sparsimque uirginum deo famulantium, erigenda statuimus, ut ubi truculentus et nefandus prius draco errorum deceptionibus seruiebat, Nunc uersa uice ecclesiasticus ordo in clero conuersantium domino patro-

cinante gaudens tripudiet: Quamobrem ego supradictus Osricus rex, pro remedio animę meę et indulgentia piaculorum meorum, hoc priuilegium impendere ad laudem nominis domini nostri decreueram: Id est Bertanę abbatissę, quę pro christiana deuotione et pro spe eterne beatitudinis dei famulam se profitetur, Centum manentes, qui adiacent ciuitati quę uocatur Hat Bathu,<sup>1</sup> tribuens ad construendum monasterium sanctarum uirginum. Igitur subnixis precibus imploro, ut nullus, post obitum meum, de ea cespitis conditione tollere uel auferre quippiam, contra canonicę auctoritatis interdictum, pertinaciter p'sumat. Si quis uero, quod absit, succedentium episcoporum seu regum contra hanc nostrę diffinitionis cartulam, propria temeritate, p'sumere temptauerit, sit sequestratus a communione corporis domini nostri Iesu Christi, et a consortio omnium sanctorum in ęuum priuatus.

Signum manus Osrici regis, qui hanc cartam donationis fieri rogauit.✠ Ego Æðelredus rex consensi et subscripsi.✠ Ego Theodorus, gratia dei archiepiscopus, testis subscripsi.✠ Ego Leutherius, acsi indignus, episcopus subscripsi.✠ Ego Wilfridus episcopus consensi et subscripsi.✠ Ego Hedda episcopus consensi et subscripsi.✠ Ego Ergnualdus episcopus consensi et subscripsi.✠ Ego Saxuulfus episcopus consensi et subscripsi.✠ Signum Baldredi. Osuualdi. Gadfridi. Æðelmodi.

\*.\* 'But the charter is questionable as to the indiction, and is signed by both Leutherius and Hedda, successive bishops of the West Saxons. If it is genuine, it only shews that the arrangements may have occupied some years.' H & S. iii. 129.

<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to suppose that this form of the name of Bath is as old as A.D. 676.

Cott. Aug. ii. 2.

May, 679.

K 16. B. i. 1.

**Hloðhari**

king of Cantware, grants to Bercuald, abbot, land in Thanet, and in Sturry. Has Sturry Court, the remains of which are near Sturry church, had any historical connection with this property? The diction is an illiterate Latin; not as if learnt by grammar and at school. Besides internal evidence, the originality of the document is attested by the uncial and doubtless contemporary penmanship. A rigorous criticism might consider this as the earliest of our genuine charters. But at this rate we should have to give up all the charters of the Seventh century, except this and one other. For there are but two of them that are absolute Originals.

✠ IN ñ ð nostri saluatoris ihu xpi . ego hlotharius rex cantuariorum pro remedium animae meae dono terram . in tenid . quę appellatur uestan ae tibi bercuald . tuoque monasterio cum omnib: ad se pertinentibus campis pascuis meriscis siluis modicis fonnis piscaris omnibus ut dictum est ad eandem terram pertinentia . sicuti nunc usq: possessa est . iuxta notissimos terminos a me demonstratus et proacuratoribus meis . eodem modo tibi tuoque monasterio conferimus . teneas possideas tu . posterique tui in perpetuum defendant a nullo contradicatur . cum consensu archiepiscopi theodori et edrico . filium fratris mei nec non et omnium principum . sicuti tibi donata est ita tene et posteri tui :—quisquis contra hanc donationē uenire temptauerit sit ab omni xpianitata separatus et a corpore et sanguini dñi nostri ihu xpi suspensus . manentem hanc donationis chartulam in sua nihilominus firmitate et pro confirmatione eius manu propria signum scē crucis expraessi et testes ut subscriberent rogavi . actum in ciuitate recuulf . in mense maio in ð septima : In ipsa antememorato die adiunxi aliam terram in sturia iuxta notissimos terminos a me demonstratus et pro-

acuratoribus meis cum campis et siluis et pratis sicuti ante memorabimus supradictam terram. ita ista sit a me donata eodem modo cum omnibus ad se pertinentia in potestate abb' sit. in perpetuum. a me donata. a nullo contradicatur quod absit. neque a me neque a parentibus meis neque ab aliis. si aliquis aliter fecerit a dō se damnatum sciat. et in die iudicii rationem reddet dō in anima sua:—

- ✠ signum manus hlothari regis donatoris.
- ✠ signum manus gumbercti.
- ✠ signum manus gēbredi.
- ✠ signum manus osfridi.
- ✠ signum manus irminredi.
- ✠ signum manus aedilmaeri.
- ✠ signum manus hagani.
- ✠ signum manus aeldredi.
- ✠ signum manus aldhodi.
- ✠ signum manus gudhardi.
- ✠ signum manus bernhardi.
- ✠ signum manus uelhisci.

\* \* In Beda v. 8 we read that Berctuald who was Abbot of Reculver succeeded Theodorus as Abp. Cant. in 693; and Smith identifies him with the Bercuald of this deed.

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Bodl. Wood. i. 149 (collated).

6 July, 680.

K 19.

## Headdi

bishop of Winchester, grants land to Hengils abbot of Glastonbury. Kemble admits this charter to be substantially genuine, notwithstanding an error of the indiction, which is not of much account in a modern copy. Haddan and Stubbs regard this as the new or Saxon foundation of the abbey of Glastonbury, the territory of which had recently been taken



from the Britons. The first name in the roll of Glastonbury abbots was Hengils or Hemgils. H&S. iii. 164.

REGNANTE ac gubernante nos domino nostro Iesu Christo! mense Iulio, pridie nonas, Indictione quinta, anno incarnationis eiusdem DCLXXX. Nichil intulimus in hunc mundum, uerum nec auferre possumus; ideo terrenis celestia et caducis eterna comparanda sunt. Qua propter ego Eddi episcopus terram que dicitur Lantocal, tres cassatos, Heglisco abbati libenter largior: necnon terram in alio loco, duas manentes, hoc est in insula qui girum cingitur hinc atque illinc pallude, cuius uocabulum est Ferramere. Denique solerter peto, ut nullus post obitum nostrum hoc donatium in irritum facere presumat. Siquis uero id temptauerit, sciat se Christo rationem redditurum.

✠ Ego Eddi episcopus subscripsi.

Aul. Trin. f. 38.

June, 686.

(Harl. 686. f. 132.)

K 27.

### Eadric

king of Cantware, grants for an adequate price, namely ten pounds of silver, certain land of his right to the monastery of St. Peter at Canterbury (St. Augustine's). The grant is witnessed by Abp. Theodore.

IN nomine saluatoris, cuius pietate<sup>1</sup> regimen assequi sumus, quo eciam gubernante regnamus, et omnia quae habere cognoscimur ipso largiente habita possidemus! Pro qua re ego Eadricus rex Cantuariorum, a praesenti die et tempore, terram iuris mei, quamuis praetium competens acceperim, hoc est argenti libras decem, in monasterio beati Petri apostolorum principis quod situm est iuxta ciuitatem Dorouernis, una cum consensu me-

orum patriciorum, in perpetuum donauit et dono: quae supradicta terra coniuncta est terre quam sancte memorie Lotharius, quondam rex, beato Petro, pro remedio anime suae, donasse cognoscitur; quae terra determinatur, ex una parte habet uadum quod appellatur Ford streta publica indirectum, et a parte alia flumen quod nominatur Stur; omnes terras sationales, cum pratis, campis, siluis, fontanis uel mariscum quod appellatur Stodmersch,<sup>2</sup> cum omnibus ad supradictam terram aratorum trium pertinentia, beato Petro, eiusque familiae in qua nunc praeesse Adrianus abbas dinoscitur, tradidi possidendam, et quicquid exinde facere uoluerint, utpote domini, liberam habeant potestatem. Sicut donatum est manere decerno; nunquam me haeredesque meos uel successores contra hanc donationis mee cartulam, ullo tempore, esse venturos: quod si aliquis presumpserit, sit separatus a participatione corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi, manente hac cartula nihilominus in sua firmitate. De quibus omnibus supradictis ac a me definitis, ut ne aliquis in posterum sit aduersitas, propria manu signum sancte crucis expressi, et sanctissimum atque reuerentissimum Theodorum archiepiscopum nostrum ut subscriberet rogavi, et alios testes similiter. Actum in mense Iunio, Indictione XIII.

Ego Aedricus rex in hanc donationis mee cartulam signum sancte crucis expressi.✠ Ego Theodorus, archiepiscopus gratia Dei, subscripsi.✠

<sup>1</sup> This is a vernacular use of the word. See Glossary.

<sup>2</sup> This form betrays the lateness of the copy. The date of the Trinity Hall manuscript (our best authority here) is about 1400, as I am informed by Professor Skeat, who has collated it for me.

Harl. 4660, fol. 1.

A.D. 691 or 692.

K 32.

**Æthelred of Mercia**

grants 30 cassati at Henbury and Aust to the church at Worcester. For the probable identity of *æt Austin* with the *Augustinus* of Bede ii. 2, see Haddan and Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 40, note b.

✠ APOSTOLUS Paulus de extremo iudicio manifestissime loquens ita dixit omnes enim stabimus ante tribunal xpi ut recipiat unusquisque prout gessit siue bonū siue malū. etiam ipse dñs in euang̃ suo manifestat dicens Ibunt impii in suppliciū aeternum iusti autem in uitā aeternam. Hoc sane tremendū et terribile dī omnipotentis iudiciū omnibus est nobis perhorrescendū. Quapropter ego Æthelred xpo donante rex Mercensiū pro absolutione criminū meorū et pro amore dī uiuentis terram qui uetusto uocabulo nuncupatur Heanburg et in alio loco æt Austin hoc est circiter in illis duob' locis xxx. cassatorum Oftforo meo uenerabili episc. in propriam possessionem tradidi ad illā ecclīā beati Petri principis apost. quae sita est in Uueogorna ciuitate cū antiquis confiniis et captura pisciū et cum omnib' utilitatib' campo † in silua † in flumine ad se rite pertinentib' illi . . . . . pfruantur in aeuū; similiter etiam ab secularibus omnibus seruitutib' . . . . . leuis sint in ppetuum liberati nisi tantū . . . . . et expeditione contra hostes ñ s̃ . . . . . seruantibus minuentibus uero † con . . . . . sempiterna. amen.

✠ Ego aethilred rex ppriā donationē corroborans, titulo sc̃ae crucis subscripsi.

✠ Ego headda ep̃s consen. 7 sũs.

✠ Ego oftfor ep̃s donationē quam a rege [accepi] propria manu connotauī.

- ✠ Ego torhtuuald consen. 7 suþ.
  - ✠ Ego eaduuald consen. 7 suþ.
  - ✠ Ego cille consen. 7 suþ.
  - ✠ Ego osfrith consen. 7 suþ.
  - ✠ Ego ecgfrith consen. 7 suþ.
  - ✠ Ego tuddul consen. 7 suþ.
  - ✠ Ego guthlac consen. 7 suþ.
  - ✠ Ego sigiuuald consen. 7 suþ.
  - ✠ [Ego folchere] conseñ. 7 suþ.
  - ✠ [Ego berhtred] conseñ. 7 suþ.
- 

MS. Cott. Aug. ii. 29.

March, 692 or 693.

MS. Cott. Vesp. A. ix. 141.

K 35. B. i. 2.

### Oethilred

a relative of Sebbi king of the East Saxons, grants land on the north bank of the Thames to Ethilburg, abbess of Beddanham. This is from an Original in uncials, and a specimen of the writing was given by Kemble. Besides king Sebbi and the donor, it is signed by Erconwald bp. London, Wilfrid bp. York, and Haedde bp. Winchester. This is the other of the two absolute Originals spoken of under May 679.

✠ IN nomine dñi. ñ. Ihu. xpi. saluatoris. Quotiens sc̃is ac uenerabilib: locis uestris Aliquid offerre uidemur Uestra uobis reddimus non nostra largimur. Quapropter ego Ho[di]redus parens sebbi prouincia Eastsexanorum. Cum ipsius consensu propria uoluntate Sana mente integroq: consilio Tibi hedilburge abbatissae Ad augmentum monasterii tui quae dicitur beddanhaam. perpetualiter trado et de meo iure in tuo transscribo terram Quae appellatur ricingahaam budinhaam deccanhaam angenlabeshaam Et campo in silua quae dicitur uuidmundesfelt Quae simul sunt coniuncta. xl. manen-

tium usq: ad terminos quae ad eum pertinent Cum omnib: ad se pertinentib: Cum campis siluis pratis et marisco Ut tam tu quam posterī tui teneatis possideatis Et quaecumq: uolueris de eadem facere terra liberam habeatis potestatem Actum mense martio et testes competenti numero ut subscriberent rogauī Si quis contra hanc donationis kartulam uenire temptauerit aut corrumperē Ante omnipotentem dñm et iħm xpm filium eius et spm scm Id est inseparabilem trinitatem Sciat se condemnatum et separatum ab omni societate xpiana M[anentem] hanc kartulam donationis in sua nihilominus firmitate. et ut firma et inconcussum sit donum termini sunt autem isti huius tæerre cum quib: accingit ab oriente writolaburna ab aquilone centinces triow and hanchemstede ab australe flumen tamisa Si quis autem hanc donationem augere uoluerit augeat dñs bona sua in regione uiuorum cum scis suis sine fine amen .:

✠ Ego sebbi rex eastsañ pro confirmatione subscripsi. Ego oedelraedus donator subscripsi. ✠ Ego erenuualdus episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego uuilfridus epis consens et subsp. ✠ Ego haedde epis consñ et sb. Ego guda pr et abbas consentiens subš. ✠ Ego egcbaldus pr et aß conseñ et subsp.

✠ Ego hagona pr et aßb cons et subsp.

✠ Ego hooc pr et aßb cons et subsp.

Sig✠num manus sebbi regis.

Sig✠num manus sigiheardi regis.

Sig✠num manus suebredi regis.

\*.\* *Endorsed in contemporaneous hands, 'De terrā quā donauit Odilredus.' 'XL. manentium ✠'; 'karta de con . . .'; and in a later but early hand, 'his is seo boc to bercingon.—The following memoranda also occur, 'Exhib aþ Berķ coř J. de Colet iiiij noř Marcii Anno dñi M°cccvio.' 'Regestū in regio regestī añ dñi 1535. J. Rhesen Regestš. B.*

## EIGHTH CENTURY.

MS. Lansd. 417, f. 3.

A.D. 701.

K 48.

## Ini

king of the Saxons, grants to abbot Aldhelm 45 Cassati in places near Malmesbury, which have well preserved their names; — Garsdon, Corston, and Rodborne. This is the earliest genuine record of a grant to Malmesbury Abbey. The older ones are all spurious. H & S. iii. 124.

✠ IN nomine domini Ihesu Christi saluatoris nostri! ego Ini regnante domino rex Saxonum cogitans vitae eternae praemium, verens poenas inferni perpetuas, pro remedio animae meae et relaxatione criminum meorum aliquam terrae particulam donare decreui uenerabili Aldhelmo abbati, ad augmentum monasterii sui quod Meldunensburg uocatur; id est XLV. cassatos in locis ab accolis infra nominatis. Id est v. manentes in loco qui dicitur Gersdune; et ubi riuulus qui uocatur Corsaburna oritur xx; et in alio loco iuxta eundem riuulum x; et iuxta laticem qui uocatur Reodburna x. Et hoc actum est anno ab incarnatione Christi DCCI. Indixione XIII<sup>a</sup>.

✠ Signum manus Ini regis. ✠ Signum manus Oshelmi. ✠ Ego Haddi episcopus huic donacioni consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Uyynberchtus hanc donacionem dictans subscripsi.

Cott. Aug. ii. 82.

13 June, 704.

K 52. B. i. 3.

## Suaebraed

king of East Saxons, grants to Waldhere, bp. London, land at Twickenham in the Middlesaxon province. Essex was now

under Mercian supremacy, and the licence of Ædelred is obtained. But it is Coenred (not Ædelred) who signs as overlord. This seeming incongruity led Wanley, p. 262, § 77, to condemn this document as 'Carta ut videtur fictitia, etsi valde antiqua': but the suspicion turns to confirmation when we consider Beda v. 24, where we read that Ædilred, after ruling for thirty-one years, became a monk in 704, and gave the kingdom to Coenred.

✠ IN nomine dñi nři ihu xpī saluatoris Quamuis solus sermo sufficeret ad testimonium attamen ꝑ cautella futurorum temporum ne quis forte posterum fraudulentam ignorantiae piaculum perperam incurrat idcirco scedulis saltem uilib: ꝑ ampliore firmitatis supplimento necessarium reor adnectere Quapropter ego sueabræd rex eastsaxonorū et ego pæogthath cum licentia cedelredi regis comis aliquantulum agri partem pro remedio animarum nřarum uualdhario epīsc in dominio donare decreuimus id ÷ . xxx. cassatorum in loco qui dicitur tuican hom in ꝑuincia quæ nuncupatur middelseaxan Hæc autem terra his locorum limitib: designatur ab oriente et austro flumine tamisæ terminata a septentrione plaga torrente Cuius uocabulum ÷ fisesburna Possessionem autem huius terræ taliter ut supradiximus Cum campis sationalib: pascualib: pratis palludib: piscuariis fluminib: Clusuris omnib: quæ ad eam pertinentibus in dominio supra dicti epīsc possidendam ꝑpetuale iure tradidimus et liberā habeat potestatem agendi quodcumq: uoluerit porro ut firmior huius donationis largitio iugiter seruaretur etiam testes adiunximus quorum nomina subter tenentur inserta Si quis uero successorum nřorum hanc donationis nřæ munificentia augere et amplificare maluerit auget dñs partem eius in libro uitæ Si quis e diuerso quod absit tyrannica potestate fretus infringere temptauerit sciat se ante tri-

bunal x̄pi tremibundum rationem redditurum Maneatq: nilhominus in sua firmitate hæc kartala scripta Anno ab incarnatione dñi n̄ri DCC.III. īdič II. tertia decima die mensis iunii quod ÷ id iunii.

✠ Ego coenredus rex merč hanc terram waldhario ep̄sc pro remedio anime meæ in dominio donare decreui in loco qui dicitur tuiccanham et libenti animo ppria manu crucē infixi.

✠ ego ciolred merč hanc donationem quam ante donauit ppinquus meus coenrædus rex 7 ego confirmaui in loco arcencale et sīg s̄ce crucis expressi.

✠ ego headda ep̄s consensi et subscripsi

✠ ego cotta aḥ con. et sūb

✠ ego suebrædus rex eastsaxonū propria m̄.

✠ ego peohthat sīg m̄a inposui

✠ ego friodored sīg m̄

✠ coenheard sīg m̄

✠ cudraed sīg m̄

✠ uilloc sīg m̄      ✠ ælric sīg m̄      ✠ sceftwine sīg

✠ eadred sīg      ✠ lulla sīg m̄      ✠ wulfhat sīg

✠ cymmi sīg      ✠ cynrie sīg m̄      ✠ tuduna sīg

✠ pagara sīg      ✠ eadberht sīg

*\*\* Endorsed by a contemporaneous hand, 'Tuicanham;' and by a hand of the 12th century, 'Suebred Rex dedit tuickenham Waldhario episcopo. Latine.' B.*

Cott. Aug. ii. 88.

July, 700 or 715.

K 47. B. i. 4.

## Uuihtræd

king of Cantware, grants land to the church (basilica) at Lyminge, Kent. The donor signs with the cross because of his ignorance of letters. The alternative dates are Mr. Kemble's: Mr. Bond follows him, but with the remark, that in Gervase



✠ Hanc autem libertatem ego Aethelbaldus, rex Merciorum, signo sanctae crucis confirmabo. ✠ Ego Eguuinus episcopus. ✠ Ego Uuilfridus dux. ✠ Ego Aetheluard dux. ✠ Ego Stronglie dux. ✠ Ego Sigberhtus minister. ✠ Ego Eadberht minister. ✠ Ego Oba minister. ✠ Ego Eaduulf minister.

Heming 31.

A.D. 718.

K 69

### Æthelbald

king of the Mercians, grants to Begia six cassati of land for a monastery at Daylesford in Worcestershire.

✠ Ego Aethelbald, diuina dispensante gratia Mercensium rex, terram sex cassatorum, iuxta fluuium, cui nomen est Bladaen, prope uadum, cui uocabulum est Daeglesford, pro redemptione animae meae, seruo dei, quem uocant Begia, in possessionem iuris ecclesiastici libertatisque tradidi; ita ut in ea monasterium construeretur et seruorum dei habitaculum fieret; ea tamen conditione in omnibus rebus donabo illi noti et ignotis<sup>1</sup> regis siue principis, libera permaneat in sempiternum. Si quis autem hanc donationem meam uiolare temptauerit, sciat se in tremendo extremi iudicii dei examine rationem deo redditurum.

✠ Ego Aethelbaldus rex propriam meam donationem consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Uuilfrithus episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Eadberht consensi. ✠ Ego Aethelric consensi. ✠ Ego Cyneric consensi. ✠ Ego Aelfraed consensi. ✠ Ego Sigebed consensi. ✠ Ego Osraed consensi.

Acta est autem hec donatio, anno Incarnationis Christi DCCXVIII. Indictione . x.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kemble proposed to correct thus: 'Ea tamen conditione donabo illi, ut in omnibus rebus, notis et ignotis, &c.'

Bodl. Wood. i. 201 (collated).

20 July, 723.

K 71.

## Ini

king of the Saxons, gives ten cassati of land to abbot Hemgisl. Kemble observes that this charter cannot be of the inscribed date 663, but may well be of 723. 'It bears marks of authenticity, but the year of the Incarnation has been interpolated, and falsely calculated from the Indiction.'

✠ IN nomine dei patris omnipotentis! Anno incarnationis saluatoris humani generis DCLXIII. Indictione sexta XIII<sup>o</sup>. kalendas Augusti . scripta est haec pagina priuilegii. Ego Ini rex Saxonum, pro remedio anime mee aliquam partem terre donans impendo, id est decem cassatos, Hengisli abbati, cum pontificis nostri consilio, consentiente Baldredo qui hanc terram donauit ei per petitionem Sergheris per me donatio hec imperpetuū sit confirmata ut nullus infringere audeat. Terra autem hec sita est in monte et circa montem qui dicitur Brente; habens ab occidente Sabrinā, ab aquilonem Axam, ab oriente Termic, ab austro Siger. Siquis uero cupiditate inlectus uoluerit irritam facere hanc donationem, sciat se rationem domino redditurum.

✠ Ego Heddi episcopus consentiens propriis manibus subscripsi.

Hec enim sunt nomina testium subrogatorum posterioris temporis, pro maioris munimine firmamenti.

✠ Ego Baldredus rex. ✠ Ego Athelbaldus rex.

✠ Ego Hereuualdus speculator eccl̃e dei, cum multis aliis. Isti prefati, ne sequentiū rapacitas praece-dentium irrumperet instituta, hiis uerbis inhibitionem indidisse uidentur. Siquis autem quouis deinceps tempore hoc infringere, tot nobilitatis gradibus roboratum, p̃sumeret ius, sit a consortio bene merentiū

anathema, rapaciumq, collegio adplicitus temeritatis sue commissa luat, sub diris dentibus salamandri, cerberiq, rictibus reatum exsoluat proprium sine fine semper moerens. Siquis uero beniuala intentione potius prae-dutus haec exacta decernit, possideat bona sempiterna cum bene merentibus.

\* \* *Rubricated*, 'Carta Regis Ine de Brente.'—The margin has BRENTE in large illuminated capitals.

Chart. Dec. & Cap. Cicestr.

A.D. 725.

Reg. B. xviii. 5. *ibid.*

K 1000.

### Nunna

king of the South Saxons, grants land to Eadberht (the first bp. Selsey, Beda v. 18):—stated as 20 tributarii in the body of the deed, but in the endorsement 20 hides. Kemble's text, here reproduced, was made from a mutilated original at Chichester, the lacunae being partly supplied from Bishop Reed's Register there.

[✠ REGNANTE perennitus deo ac domino n]rō ihu xpo simulq: spiū sō par[aclit]o in trib: psonis una deitas sine fin[e permansura. Qua de re unicuique cogitandum quantum sibi suf]ficiat possessio ut cū reb: transitoriis labentibusq: sibi æterna pre[paret praemia quod huius uitae praesentis quibusque nolentibus] † uolentib: adppinquat terminus. Quamobrem ego nunna rex a[ustralium Saxonum aliquas telluris partes pro amore dei et coeles]tis patriæ uenerando epō eadberhto in suū et in dī seruitiū liberato [assensu saeculari aeternaliter conscribo et firmiter ad] episcopalē sedem adtingens cū totis ad eā ptinentib: in campis in siluis [montanis pascuis piscariis terra quae uocitatur] hugabeorgū et æt dene .xx. tributarios libenti animo attribuo. Si quis au[tem successorum meorum quod absit hanc donationem] meā in

modico ꝥ in magno minuere ꝥ inuadere temptauerit Sciat  
se in treme[ndo examine coram Christo rationem red-  
dere nisi ante satisfactio]ne emendauerit. ✠ Istis ter-  
minib: circūgirata esse uidentur:..... g dices on  
ðeodweg norð ofer þone weg .....lauingtunes dices  
east ende . of ðære dic norð .....  
e 7 þanan east to freccehlince of þā hlince to halignesse  
beorge of þā beorge east to stæ.....am  
garan of þā garan to þam byrgelsan of þam byrgelsan  
to billingabyrig 7 swa andlang ..... læse.  
7 ða dænn ærest þær scealces burna 7 bollanea hi gega-  
deriað on norðhealfe þæs br .....  
7 bulan hol . 7 isenan æwylm . 7 Sængelpicos 7 feale  
beag . tibbanhol. [Scripta est autem haec cartula  
anno] ab incarnat̃ dñi .DCCLXXV. Indic[tione .II.]  
Testiū ergo et c̃sententiū huic donat[i]oni signa aeterna  
demonstrabo.

✠ Ego Nunna rex primus] crucis xpi signo munio.

✠ Ego u[uattus rex ]c[onsensi et subscripsi].

✠ Ego [Coenredus] rex w[estsaxonum roborau].

[✠ Ego Eadbirht episcopus mihi terram] tributam  
confirmo signo crucis xpi.

[✠ Ego Ine consensi et] propria manu scripsi.

*Dorso.* þis is seo landboc þe nunna cyng gebocade  
eadberhte ð into hugabeorgū .xx. hida. -

Cott. Vesp. B. xxiv. 35.

A.D. 727.

K 75.

### Æthilbald

king of the Mercians, grants land of three manentes to Buca  
for a perpetual habitation of the servants of God.

✠ IN nomine dei summi! Reuerentissimus rex  
Mercensium, ego Aethilbold, pro redemptione animae

meae largitus sum terram quae dicitur Aactune, trium manentium, Bucan comiti meo; firmiter possidendum benignissime trado, contra eius pecuniam. Ita largitus sum terram hanc prefato comiti meo, ut perpetuum sit habitaculum seruorum dei, diuina suffragante gratia, sollicitè in eo seruetur. Hanc autem donationem si quis tyrannica potestate infringere uoluerit, sciat illum in examine deo rationem redditurum.

✠ Ego Aethilbald rex Mercensium propria manu signum crucis impressi. ✠ ego Uuor episcopus consensi. ✠ ego Torthere episcopus consensi. ✠ ego Tida consensi. ✠ ego Osfrid consensi. ✠ ego Aethilmod consensi. ✠ ego Puda consensi. ✠ ego Uuilbroth consensi. ✠ ego Eadberht consensi. ✠ ego Uuilfrat consensi. ✠ ego Oua consensi. ✠ ego Tunualud consensi. ✠ ego Peot consensi. ✠ ego Teol consensi. ✠ ego Theodor consensi.

Actum autem hoc meae concessionis donum anno dominicae incarnationis DCCXVII<sup>1</sup>. indictionis x.

<sup>1</sup> 'The date 717 is erroneous, and is not only refuted by the Indiction, but by the date of Uuor, one of the witnesses. On the other hand, 727 agrees with the Indiction, and is consistent with the dates of Uuor and Torthere.' K.

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Cott. Aug. ii. 91.

20 Feb. 732.

K 77. B. i. 6.

### Æthilberht

king of Kent, the second of that name, grants to the abbot Dun land used for salt-works near the Limen. The form is almost that of an epistle addressed by the grantor to the grantee. A specimen of the writing is given in the Codex Diplomaticus, and the whole piece is facsimiled in the British Museum Series.

✠ IN nomine dñi dī saluatoris nī Ihu xpī. Est ter-  
rula quaedam id ÷ quarta pars aratri unius iuxta limi-

naee sali coquendo accommoda quam ego aethilberhtus rex cantuariorum dudum praestiteram antecessori tuo hymoran . et tu o abba praesbyter dun . iam per tempora plura me annuente eadem usus es praestatione. Hanc ipsam ego nunc terrulam iuris mei non ꝑ pecunia aliqua saeculari sed ꝑ remedio tantum animae meae tibi et ecclesiae beatae mariae cui tua praest sollicitudo . ita tribuo et dono ut a praesenti die et tempore uestrae sit potestatis eam semper habere ac possidere qualiter uobis placuerit. Et ius regium in ea deinceps nullum repperiatur omnino . Excepto dumtaxat tale quale generale est in uniuersis ecclesiasticis terris quae in hac cantia esse noscuntur. Et ut iugiter firmitatē suam haec ipsa mea donatio habeat . subter hic signum s̄cae crucis ex[praessi] testesq: illius ut subscribant petam.

[Actum est] die uicesima februarii mensis . anno regni nostri septimo. Indic[tione q]uinta decima dorouerni:—

Et insuper ego aethilberhtus rex addidi huic donationi quam ꝑ remedio animae meae dedi in omni anno centum<sup>xx</sup> plaustra onusta de lignis ad coquendum sal. Item dedi ei centum iugera eiusdem ruris . in loco qui dicitur . sandtun . termini uero terrae illius hec sunt . ab oriente terra regis . ab austro fluuius qui dicitur limenaeae . ab occidente et in septentrione hudan fleot.

✠ signum s̄cae crucis qđ scripsit aethilberhtus rex atq: donator.

✠ Ego tatuuinus epis̄c ad petitionē aethilberhti regis subscripsi.

✠ Ego albinus abbas iubente piūssimo rege aethilberhto subscripsi.

✠ signum manus balthhaeardi.

✠ signum manus bynnan.

✠ signum manus aeanberhti.

✠ signum manus aethiliaeardi.

\*\*\* *Endorsed in an early hand, 'Sand tunes boc'; and in a later hand, 'Utile.' B.*

Cott. Nero E. i. 388.      24 Nov. 723 or 728 or 734<sup>1</sup>.

Heming 7.

K 79.

### Æthilbald

king of the Mercians, grants to Cyneburh 6 cassati at Bradanlaeh (Maiden Bradley, Somerset. K).

✠ DONANTE domino nostro Ihesu Christo! Ego Aethilbaldus rex Merciorum terram iuris mei vi. cassatorum, cui uocabulum est Bradanlaeh, pro redemptione animae meae Cyneburge trado; ut fiat eius possessio in perpetuum; et cuicumque uoluerit tradere, uel in uita illius uel post obitum eius, [potestatem] habeat tradendi. Si quis temptauerit hanc donationem fraudare, sciat se reddere rationem in die iudicii. Huic donationi optimates mei testes sunt quorum nomina infra expressa sunt.

✠ Ego Aethilbaldus rex Merciorum confirmationem hanc confirmaui propria manu. ✠ Ego Uuor episcopus. ✠ Ego Offa confirmaui. ✠ Ego Eadberht confirmaui. ✠ Ego Uualdhere confirmaui. ✠ Ego Uuilfrid episcopus. ✠ Ego Aldberht confirmaui. ✠ Ego Ontuuini confirmaui.

Hanc cartam composui in IIII. feria VIII. kal. decem̃b. passio sancti Chrisogoni martyris.

<sup>1</sup> The 24th of November fell on a Wednesday in the years 717, 723, 728, 734, 745, 751, and 756, between 716 and 757. But as Uuor became bishop in 721, and died in 737, while Uuilfrith died in 743, we must exclude 717, 745, 751, and 756. Kemble i. 95 and ii. p. xi.

Chart. Cotton. xvii. 1.

A.D. 734.

(Text. Roff. 120.)

K 78. B. ii. 1.

**Æthilbald of Mercia**

grants to Aldulf, bp. of Rochester, the toll of one ship in the port of London. Written in very rude disjointed Latin. Appended is a Confirmation of the grant by Berhtulf of Mercia, about 840.

✠ IN nomine dñi dī saluatoris nři . ihu . xpi, Si ea quae quisq: ꝑ recipienda á dō mercede hominib: uerbo suo largitur et donat stabilia iugiter potuissent durare supuacaneū uideretur ut litteris narrarentur ac firmarentur, Sed dum ad ꝑbanda donata ad conuincendūq: uolentem infringere nihil prorsus robustius ēē uideretur quam donationis maniþ auctorū ac testiū roborate non inmerito plurimi petunt, ut quae eis conlata dinoscuntur paginaliter confirmentur . quorum postulationib: tanto libentius tantoq: promptius consensus ꝑbendus ÷ quanto et illis quae ꝑcatores sñ utilior res secundū hoc uisibile scīm nunc inpertitur, et illis qui concessores existunt ꝑ inpertito opere pietatis uberior fructus secundū inuisibile postmodum tribuetur, quamobrem ego . ethilbaldus rex meřc ꝑsentib: litteris indico me dedisse ꝑ anima mea alduulfo episč ecclesiæq: beati andreæ apošt quam gubernat unius nauis siue illa proprie ipsius siue cuiuslibet alterius hominis sit incessum id ÷ uectigal . mihi et antecessorib: meis iure regio in portu lundoniæ usque hactenus competentem quemammodū mansuetudinem nřam rogauit, quae donatio ut in perpetuum firma et stabilis sit ita ut nullus eam regū † optimatum † teloniariorū † etiam iuniorū quilibet ipsorū in parte aut in toto [in irri]tum



psumat aut possit adducere manu pprio signum sçe crucis subter in hac pa[gina faciam testesque] ut subscribant petam, quisquis iġ id q, pro anima mea donauit aut [donatu]m ÷ inlibatum permanere pmiserit habeat communionem beatam cum psente xpi ecclesia atq, futura, si quis autem non permiserit separetur a societate [non solum] sçorum hominũ sed etiam angelorũ . manente hac donatione nra nihilominus in sua firmitate,

actum mense septembrio die indiç ,II, anno regni nri XVII,

✠ ego aethilbald rex subscripsi

✠ ego daniel episç scripsi

✠ signum manus oba,

✠ signum manus sigibed

*Indorsed.*

✠ hoc etiam iterum confirmatũ ÷ a beorhtuulfo regi merciorũ in uico regali uuerburgeuic ;

✠ Ego berhtuulf rex merç hanc meam donationem et pdecessoris mei ethilbaldi regis cum signo sçe crucis xpi confirmaui, his testib: consentientib: et quorũ nomina hic continent ad indulgentiã delictorum meorũ atq, pcessoris mei æðelbaldi regis. Si quis autem successorũ meorũ regũ aut pncipũ <sup>i</sup> t̃ theloniariorũ hanc donationẽ nram infringere t̃ minuere uoluerit sciat se separatũ a congregatione omniũ sçorũ in tremendo die iudicii, nisi prius digne emendauerit,

✠ ego berhtuulf rex merç

✠ ego tatnoth ep̃is

✠ ego ceolnoth arçep̃is

✠ ego hunberht dux

✠ ego sæðryð regina

✠ ego mucel dux

✠ ego ceolred ep̃is

✠ ego hunstan dux

\*\*\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 10th century, 'Anes ceoles ryne (?) on[lo]nden ethibald rex merciorum sancte an[d]ree apostoli duro. (?) et beorn . . . episcopo in hereditatem.' B.*

Cott. Aug. ii. 3.

A.D. 736.

K 80. B. i. 7.

**Æthilbalt**

king of the Mercians and of all the South Anglian provinces, grants land of 10 cassati to Cyniberht, to build a coenubium in the district of Husmera by the river Stur. This is the Stour of Staffordshire and Worcestershire, on which is Stourbridge, and which joins the Severn at Stourport. The name of Cynibre lives on in Kinver alias Kinfore; and probably Moerheb is not unconnected with Eymore Wood. Is this the germ of Kidderminster? This fine document is coeval and is one of our three uncial writings, and it was selected by Mr. Kemble for one of his small facsimile specimens.

✠ Ego Aethibalt dñio donante rex non solum marcensium sed et omnium prouinciarum quae generale nomine sutangli dicuntur pro remedio animae meae et relaxatione piaculorum meorum aliquam terrae particulam id est .x. cassatorum uenerando comite meo cyniberhtte ad construendum coenubium in prouincia cui ab antiquis nomen inditum est husmerae iuxta fluuium uocabulo stur, cum omnibus necessariis ad eam pertinentib. cum cāpis siluisq. cum piscariis pratisq. in possessionem ecclesiasticam benigne largiendo trado. Ita ut quādiu uixerit potestatem habeat tenendi ac possidendi cuicumq. uoluerit uel eo uiuo uel certe post obitum suum relinquendi . est autem supradictus ager in circuitu ex utraq. parte supranominati fluminis habens ex aquilone plaga siluam quam nominant cynibre ex occidentale uero aliam cui nomen est . moerheb. quarum pars maxima ad praefatum pertinet agrum . si quis autem hanc donationem uiolare temptauerit sciat se in tremendo examine tyrannidis ac praesumptionis suae dō rationem terribiliter redditurum.

scriptum est autem haec cartula anno ab incarnatione

dñi ñi ihu xp̃i septincentissimo tricessimo . ut indictione quarta

✠ ego aetdiltalt rex britanniae propriam donationem confirmans subscripsi.

✠ ego uuor episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

✠ ego uuilfridus epis̃. iubente aethilbaldo rege subscripsi.

✠ ego aethilric subregulus atq. comes gloriosissimi principis ęthilbal[di] huic donatione consensi et subscripsi.

✠ ego ibe ac si indignus abbas consensi et subscripsi.

✠ ego heardberht frater atq. dux p̃fati regis consensi et subscripsi.

✠ ego ebbella consensum meum acomodans subscripsi.

✠ ego onoc comes subscripsi.

✠ ego oba consensi et subscripsi.

✠ ego sigibed consensi et subscripsi

✠ ego bercol consensi et subscripsi

✠ ego ealduuft consensi et subscripsi

✠ ego cusa consensi et subscripsi

✠ ego pede consensi et subscripsi

Est autem agrum in memorata silua moreb cui uocabulum est brochyl quem ego edilbalt rex suutanglorum fidele duce atque comite meo cyniberhtte in ius ecclesiasticam cum supradicto agro largiendo donauit.

*\*\* Endorsed by a hand of the 10th century, 'Norð stur,' and again by a later hand, of the 11th century, 'Norð stur. Æthelbad rex.' B.*

Heming 25.

A.D. 736-737.

K 82.

## Nothelm

abp. Canterbury, in synod, orders the restoration of a monastic land-book to Hrotwari, who claims to be abbeſs. Here we ſee a monaſtery diſpoſed of as a private eſtate; and it is, as pointed out by Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 338, a practical illuſtration of Beda's complaints (*Epistoſa ad Ecgbertum*, § 6, 7) as to the abuſe of monaſtic privileges. The monaſtery was Withington (Glou.), and when it fell to Worceſter in due courſe it was again leaſed by Mildred the bp. at the time. See below, A.D. 774.

✠ GLORIOSISSIMUS Mercenſium rex Aethelred, cum comite ſuo, ſubregulo Huuicciſſimorum Oſhero, rogatus ab eo, terram .xx. caſſatorum iuxta fluuium, cui uocabulum eſt Tillath, duabus ſanctimonialibus, Dunnan uidelicet et eius filiae Bucgan, ad conſtruendum in ea monaſterium, in ius eccleſiaſticum ſub libera poſtate, pro uenia facinorum ſuorum condonauit, propriaeque manus ſubſcriptione hanc eorum donationem firmavit. Praefata autem dei famula Dunne, conſtructum in praedicto agello monaſterium, cum agris ſuis necnon et cartulam deſcriptionis agri, cui tunc ſola ipſa praeerat, filiae nimirum filiae ſuae, in poſſeſſionem, ad dominum migratura largita eſt. Sed quia haec in paruula adhuc aetate erat poſita, cartulam conſcripti agri, necnon et omnem monaſterii procurationem, quoad uſque illa ad maturiorem perueniſſet aetatem, matri illius maritatae conſeruandam iniunxit. Quae cum cartulam reddi poſciſſet, illa reddere nolens, furtu hanc ſublataſ reſpondit. Quo tandem omni negotio ad ſanctam ſacerdotalis concilii ſynodum perlato, decreuit omne uenerabile concilium, cum reuerentiſſimo archiepiſcopo Nothelmo, hanc cartulam donationis, uel regum uel

supradictae dei famulae Dunnan, manifestissime describi, praefataeque abbatissae Hrotuuari reddi, eiusque possessionem monasterii firmissimam esse; damnato nimirum eo, atque anathematizato synodi sacratissimae decreto, qui cartam illam subscriptionis agri primitiuam vel per furta, uel quolibet modo fraudulenter auferendo subripere praesumpserit. Atque hoc decernit sacra synodus, ut post obitum eius, sicut ante statutum fuit a senioribus eius, ad episcopalem sedem castrum Uueogernensis liber hic, cum terra, reddatur.

✠ Ego Nothelmus, gratia dei archiepiscopus, canonice subscripsi. ✠ Ego Daniel episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Uuor episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Incguuald episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Uuilfrith episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Alduuulf episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aluuine episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Forthere episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cuthberht episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Hereuuald episcopus subscripsi.

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Textus Roff. 119.

April, 738.

K 85.

### Eâdberht

king of Kent, gives land to the bishopric of Rochester. After the signature of the grantor, several other signatories follow, who use the same royal style in that they make their comites to confirm and subscribe. Mr. Kemble has dwelt on this deed as conclusive evidence of the plurality of kings in Kent at this date. Saxons i. 149.

✠ IN nomine domini dei nostri Ihesu Christi! Ego Eadberht, rex Cantuariorum, donauit aliquam partem terrae pro remedio animae meae atque indulgentia delictorum meorum, episcopatui beati Andreae apostoli, ac uenerabile uiro Ealdulfo, eius ecclesiae antistiti, in re-

gione quae uocatur Hohg, in loco qui dicitur Andscohesham, id est decem aratrorum, iuxta aestimationem prouinciae eiusdem. Huius uero terrae possessionem ita praedicto episcopo largitus sum, cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, id est campis, siluis, pratis, piscariis, salsilagene, atque omnibus utensilibus eius, iuxta notos terminos constitutos. Hoc quoque praecipimus ut nullus praesumat propinquorum [m]eorum uel successorum [m]eorum hanc donationem meam minuere infringere quoquomodo. Si quis uero, quod non credimus, contra praeceptum meum huic donatione meae malibolo animo contrarie temptauerit, sciat se in die iudicii rationem deo redditurum, manentem tamen hanc cartulam nihilominus in sua firmitate. Si quis uero magis defendere augere uoluerit, addat deus bona eius in terra uiuentium.

✠ Hanc quoque donationem meam ego Eadberht rex cantuariorum propria manu confirmaui et signum sanctae crucis infixi; testes quoque idoneos commites meos confirmari et subscribere feci. ✠ Ergo Uuilbaldus commites meos confirmari et subscribere feci. ✠ Ego Dimheahac commites meos confirmari et scribere feci. ✠ Ego Hosberth commites meos confirmari et scribere feci. ✠ Ego Nothbalth commites meos confirmari et scribere feci. ✠ Ego Banta commites meos confirmari et scribere feci. ✠ Ego Ruta commites meos confirmari et scribere feci. ✠ Ego Tidbalth commites meos confirmare et scribere feci.

✠ In nomine domini dei summi. Ego Alduulfus episcopus inprimis penitus ignorauimus quod a Dorouernensis ecclesiae praesuli et rege hac kartula confirmata esse debuisset, postea agnoui, et tam diligenter postulauimus ab archiepiscopo Nothelmo et rege Aethilberhto, praesi-

dente meo largitore Eadberhto, ut ipsi manu sua hanc donationem corroborassent: et sic in metropolitano urbe perfecte compleuerunt. Actum mense April. indiċ. vi. Anno ab incarn. Christi DCCXXXVIII.

✠ Ego Nothelmus gratia dei archiepiscopus testis consentiens subscripsi kanonice. ✠ Ego Aethilbertus rex praefatam donationem signo sanctae crucis confirmavi. ✠ Ego Beornheard testis subscripsi. ✠ Signum manus Tunan. ✠ Signum manus Balthardi. ✠ Signum manus Eanberhti.

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Cott. Aug. ii. 101.

A.D. 740.

K 86. B. i. 8.

### Æthilberht

king of the Centware, had granted land and right of fishing to the abbot of Liminge, who was at the time of granting Cuthberht, now Archbishop. This document is above suspicion, though the year and the Indiction do not agree. Mr. Kemble proposed A.D. 740, the date of Cuthberht's consecration, a year of which the Indiction is viii, for which iii would be a likely error.

✠ IN nomine dñi dī saluatoris nī ihu xpī. Pro-uabilib: desideriis et petitionib: piis assensum semp' praeberē gloriosū constat esse et rectū et tum maxime cum eadem desideria et petitiones ad dilatandum et augendam uitam xpī sacerdotum eiusq: seruorum respiciunt. qua de re ego aethilberht rex cantuariorū pro remedio animae meae capturam pisciū quod est in ostio fluminis cuius nomen ÷ limin aea et partem agri in qua situm ÷ oratoriū sċi martini cum edib: piscatorū et extra eam quartam partē aratri circa eundē locum et

alterã partem iuris mei ad pascendum . CL . iumentorũ iuxta marisco qui dicitur biscores uuic usq : ad silbam qui appellatur ripp et at terminos suthsaxonie sicut olim habuit romanus p̃r ad ecclesiam beatissimi birginis marie quod est in limin iaeae libenter donauit atq : dono regimen habente eiusdem monasterii domno cuthberhto archiepiscopo tunc temporis abbati. Uerum quia cauendum est ne hodiernam donationem nostram futuri temporis abnegare ualeat et in ambiguum deuocare presumptio, Placuit mihi hanc paginem condere per quam non solum omnib : meis successoribus atq : heredibus set etiam mihimet ipsi interdico ne aliter quam á me constitutum est ullo tempore quippiam agere audeant quod si qui forte obseruare neglexerint et absque digna satisfactione presentis uitae impleberint dies . sciat se omnipotentis dñi irã incurrere et á societate sc̃orum omnium segregatum. Quoniam sc̃issimam beatissimae uirginis marie locum deonestare conatus est. Qui uero haec augenda custodierint nihilq : inrogarent aduersi . auribus percipiant uocem clementissimi iudicis inquentis ad pios . Uenite benedicti patris mei percipite regnum quod uobis paratum est ab origine mundi.

Actum in loco qui dicitur limin iaeae Anno dominicae incarnationis . DCCXLI. Indictione III. .

✠ Ego aethilberhtus rex cantiae hanc donationẽ á me factam propria manu signo sc̃ae crucis roborauit.

✠ Ego cuthberhtus gratia dñi archiepisc̃ hanc piam donationẽ predicti regis consensi et subscripsi.

✠ signum manus balthhardi

✠ signũ mañ aedelhuni

✠ signũ mañ dunuualhi pincerni

✠ siġ mañ dunnuallan



✠ siġ mañ aldberhti prefecti

✠ siġ mañ aethelnothi

*\*.\* Endorsed by a hand of the 9th century, 'Limenea boec,' and other words now illegible; and by one of the 12th century, 'Ethelbertus Rex dedit piscationem in limene et alia quedam ad ecclesiam sancte Marie de limenea.' 'Latine.' B.*

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Canterbury Charters M. 363.

A.D. 742.

Cott. Claud. D. ii. 30.

Lambeth 1212, f. 308.

K 87. T. 26. S. i. 1.

### Æthelbald

king of the Mercians, in synod at Clovesho, heard the Privilege of Wihtred recited, and with the approbation of all present he confirmed it.—Besides the three MSS. above given, the document is also found nearly whole in the Saxon Chronicle F (Cott. Domitian A. viii. 2). Kemble printed it from Cott. Claud., taking the signatures from the Canterbury MS.: Thorpe followed Kemble's text, adding at the foot some variations from Cott. Domitian. The text here printed is from the Ordnance Survey Facsimile of what Wilkins called 'a faulty MS. at Canterbury' (H & S. iii. 342). It is faulty, and it is very rude in grammar; but I apprehend it is nearest to the original, and that all the others are improved copies. For comparison the Lambeth copy is appended.

✠ REGNANTE in perpetuum deo et domino nostro  
ihesu christo anno uero dominice incarnationis DCCXLII.  
Indictione . x. et regni æðelbaldi regis Merciorum .  
xxvij. synodus congregatum fuerat in loco ce[leb]ri  
ubi nominatur clofeshos . de diuersis eccle[sia]rum  
dei. Et hutilitatibus p[re]sente autem eodem synodo  
æðelbaldus rex cum suis optimatibus necnon cutberhtus  
uenerabiles archiepiscopus . ceterisque episcopis . s[imul]  
..... necessaria diligenter examinantes de statu

totius christianitatis uel de symbolo ex antiquo sanctorum patrum institutionibus traditam esse uel qualiter in primordia nascentis ecclesie . iubebatur habere aut ubi honor cenubiarum secundum normam equitatis seruaretur : hæc et is similia antie inquirentes undique antiquas priuilegias recitantes . tandundem peruenit ex rogatu æðelberhti regis Cantie coram omnibus legatur libertas ecclesiarum dei. Et institutio uel preceptum wihtredi regis . de electione dominarum cenubiarum in regno cantuariorum : quomodo uel qualiter secundum imperium et electioni archiepiscopi fieri stare precipitur. Post eo hoc priuilegium lecta et inter se examinata ante regis et episcoporum presentia fuisset : placuit itaque omnibus pariterque condixerunt nec ullam aliam : tam nobilem tamque prudenter constitutum inuenire potuissent : secundum ecclesiasticam disciplinam. Et hoc adnuentes stare seu ab omnibus firmare rectum esse sancserunt : Ideo que pro hac re Ego æðelbald rex merciorum pro salute anime mee et pro stabilitati regni mei nec non ex petitioni : æðelberhti regis cantie seu . . . pro reuerentie cutberhti archiepiscopi hoc idem munifica manu propria mea subscribo ut per omnia h[onor] et auctoritas et securitas christi ecclesie citra humbrensis flufio [a nulla persona] denegatur . . . omnium cenubiarum in terra cantie . . . tam in libertate a secularium seruiiciis quam etiam in omnibus causis maioris minorisque segura permanet et sicut supradictus . . . pro se suos que constituit ad seruandum . . . per omnia irrefragabilis et immutabilis usque ad terminus seculi perdurare precipimus si quis autem regum successorum nostrorum seu epis[coporum] uel principum hoc salubre decretum inf[ringere temptauerit, reddat] rationem deo omnipotenti in die tremendo : si comes

uel p̃resbyter diaconus clericus aut moniales huic institutioni restiterit sit sui gradui priuatus et a participatione corporis et sanguinis christi : separatus et alienus a regna dei, nisi ante ea satisfactione emendauerit quot sui malo superbię iniqui egressit . quia in euangelio dictum est : quicumque ligaueritis super terram : erit ligatum : et in celis. Et quicumque solueritis super terram erit solatum et in celis.

✠ Ego eðelbald rex : diuino suffragio fultus : gentis Merciorum regens imperium : signum sancte crucis subscribo.

✠ Ego cuðberhtus archiepiscopus propria manu subscripsi.

- ✠ Ego uuita episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego torhthelm episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego willfredi episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego cuðberht episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego huetlac episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego eanfrið episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego ecglaf episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego aluwig episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego hunwald episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego daniel episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego aldwulf episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego eðelfrið episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego herewald episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego sigega episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego redwulf episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego ofa patricius consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego aldwulf dux consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego æðelmod indolis mercię consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego heardberht dux consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego eadbald dux consensi et subscripsi.

- ✠ Ego bercul dux consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego cyneberht consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego freoðorne consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego wermund abbas consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego cuðred abbas consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ Ego buna abbas consensi et subscripsi.

\*\*\* *Endorsed in a hand nearly coeval: 'Libertas ecclesie Christi Epelbaldi regis mercie et cupberti archiepiscopi.' In a hand of the 11th century: 'Decretum Athelbaldi regis et Cuthberti archiepiscopi de libertate ecclesiarum . latine.' S.*

### *The Lambeth Copy.*

✠ Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCXLII. congregatum est magnum Concilium apud Clovesho, praesidente eodem Concilio Athelbaldo Rege Merciorum, cum Cuthberto Archiepiscopo Doroberniae caeterisque episcopis simul assidentibus, diligenter examinantes circa necessaria totius religionis, et de symbolo ex antiquis sanctorum patrum institutionibus tradita, studioseque perquirentes qualiter in primordio nascentis Ecclesiae hic in Anglia jubebatur habere, aut ubi honor cenubiorum secundum normam aequitatis.

Haec et hiis similia anxie inquirentes antiquaque privilegia recitantes, tandem pervenit ad manus libertas Ecclesiarum, institutio vel praeceptum Wihtredi gloriosi Regis, de electione et auctoritate coenobiorum in Regno Cantiae, quomodo et qualiter secundum imperium et electionem Cantuariensis Metropolitani fieri [et] stare praecipitur. Ex praecepto itaque Regis Adelbaldi, lectum est coram omnibus privilegium praefati Wihtredi gloriosi Regis, et placuit cunctis hoc audientibus, pariterque dixerunt: Nullum aliud tam nobile, tamque prudenter constitutum decretum invenire potuisse secundum Ecclesiasticam disciplinam, et ideo hoc ab omnibus firmare sanxerunt.

Igitur ego Athelbaldus Rex Merciorum, pro salute animae meae, et pro stabilitate regni mei, proque venerabilis Archiepiscopi Cuthberti reverentia, propria manu mea munifica

subscribens confirmo: ut per omnia libertas, honor, auctoritas, et securitas Christi Ecclesiae a nulla persona denegetur, sed sit libera ab omnibus secularibus servitiis, et omnes terrae ad illam pertinentes, exceptis expeditione, pontis et arcis constructione. Et sicut ipse praefatus Rex Wihtredus, pro se suisque constituit servandum, ita per omnia irrefragabiliter et immutabiliter perdurare praecipimus. Si quis autem Regum successorum nostrorum, seu episcoporum, vel principum hoc salubre decretum infringere temptaverit, reddet rationem Deo omnipotenti in die tremendo. Si autem comes, presbyter, diaconus, clericus vel monachus huic institutioni restiterit, sit suo gradu privatus, et a participatione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini separatus, et alienus a Regno Dei, nisi ante placita satisfactione emendaverit, quod malo superbiae inique gessit. Scriptum est enim: 'Quaecunque ligaveritis super terram, erunt ligata et in caelo: et quae solveritis super terram, erunt soluta et in caelo.'

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Heming 26 (collated).

A.D. 716-743.

K 90.

### Æthilbald

king of the Mercians, grants land at Aston and Notgrove (Glou.) to Osred, a scion of the royal race of Hwiccia, free of tribute; so he pay his ecclesiastical dues.—This grant afterwards passed into the possession of the Church at Worcester.

✠ SIT nomen domini benedictum in secula! Ego Aethelbaldus, deo dispensante rex Mercensium, terram xx. cassatorum, id est x. et viii. in loco quem dicunt aet Eastune et ad Natangrafum ministro meo ualde fideli, qui est de stirpe non ignobili prosapia regali gentis huicciorum, Osredo, in possessionem iuris aecelesiastici, pro redemptione anime meae, largiens concedo; quatinus eo uiuente possideat et regat, et post se cuicumque uoluerit hominum possidendum, liberum arbitrium

habens, derelinquat; et ut ab omni tributo uectigalium operum onerumque saecularium sit libera in perpetuum, pro mercede aeterne retributionis, regali potestate discernens statuo; tantum ut deo omnipotenti ex eodem agello aecclesiastice seruitutis famulatum inpendat. Haec autem testamenti traditio perpetualiter postea tradita est sancte Mariae Uueogernensis monasterii pro ipsius regis salute.

✠ Ego Aethelbald rex Mercensium, hanc donationem meam subscribo.

✠ Ego Uuilfrithus episcopus. ✠ Ego Huitta episcopus. ✠ Ego Torhthelm episcopus.

✠ Ego Cuthberht episcopus. ✠ Ego Alhuig episcopus. ✠ Ego Sigebed episcopus.

This synd þa land gemæra æt Eastune þe Æthelbald cyning myrcna gebocade Utele bisceope into sçe marian. Ærest of Turcanwyllas heafde andlang stræte on Cynelmesstan on Mylenweg þonne andlang hrycgas on Heortford þanen andlang streamas on Buruhford on foron þa spelstowe þonan on Turcandene on Seofenwyllas mid-dewardan of þam wyllan to Balesbeorge suðan þonne on Cealcweallas þonan eft on Turcandene andlang eft on Turcanwyllas heafod. Ðis wæs gedon þy geare þe wæs agæn from Cristes flæscnesse DCCXLIII. on þam cynehame þe is gecyged Bearuwe.

Heming 20 (collated).

A.D. 743-745.

K 95.

### Æthilbald

king of the Mercians, remits to Milred, bishop of Worcester, the port-dues on two ships at Londontown hythe. An interesting specimen of eighth century English; and our earliest example of a genuine Charter wholly in Saxon.

✠ IN usses dryhtnes noman hāelendes cristes ic

æðelbald myrcna cingc waes beden from þāem árfullan bisceope milrede þaeti ic him álífde and his þāem hálegan hirede alle nédbade tuegra sceopa þe þaertó limpende beóð þeti ic him forgefe þa þāem eáðgan petre apostola aldormen in þāem mynstre þeówiað þaet is geseted in huicca maegðe in þāere stowe þe mon háteð weogernacester þāere bene swýðe árfulre geðafunge ic waes syl-lende for mínre sáwle láecedóme tó ðon þaeti for mínum synnum hí heó geeaðmedden þaette heó wáeren gelomlice þingeras wið drihten swýðe lustfullice pá forgeofende ic him ályfde alle nédbade tuégra sceopa þa þe þaer ábaedde beóð from þāem nédbaderum in ludentúnes hýðe ond naefre ic né míne lástweardas né ða nédbaderas<sup>1</sup> geðristlāecen þat heó hit onwenden oððe þon wiðgāen . gif heó þat nyllen sýn heó þonne ámansumade from dāel-neomencge liceman and blódes ússes drihtnes háelendes cristes and from alre néweste geleáfulra sýn heó ásceādene and ásyndrade nymðe heó hit her mid þingonge bóte gebéte.

✠ Ic Aethelbald cingc míne ágene sylene trymmende ic heó wrát. ✠ Milred bisceop þāere hálegan róde tácen he heron gefaestnode. ✠ Inguwald bisceop geðafiende he hit wrát. ✠ Wilfrið bisceop he hit wrát. ✠ Alda cinges gefera he hit wrát.

<sup>1</sup> nédbaðeras MS.

Spelman's Concilia i. 256. (MS. Reg. 13. D. 2, f. 21.) A.D. 749.  
K 99. T. 33.

### Æthilbald

king of the Mercians, grants to monasteries and churches the privilege that their lands shall be exempt from royal and public burdens, with the exception of bridge building and the defence of the country.

✠ PLERUNQUE contingere solet pro incerta futurorum

temporum uicissitudine, ut ea, quae prius multarum fidelium personarum testimonio consilioque roborata fuerunt, ut fraudulenter per contumaciam plurimorum, et machinamenta simulationis, sine ulla consideratione rationis periculose dissipentur, nisi auctoritate literarum, et testamento cyrographorum aeternae memoriae inserta sint. Quapropter ego Aethilbaldus rex Merciorum, pro amore coelestis patriae et pro remedio animae meae, hoc maxime agendum esse praeuidi, ut eam bonis operibus liberam efficerem ab omnibus uinculis piaculorum. Dum enim mihi omnipotens deus per misericordiam clementiae, absque ullo antecedente merito, sceptrum regiminis honorificè largitus est, ideo ei libenter et uoluntarie ex eo quod accepi iterum retribuo. Huius rei gratia hanc donationem, deo teste, me uiuente concedo, ut monasteria et ecclesiae a publicis uestigalibus et ab omnibus operibus oneribusque, auctore deo, seruientes absoluti maneant; nisi sola quae communiter fruenda sint, omnique populo, edicto regis, facienda iubentur, id est instructionibus pontium, uel necessariis defensionibus arcium contra hostes, non sunt renuenda. Sed nec hoc praetermittendum est, cum necessarium constat ecclesiis dei, quia Aethelbaldus rex, pro expiatione delictorum suorum et retributione mercedis aeterni, famulis dei propriam libertatem in fructibus siluarum agrorumque, siue in caeteris utilitatibus fluminum uel raptura piscium, habere donauit; et ut munuscula ab aeclesiis in saeculare conuiuium regis uel principum a subditis minime exigantur, nisi amore et uoluntate praebentur: sed cunctas tribulationes quae nocere uel impedire possunt in domo dei, omnibus principibus sub eius potestate degentibus demittere et auferre praecipit; quatenus sublimitas regni eius prosperis successibus polleat in terris,



et meritorum manipuli multipliciter maturescunt in coelis. Qui uero haec benigna mentis intentione atque inlaesa cogitatione custodierit, aeterna claritate, coronetur, ornetur, glorificetur. Si quis hoc, quod absit, cuiuslibet personae, tyrannica cupiditate instinctus, contra hanc donationis cartulam, saeculari potentia fretus, uenire nititur, sit sub anathemate Iudae, proditoris domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Ad confirmandum uero hoc nostrae beneficentiae munus, hii testes adfuerunt, et nostri magistratus optimates et duces fidelissimique amici consenserunt et scripserunt.

✠ Ego Aethelbald divino ∴ fultus suffragiis, hiis statutis consentiens, confirmandoque signum crucis arauit.

✠ Ego Huita Mercensis ecclesiae humilis episcopus subscripsi.

✠ Ego Torhthelm gratia dei episcopus signum crucis infixi.

✠ Ego Headberht primatum tenens subscripsi.

✠ Ego Eada his statutis consentiens subscripsi.

✠ Ego Cyneberht his gestis consentiens subscripsi.

✠ Ego Bercul patricius his donis consentiens subscripsi.

✠ Ego Friothuric consentiens subscripsi.

✠ Ego Eopa his statutis consentiens subscripsi.

✠ Ego Eadbald subscripsi.

✠ Ego Byrnhelm subscripsi.

✠ Ego Mocca subscripsi.

✠ Ego Alhmund subscripsi.

Huius scedulae scriptio dominicae incarnationis añ DCCXLVIII. indictione secunda in loco celebre cuius uocabulum est Godmundeslaech . xxxiii. anno Aedelbaldi regis peracta est.

\*.\* This text is slightly conflated: basing upon Spelman's first form, K took something from the second. The MS. reference given by K (and T) represents (as now corrected) Spelman's second form.—There are several privileges of this kind in existence, as may be seen in H & S. iii. 238 ff. The oldest, and that which has stood for the type of its class, is the Privilege of Wihtried to the foundation in Kent, 606–716: though extant only in a late copy; it seems to retain genuine features of the original.

Addit. Chart. 19, 789.

A.D. 759.

K 105 (from Heming 24).

B. ii. 2.

### Three Brothers Eanberht, Uhtred, Aldred,

every one of them a regulus, and apparently of the province of the Hwiccas, give to abbot Headda for pious uses, ten cassati aet Onnanforda. The place is unknown.

✠ IN nomine dñi nři ihu xpī saluat[oris] nihil intulimus in hunc mundum uerum nec auferre quid possumus idcirco terrenis ac caducis aeterna et caelestis patriae praemia mercanda sunt. quapropter: cum licentia et pmissione piissimi regis offan merciorum. nos tres germani uno patre editi. eanberht atque uhtred necnon et aldréd praetio redemptionis animae nostrae ñ ignorantes in futuro prodesse si quid xpī membris libenter impendimus donauimus tibi. headda abb. terram iuris nostri decem cassatorum. aet onnanforda confiniae tamen eiusdem terrae: ab australi plaga uuisleag. ab occidente rindburna, a septemtrionale meosgelegeo, ab orient uero onnandun cum campis siluis pratis pascuis cum omnib: ad se ptinentibus. ut quidquid exinde agere uolueris liberam habeas arbitrium donandi in tuo sit potestate. numquam nos heredesque nostros ullo tempore: contra hanc donationem eē uenturos quod si quis praesumserit in magno uel in modico inrumpere, sit separatus ab omni societate xpīanorum et in examine: districti iustiq: iudicis praesumptionis suae poenam incurrat. ad cuius eumulum nihilominus firmitatis testes competentē<sup>i</sup> numero ut subscriberent rogauimus. et ipsi signum scāe crucis inpraeserunt. peracta est autem haec

donatio in mense febr̃ indictione xii<sup>a</sup>. anno uero ab incarnatione xpi dcc<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup> uiiii[i]. et isti testes consenserunt :

✠ ego offa rex merc̃ huic donationi consensi et subscripsi

✠ ego eanberht regulus osensi et suð.

✠ ego uhctred regulus osensi et suð.

✠ ego aldred regulus osensi et suð.

✠ ego milred episcop̃ osensi et suð.

✠ ego tilhere abbas osensi et suð.

✠ ego cusa abbas osensi et suð.

✠ sið manus . . acan

✠ sið manus dilran

✠ sið manus bobban

✠ sið manus bynnan

✠ sið manus berhtuuald

✠ sið manus tilberhti ab̃ ;

\*.\* Written in round characters of the semi-uncial Irish type. B.

In the Codex Dipl. this record is printed from Heming's Chartulary, which was compiled in the eleventh century : but since Mr. Kemble's time the original has been found, and, notwithstanding two or three discrepancies, it affords a valuable testimony to the accuracy of Heming. Heming's most important defect is that he does not give all the signatures ; and these, in the present case, throw light on the persons of the grantors.

Cott. Aug. ii. 26, 27.

A.D. 764.

K 116. B. i. 9.

## Offa

king of the Mercians, made an exchange of lands with abbot Stidberht. This is dated 764. At the close of the century this deed was owned by Pilheard, and he exhibited it before king Coenulf in synod at Cealchythe, and it was there confirmed. The handwriting of the first deed is very Irish :—that of the second, though rather more Saxon, has strong Irish features.

Both are among the facsimiles of Kemble. Here we see Saxon words in the midst of the Latin.

IN nomine trino diuino.

Regnante in perpetuum dño nostro. Ego offa . diuina gubernante gratia rex mercior. Stidberhtae uenerabili uiro atq: abbatis cura praedito . terram . xxx . manentium in middil saexum . bituih . gumeninga hergae end liddinge . et est vi . manentiũ et habitatio ab oriente torrentis . lidding . libentissime concedens donabo. et iste praefatus stidberht mihi terram totidem manentium id est . xxx . in ciltinne . in loco ubi đr wichama in uicem commutationis p'donauit. Si quis autem q̄ absit hanc nřam commutationem infringere pertemtet sciat se coram xp̄o et angelis eius rationem redditurum.

Dominicae autem incarnationis . añ . dcc.lxiiii . Indiçt. v. haec donationis datio et muneris mutatio peracta est . his testibus consentientib . et scribentibus quorum nomina infra karaxata . . . . nentur.

- ✠ Ego . offa rex merciorum subscrib.
- ✠ Ego . gengberht gratia dei archiep̄is
- ✠ Ego . eadberht ep̄s
- ✠ [Ego .] cuutfert ep̄s

*Endorsed by Pilheard, 799—802.*

Has igitur cartulas donationũ uel commutationũ pñominatorũ reguũ aethelbaldi uidelicet atqu offani cum ad me usq: peruenerunt. Ego pilheardus misellus comis regis merciorũ coenuulfi iustissime acquirens accipi, easq: in synodali conciliabulo iuxta locum qui dicitur caelichyth . coram rege iã nominato merciorũ et psulib: ecclesiarũ đĩ necnon et ducibus seu principib: produxi

et per pecuniā a piissimo iam tū domino meo rege merċ libertatem terrarū illarū consecutus sū . id est . cc . solidis . et ut postea in dieb: meis uel successorū meorū omni anno . xxx . 7 ut ab omniū fiscaliū redituū operū onerūque seu etiā popularium conciliorū uindictis nisi tantum . praetiū p p̃tio liberæ sint in ppetuū. Trium tamen causarum publica ratio reddatur hoc ÷ instructio pontuū et arcis . uerū etiam in expeditionis necessitatem uires . v . tantum modo mittantur. Huius rei gestę hi fideles testes aderant quos haec cartula ophendit.

At n̄ ego Coenuulfus dō dispensante rex merċ propriae donationis meę libertatem signo sc̄æ crucis libentissime Subscribo ✠.

✠ ego æthelheardus dō largiente arc̄ ep̄is siḡ uenerandæ crucis in̄pssi.

✠ ego unuona ep̄is ōseñ ✠ ego uuigberht ep̄is ōsen̄

✠ ego aldulf ep̄is ōseñ ✠ ego alhheard ep̄is

✠ ego utol ep̄is ōseñ ✠ ego tiðferð ep̄is

✠ ego eadulf ep̄is ōseñ ✠ ego uuithun āb

✠ ego deneberht ep̄is ōseñ ✠ ego beonna āb

✠ ego haðoberht ep̄is ōseñ ✠ ego folðred āb

✠ ego cyneberht ep̄is ōseñ

✠ ego coenuulf dī dono rex merċ ōsentiendo subscribo

✠ ego heaðoberht

✠ ego æðelmund

✠ ego esne

✠ ego heardberht

✠ ego ceolmund

✠ ego wigga

✠ ego cydda

✠ ego cuðred

✠ ego osulf

✠ ego beornnoð

✠ ego cynhelm

\* \* *On the face of the Charter is the following inscription by a hand of the 12th century:—*‘Offa Rex dedit Stidberhto abbati terram in Middelsexe.’ B.

<sup>1</sup> *Calichyth*] The identification of this name, which is more commonly written Calchyð or Cealchythe, with Chelsea, is the subject of a detailed note in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 445; where it is said that the form Chelsey appears first in A.D. 1554.

Text. Roff. 125.

A.D. 759–765.

K 114.

### Sigered

king of half Kent, gives land to Earduulf bishop of Rochester. The conveyance is made by writing and by the delivery of a sod. At first the writing was only a memorandum of the performance of the symbolical act, but it came in process of time to be regarded as the very conveyance itself, and then it superseded the ancient ceremony. Palgrave, *Engl. Commonwealth*, i. 142.

✠ IN nomine domini dei saluatoris nostri Ihesu Christi! Quamuis parua et exigua sint, quae pro amissis offerimus, tamen pius omnipotens deus non quantitatem muneris, sed deuotionem offerentium semper inquit. Qua de re Ego Sigeredus, rex dimidiae partis prouinciae Cantuariorum, tam pro animae meae remedio, quam pro amore omnipotentis dei, terram aratorum xx. quae appellatur Aeslingaham, tibi reuerentissimo episcopo Earduulfo sanctae Hrofensis ecclesiae, cum uniuersis ad se pertinentibus campis, siluis, pratis, pascuis, paludibus et aquis, et cum omni tributo quod regibus inde dabatur, in potestatem, cum consilio et consensu principum meorum, libenter in perpetuum per dono; ut possidendi uel habendi siue uendendi, uel etiam tradendi cuicunque uoluerit, liberam per omnia

habeat potestatem. Sane quia cauendum est, ne hodiernam donationem nostram futuri temporis abnegare ualeat et in ambiguum deuocare praesumptio, placuit mihi hanc paginam condere, et una cum cespite terrae praedictae tradere tibi; per quam non solum omnibus meis successoribus regum siue principum, sed etiam mihi ipsi penitus interdico, ne aliter quam nunc a me constitutum est, ullo tempore de eadem terra quippiam agere audeant. Quod si qui forte obseruare neglexerint, et absque digna satisfactione praesentis uitae impleuerint infelices dies, audiant uocem aeterni iudicis sub fine mundi dicentis ad impios: Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui praeparatus est diabolo et angelis eius. Qui uero curauerint custodire nihilque inrogarint aduersi, audiant uocem clementissimi arbitri, inquentis ad pios: Uenite, benedicti patris mei, percipite regnum quod uobis paratum est ab origine mundi. Adiectis *iiii.* daenberis in commune saltu, hoc est Uueald se uestra, Billincgden, Cealcbyras, Meosden, Rindigsel.

✠ Ego Sigiredus rex hanc donationem a me factam, signum sanctae crucis propria manu scribendo, firmaui coram Bregouuino Archiepiscopo. ✠ Ego Bregouuinus Archiepiscopus, ad petitionem donatoris ante praedicti, consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Signum manus Hereberhti Abbatis. ✠ Signum manus Baere Abbatis. ✠ Signum manus Bruno Abbatis. ✠ Signum manus Aescuualdi presbyteri. ✠ Signum manus Ecgaldi comitis atque praefecti. ✠ Signum manus Ealdhuuni. ✠ Signum manus Esne. ✠ Signum manus Badohardi. ✠ Signum manus Aethelnothi.

✠ Ego Eanmundus rex hanc piam donationem suprascriptam propria manu roborandam hoc signaculo sanctae crucis expressi, in loco cuius uocabulum est

Godgeocesham ; praesente uenerabili archiepiscopo Bre-  
gouuino et consentiente, consilio quippe atque consensu  
omnium optimatum et principum gentis Cantuariorum.

✠ Ego Iænberhtus abbas consentiens testis affui et  
subscripsi. ✠ Ego Huuaetred abbas consensi et sub-  
scripsi. ✠ Signum manus Egesnothi. ✠ Signum  
manus Balthhardi. ✠ Signum manus Aldhuni.  
✠ Signum manus Uda. ✠ Signum manus Puda.

Aug. ii. 99.

A.D. 774.

K 121.

B. iv. 4.

## Offa

king of the Angles, grants land at Higham (Kent) to abp.  
Iænberht. The deed is attested by Offa and his queen  
Cynethrith, by the archbishop, three bishops, five abbots,  
two principes, one dux, one praefectus, and seven others  
without designation. It is considered by Haddan and  
Stubbs, iii. 435, that this probably represents a Witenagemot  
of Mercia, before the great extension of the kingdom under  
Offa.

✠ In nomine ihu xpi saluatoris mundi qui est et qui  
erat et qui uenturus est . per quem reges regunt et  
diuidunt regna terrarum. Sicut dispensator uniuersę  
terre mihi distribuit secundũ mensurã suę pprię uolun-  
tatis ita eiusdem gratia concedente . ego offa rex anglorũ  
dabo et concedo iænberhto archiepo aliquam partẽ terre  
in loco qui dicitur hehham et huius terrae estimatio . v .  
aratrorum esse uidetur his notissimis confiniis circum-  
cincta . a circio mæd ham . hinc per confinia ac leage . et  
sic iuxta wæter lea . dehinc ad colling . sic per uiam  
quæ ducit ad eohinga burh in terram sçi andree . et sic  
per confinia mersc tunes . hinc tendið ad bulan ham . et



sic in merc fleot. et hoc predictū donū ad cumulū maioris firmitatis signo sčę crucis xpi anno dñicę incarnationis . DCC.LXXIII . perstrinximus . cum sacerdotibus et senioribus populi more testiū subscribendo.

✠ Signū manus offę regis suprascripta confirmantis.  
 ✠ Signū manus iaenberhti archiepi. ✠ Signū manus cynethrythe reginę. ✠ Signū manus eadberhti epi.  
 ✠ Signū manus aldberhti abb. ✠ Signū manus brordan principis. ✠ Signū manus berhtuoldi princip.  
 ✠ Signum mañ eadbaldi ducis. ✠ Signū mañ brordani pfecti. ✠ Signū mañ folcberhti abb. ✠ Signū mañ byrththuni epi. ✠ Signū mañ ceolulfi epi. ✠ Signū mañ botuuini abb. ✠ Signū mañ ætheluuoldi abb.  
 ✠ Signū mañ eadberhti abb. Signū mañ esni. ✠ Signū mañ eadberhti. Signū mañ boban. ✠ Signū mañ badohardi. ✠ Signū man uuigheardi. ✠ Signū mañ ciani.  
 ✠ Signū mañ hearedi. ✠ Signū mañ suithuni.

\* \* \* *Endorsed in a hand of the 11th century 'hoc to héh ham':—in one of the 12th century, 'Offa Rex dedit heah ham Ianberto archiepiscopo. latine.'; and in one of the 13th century, 'Archiepiscopi.' B.*

Heming 25.

A.D. 774.

K 124.

## Milred

bp. Worcester, disposes of the monastery of Withington in Gloucestershire, which had belonged to successive abbesses Dunne and Hrotavari, but had fallen in to Worcester Cathedral. It is now granted to Aedelburg for her life, and then it is to come back to the church at Worcester. See above, A.D. 736-737.

✠ DOMINO et saluatore nostro perpetualiter regnanti !  
 Ego Milredus Christi tribuente gratia humilis Huiccorum episcopus, terram monasterii quod nominatur Uuidiandun, quod situm est in occidentali parte fluuii qui dicitur Tillnoð. XXI . manentia, quam uidelicet terram

Oshere subregulus Huicciorum Dunnan famulae dei ut esset iuris ecclesiastici tradidit, consentiente Aethelredo regi Marcionum. Illa autem praefatam terram post se reliquit possidendam filiae suae, Hroðuuare scilicet abbatissae, cum conscientia atque licentia Egcuuni reuerentissimi episcopi; at illa praedicta Hroðuuara abbatisa mihi in ius propriae libertatis atque possessionis largita est. Nunc ergo cum licentia seruorum dei, qui sub meo regimine dei prouidentia constituuntur, libenter Aedelburge honorabili abbatissae, filiae Aelfredi, eam trado; ita tamen ut ipsa uiuente habeat et possideat, et post obitum eius ad aecclesiam beati Petri principis apostolorum quae sita est in Uueogerna ciuitate, ubi et pontificalis cathedra Huicciorum constituitur pro aeterna redemptione animae meae iterum reddat. Haec cartula scripta est anno ab incarnatione Christi .DCC.LXX.III. indictione XII. his testibus confirmantibus.

✠ Ego Milred episcopus hanc meam donationem signo crucis confirmabo, ea conditione ut illa Aepelburh illud monasterium aet Uueogernacestre<sup>1</sup> cum omnibus bonis quae ibi sunt post diem eius ad Uueogernensem quoque reddat aecclesiam, sicut praeceptum erat patris eius Aelfredi.

<sup>1</sup> ? æt Uuidiandun.

Chart. Cott. viii. 34.

A.D. 778.

(Text. Roff. 129.)

K 132. B. ii. 4.

### Ecgeberht

king of Kent, grants to Diora bishop of Rochester, half a plough-land, and a marsh. The grantee is addressed in the Second Person: as below A.D. 785.

This is a test document for the Textus Roffensis. It is found in that Register, and was thence copied by Mr.

Kemble: it is now known to be extant in coeval writing, which has been facsimiled in the British Museum series. The comparison results in a testimony of the highest kind to the Rochester chartulary.

✠ IN nomine dñi ñi ihu xpi. pietatis beneficium quod quisq: fidelium pro xpi reuerentia seruo dñ fideliter dño seruienti misericorditer contulerit xpo hoc conferre dinoscitur. nam ipse in fine mundi ad electos suos loquens dicturus est. cum uni ex minimis meis fecistis mihi fecistis. idcirco ego egcberhtus rex canf. hanc dominicam sententiam memoriter retinens et piis operibus dō instigante adimplere curabo tibi dioran hro-fensis ecclesiae antistiti aliquam partem terrae iuris mei libenter concedo id est dimidiam unius aratri partem ubi nominatur brómgeheg simul et mariscem uocabulo scaga et ut per omne ab hac die et deinceps subsequens tempus cum notissimis terminis omnibusq: utilitatibus ad eam rite pertinentibus tuo proprio iuri aeternaliter habendam possidendam tradendamq: cuicumq: hominum uolueris hilari concedo animo huius autem marisci terminus est aqua pene undiq: circumperfusa. Si quis ergo heredum successorumq: meorum contra hanc piam donationem meam uenire fuerit ausus et temerare eam inuido maliuoloq: temptauerit animo sit anathema maranatha. manente hac chartula in sua nihilominus stabilitate quam roborare propria manu curauī et alios idoneos religiososq: testes 'ut' id ipsum agerent adhibui quorum nomina infra caraxata continentur. Actum anno dñicae incarñ .dcccxxviii. in ciuitate dorouerni.

✠ ego egcberhtus rex canf hanc donationem meam signo crucis xpi roborauī.

✠ ego iaenberhtus archiepis<sup>s</sup>c testis consentiens subscripsi.

- ✠ sigñ manus escuuald p̃br
- ✠ sigñ manus uban
- ✠ sigñ mañ boban
- ✠ sigñ mañ uualhard
- ✠ sigñ mañ ubban
- ✠ sigñ mañ aldhun
- ✠ sigñ mañ sigired
- ✠ sigñ mañ esni
- ✠ eaniardi

∴ huic uº ƿre adiacent prate ubi dŕ hreodhã. in .iiii<sup>or</sup>. locis. in uno loco .xvii<sup>m</sup>. agros. on eastan clifwara gemaere. 7 on suðan tucincgnaes. 7 on waestan culingagemaere. 7 on norðan; et in alio loco. xii<sup>m</sup>. agros. on eastan is culingagemaere. 7 on suðan clifwarage-meere. 7 on westan. 7 on norðan; et in ƿtio loco. vii<sup>m</sup>. agros. be eas'tan'. is mearcfleot. 7 be súðan. 7 be westan 7 be norðan is clifwaragemere; et in quarto loco. sex agros. be eastan is clifwaragemaere. 7 be suðan is culingagemaere. 7 be westan is 7 be norðan clifwarage-maere;

\*.\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 10th century, ' + brom gehæges boc,' and in a hand of the 15th century, ' Egbertus rex.' B.*

Heming 106.

A.D. 781.

K 143.

## Heaðored

bishop of Worcester, consents to Offa's views about the title deeds of the church at Worcester, insomuch that, in synod at Brentford, Offa recovers from Heaðored the monastery of Bath, and 30 cassati on the south of the Avon; as a recompense for which, he confirms to the family in Worcester the remainder of their possessions.

✠ IN nomine dei summi! Tempora temporibus subeunt, et uicissitudinum spatiis euenit, ut prisca iam

dicta inrita fiant nisi scriptis confirmemur. Quare ego Heaðoredus, deo dispensante supplex Huicciorum episcopus, insimul etiam cum consensu et consilio totius familiae meae quae est in Uuegerna ciuitate constituta, diligentissime scrutans cogitaui atque de pace uel statu aecclesiastica rimatus sum. Equidem de aliquibus agellis conflictationis quaerulam cum Offano, rege Merciorum, dominoque dilectissimo nostro habuimus. Aiebat enim nos, sine iure haereditario propinqui eius, Aeðelbaldi scilicet regis, haereditatem sub dominio iniusto habere; id est, in loco qui dicitur aet Beathum . xc . manentium, et in aliis multis locis; hoc est, aet Stretforda xxx. cassatos: aet Sture . xxxviii. Simili etiam uocabulo aet Sture in Usmerum<sup>1</sup> . xliii . manentium, aet Breodune . xii . in Homtune xvii . cassatorum. Haec autem praefata contentionis causa in sinodali conciliabulo demissa in loco qui dicitur aet Bregentforda. Reddidimus quoque illo iam nominato regi Offan, monasterium illud celeberrimum aet Baþum, sine ullo contradictionis obstaculo, ad habendum, uel etiam, cui dignum duxisset, adtribuendum; semperque perfruendum, iustis eius haeredibus libentissime concessimus; et in australe parte fluminis ibi iuxta quod dicitur Eafen . xxx . cassatos addidimus, quam terram mercati sumus digno praetio a Cyneuulfo rege Uuestsaexna. Quapropter idem ille praefatus rex Offa, ad reconpensationis satisfactionem, et pro unanimitate firmissimae pacis, praefata loca aet Stretforda, aet Sture, aet Breodune, in Homtune, aet Sture in Usmerum, extra omni controversionis et ammonitionis causa, ea libertate ad supradictam aecclesiam nostram, id est in Uuegerna ciuitate, libertas concessit, ut nullo maiore cessu alicuius rei essent subiectae, quam praememorata sedis episcopalis.

Nec non et trium annorum ad se pertinentes pastiones, id est, vi. conuiuia libenter concedendo largitus est. Nunc ergo ego Offa dei gratia rex praescriptam libertatem terrarum, pro remedio animae meae concessam, in synodo aet Bregentforda, una mecum consedente Iam-berhto archiepiscopo, nec non omnes episcopi, abbates et principes consenserunt et subscripserunt. Propria manu signum sacratissimae crucis Christi pro firmitatis stabilimento conscripsi. Conscripta est haec cartula aet Bregentforda, anno ab incarnatione Christi .DCC.LXXXI. Indictione IIII.

✠ Offa, rex Merciorum.	✠ Iænberht archiepiscopus.
✠ Brorda princeps.	✠ Eadberht episcopus.
✠ Berhtuuald princeps.	✠ Hygeberht episcopus.
✠ Eadbald princeps.	✠ Aepelmod episcopus.
✠ Esne princeps.	✠ Ecgbald episcopus.
✠ Eadbald princeps.	✠ Ceoluulf episcopus.
✠ Eadberht princeps.	✠ Heathoredus episcopus.
✠ Diera episcopus.	✠ Gislhere episcopus.
✠ Aetheluulf episcopus.	✠ Eadberht episcopus.
✠ Heardred episcopus.	✠ Aldberht episcopus.

<sup>1</sup> *aet Sture in Usmerum.*] On the Stour in Worcestershire. See above, A.D. 736 (K 80).

Text. Roff. 12.

Before 785.

K 160.

**Ecgberht<sup>1</sup>**

king of Kent. grants land to Diora bp. Rochester (765-785), who is addressed in the second person.

✠ IN nomine domini saluatoris nostri Ihesu Christi ! Omnem igitur hominem, sicut frequenter coelesti magisterio adhortantur didicimus, qui sub christiana religione uitae coelestis praemia consequi desiderat, necesse est ut in praesenti pietatis insistat operibus, et terrenis rebus

atque transitoriis, in quantum deo largiente sufficiat, sibimet aeterna mercatur bona, suasque preces ad diuinam peruenire clementiam cotidie citius per hoc faciat, quod ipse aliorum in suis necessitatibus libenter exaudiat; attentius reminiscens, quod quibusque religiosis postulationibus tanto libentius tantoque promptius consensus praebendus est, quanto et illis qui precatores sunt, utiliores secundum hoc uisibile saeculum nunc impertitur, et illis qui concessores existunt, pro impertito opere pietatis uberior merces secundum inuisibile postmodum tribuetur. Quamobrem ego Egberht, rex Cantiae, tibi dilectissimo episcopo Dioran, atque tuae aecclisiae quae in honore sancti Andreae apostoli consecrata est, pro remedio animae meae, cum consensu meorum optimatum atque principum, terram iuris mei decem aratrorum, in loco ubi nominatur Hallingas, cum omnibus scilicet ad eam pertinentibus rebus, iuxta terminos indigenis certissimos, cum campis, siluis, pratis, paludibus, piscationibus, uenationibus, aucupationibus, libenter tenendam possidendamque concedo. Ita ut quicquid de ea agere uolueris, liberam per omnia in perpetuo potestatem teneas. Quisquis igitur haeredum successorumque meorum hanc donationem meam augere atque amplificare uoluerit, habeat beatam communionem in praesenti cum diligentibus deum, et in futuro perpetuam cum omnibus sanctis. Quisquis autem maliuola mente de illa immutare aut inminuere temptauerit, separetur a societate non solum aeternae felicitatis omnium sanctorum, set etiam in aeterna poena cum scelerum suorum crudelibus participibus sit condemnatus. At uero ut hanc donationem meam quilibet hominum aliquando non possit irritam facere, manu propria signum sanctae crucis subtus in hac pagina facere curauimus, testesque religiosos ut idipsum

facerent adhibeo. Adiectis denberis in commune saltu, Bixle, Speldhirst, Meredaen, ðaer be eāstan, 7 Rusteuellae 7 Teppan hyse.

Sunt autem termini. A loco qui uocatur Hrofesbreta usque in arborem quae uocatur Cuturs ác; et inde uia recta per medium campum qui appellatur Hiuetin hamstedi usque in locum qui dicitur Halles meri; et inde circumit per locum qui uocatur Heortleágu; usque in flumen Medeuuæge.

✠ Ego Egceberhtus rex hanc donationem a me factam signo sanctae crucis roborauī. ✠ Ego Heaberhtus rex signo sanctae crucis roborauī et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Iænberhtus archiepiscopus gratia dei consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Signum manus Eangisli. ✠ Signum manus Udan. ✠ Signum manus Balthardi. ✠ Signum manus Egesnothi. ✠ Signum manus Uban. ✠ Signum manus Tyccan. ✠ Signum manus Heardraedi. ✠ Signum manus Uuiobhtnothi. ✠ Signum manus Coenberhti.

<sup>1</sup> A great obscurity hangs over the personality of this king Egceberht. Kentish royalty was now in its latter stage: the subjugating blow had been given by Offa in 773. Only in Henry of Huntingdon's list of Kentish kings does a name occur at all like this. He says, with manifest hesitation, 'Egfert regnum idem xxxiv annis, ut conijcere possumus ex scriptis, tenuit.' These 34 years would be 761-795. But partly in the same years falls the time of Ecgfrið, son of Offa, who in 785 was associated with his father in the kingship of Mercia, and who may very conceivably have been previously made king of Kent. At any rate the election of Eadberht Praen as king of Kent synchronizes with the death of this Ecgfrið. But then there is another obscure king in this piece. Who is Heaberhtus rex? In all this, we feel what an eclipse has come over English history since the close of the work of Beda!

Text. Roff. 131.

A.D. 788.

K 152.

### Offa

king of the Mercians, gives land to St. Andrew's, Rochester.



Among the signatures is Ecgfrið the son of Offa, who became fellow-king with his father in 785, and Higeberht the Mercian archbishop, whose elevation took place at the same time. Sax. Chron. 785: H&S. iii. 446 d.

✠ IN nomine dei summi et saluatoris nostri Ihesu Christi, ipsoque in perpetuo regnante disponenteque suauiter omnia, terrena quoque sceptrata et regalia iura temporaliter distribuyente. Unde et ego Offa, rex Merciorum, aliquam terram pro remedio et salute animae meae tradam, id est, sex aratorum, ubi nominatur Trottesclib, ad aeclesiam beati Andreae apostoli et ad episcopium castelli quod nominatur Hrofescester, ubi beatus Paulinus pausat, quam etiam episcopalem sedem modo in praesenti rite regit Uuaermundus religiosus antistes. Hanc itaque supradictam terram ad hanc conditionem perpetualiter habendam et possidendam concedo, cum omnibus ad eam rite pertinentibus rebus, cum campis, siluis, pascuis, pratis, pastinationibus, et cum propriis terminis. Huius autem terrae termini sunt isti; ab oriente et a meridie Boerlingas, ab occidente Uurotaham, ab aquilone Meapaham.

Ad hanc quoque terram pertinent in diuersis locis porcorum pastus, id est uuealdbaera, ubi dicitur Holenspic bi súðan eé, Eppan hrycg, non longe ab eo loco Langan hrycg. Quisquis uero contra hanc donationis cartulam callido malignoque tractatu contraire praesumpserit, nouerit se, quisquis ille fuerit, in discreto dei iudicio sinistrae partis socium fore, et a Christi et dei corpore sanguineque segregandum. Manente hac cartula in sua nihilominus firmitate; propria manu signaculo crucis Christi roborare curauimus, et testes religiosos et consentientes, id ipsum agentes adhibui, quorum nomina cum propriis cruciculis infra adnotentur. Actum anno dominicae incarnationis DCCLXXXVIII.

✠ Ego Offa rex Merciorum, hanc suprascriptam donationem meam hoc signum crucis impressi. ✠ Ego Ecgfrið rex Merciorum, testis consentiens subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cyneðryð regina consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Iænberhtus, gratia dei archiepiscopus, signum crucis Christi impressi. ✠ Ego Hygeberht archiepiscopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ceoluulf episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Signum manus Brordani praefecti. ✠ Signum manus Berhtualdi. ✠ Signum manus Eadbaldi. ✠ Signum manus Ceolmundi.

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Harl. 4660, f. 7.

A.D. 789.

Heming 7.

Nero E. i. 388.

K 156.

### Heathored

bp. Worcester, versus Wulfheard son of Cussa, before the council at Celchyð, touching the inheritance of Hemele and Duda. The decision was in the bishop's favour. See again below A.D. 803.

✠ SÆCULI namque labentis tempora uelocius uento aerem tranant. ideoque omnes firmas statutiones seriae litterarum adnotamus ne forte in posterum aliquis ignorantiae auaritiaue ea decreta infringere praesumat quae uenerabilium uirorum fiunt uerbis confirmata. Anno dominici incarnationis DCC<sup>o</sup>LXXX<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup>. indictione uero XII<sup>a</sup>. qui est annus XXXI. regni offan strenuissimi Merç regis factum est pontificale conciliabulum in loco famosa qui dicitur celchyð praesidentibus duobus archiepiscopis Iamberhto scilicet et Hygberhto mediante quoque offan rege cum universis principibus suis; ibi inter alia plura aliqua contentio facta est inter heathoredum episcopum et wulfheardum filium Cussan de haeriditate hemeles et

dudae quod post obitū suorū nominarent ad weogornacaestre, hoc est intanbeorgas et bradanlege . uoluisset ergo wulfheardus<sup>1</sup> illum agellulum auertere ab ecclesia praefata in weogornacaest cum ignorantiae et insipientiae [si potuisset. Tunc ille episcopus] illum refutabat cum his testibus qui eorum nomina infra scripta liquescunt coram synodali testimonio. Et aiebat quod ei rectum non fieret ulli alio post se tradere praeter et [antedi]ctā ciuitatem hoc est weogrinacaestor. Et propter eorum prece et amore qui illam terram [adqui]sierunt 7 ad ecclesiam prefatam dedissent illi senatores familiae consentientes fuerunt ut illud custodiret et haberet diem suum. Tunc arc̃ epis̃ simul cum uniuersis prouincialibus epis̃ ita finem composuerunt et reconciliauerunt. ut wulfheardus terram possideret tamdiu uiueret 7 postquam uiam patrum incederet sine aliqua contradictione [illuc ad] weogornense ec[clesiae] terras atq: libellus cum semetipso redderet [ubi corpora requiescunt hemeles et dudae.]<sup>2</sup>

- ✠ Ego offa rex merc. ɔsentiendo imposui.
- ✠ Ego iamberht dī gratia arc̃. ep̃ . ɔsens. et suḥs.
- ✠ Ego hygeberht simt̃ arc̃ . ep̃ . ɔsen. 7 suḥs.
- ✠ Ego ceolwulf ep̃. ɔs̃ 7 suḥ.
- ✠ Ego heardred . ep̃ ɔs̃ 7 suḥ.
- ✠ Ego unuuona ep̃ ɔs̃.
- ✠ Ego heaðored . ep̃. ɔs̃.
- ✠ Ego ceolmund ep̃.
- ✠ Ego aeðelmod ep̃.
- ✠ Ego cyneberht ep̃.
- ✠ Ego wermund ep̃.
- ✠ Ego boduine aḥ.
- ✠ Ego utel aḥ.
- ✠ Ego fordred.

- |  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| ✠ Ego uulfheard simul subſ 7 ƿfirmaui. |                     |
| ✠ . . . . . berht . . . pŕ             | ✠ Siġ ceolmundi p̃. |
| ✠ . . . . . mundi p̃                   | ✠ Siġ æðelhardi p̃. |
| ✠ Siġ alhmundi p̃.                     | ✠ Siġ bynnan.       |

<sup>1</sup> MS. 3 reads as follows: 'Wlfheardus ergo uoluit illas a weogorna ciuitate auertere, cum insipientia, si potuisset; sed episcopus illum uicit cum testibus quorum nomina infra notantur, coram uniuersa synodo; et aiebat quod rectum non esset, ulli alii post se tradere, nisi ad weogernam ciuitatem, et praeter eorum prece et amore qui illam terram adquiserunt et ad praefatam aecclesiam dederunt. Tunc archiepiscopus,' etc. K.

<sup>2</sup> The interpolations are from MS. 2. K.

Heming 54.

A.D. 794.

K 164.

### Offa

confirms by his signature what had been decided in 793 at a synod in Clofes hoas, that the 5 manentes at Austan, formerly given to the see of Worcester by King Aeðelbald but subsequently seized by Bynna, should be restored to the bishop. In this deed it is worthy of observation that Hygeberht the archbishop of Lichfield, signs before Aeðelheard the archbishop of Canterbury<sup>1</sup>.

✠ OMNIS itaque huius uitae prosperitas deo miserante existit, etiam et futurae uitae beatitudo eo largiente perueniet. Contigit autem in diebus Offani regis Merciorum quod Bynna, comes regis, sustulit sine recto hanc terram aet Austan . v . manentes, quod Aeðelbald rex ante liberauit, et hoc recte pertinebat ad sedem episcopalem in Uuegrin ciuitate. Tunc fuit synodus in loco, qui dicitur Clofes hoas, anno [ab] incarnatione Christi . dcc.xc.iiii. regni Offani . xxxvii . anno. Tunc episcopus Heaðoredus, cum conscientia totius synodalis concilii referebat, et fiducialiter incunctanterque confirmauit cum testimonio scripturarum illarum quae Aeðelbald rex ante in aeternam libertatem suis processoribus praescripsit. Et tunc rex cum omni consilio sancti con-

cilii consentiebat, quod episcopus praefatus salua manu accipiebat in contenditum suam propriam praeonominatam terram, et hoc cum confirmatione sanctae crucis Christi omnes munierunt, ut firma et infracta permaneat in aeuum.

✠ Ego Offa rex Merciorum, signo sanctae crucis confirmaui. ✠ Ego Ecgferð filius regis, consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Signum Hygeberhti archiepiscopi. ✠ Signum Aedelheardi archiepiscopi. ✠ Signum Ceoluulfi episcopi. ✠ Heaðored episcopi. ✠ Cyneberhti episcopi. ✠ Deneferð episcopi. ✠ Wigmund abbas. ✠ Brorda dux. ✠ Alhmund dux. ✠ Bynna dux. ✠ Wigberht dux. ✠ Heardberht dux. ✠ Uoba dux.

<sup>1</sup> Compare p. 62; Ego hygeberht similiter arē.

Cott. Nero E. i. 387.

A.D. 796.

K 170.

### Ecgfrith

king of Mercia, grants 3 cassati aet Huntenatun to Aedelmund; and the deed is dated at Bath. The signature 'Eadulf electus' is that of the elect bp. of Lindsey, who ruled that diocese forty years until A.D. 836. H&S. iii. 507.

✠ SAECULI namque labentis tempora sicut umbrae fugientes sic uelociter tranant, uarieque euentuum status in cogitationes hominum conscendunt. Quapropter ego Ecgfridus rex Merciorum concedo meo fideli principi Aepelmundo III. cassatos aet Huntenatun liberaliter ad possidendum, pro ereptione peccaminum meorum, sicut antea Uhtred et Aldred Beornhardo concesserunt. Et hoc gestum est in celebri uico qui Saxonice uocatur aet Baðum, his testibus consentientibus.

✠ Ego Ecgfridus rex hanc meam donationem confirmavi. ✠ Ego Brihtricus rex. ✠ Ego Aepelhardus archiepiscopus. ✠ Ego Heaðored episcopus. ✠ Ego Eadulf electus. ✠ Ego Forðred abbas. ✠ Ego Brorda princeps. ✠ Ego Aepelmund. ✠ Ego Eadgar.

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MS. Lambeth 1212, p. 312.

A.D. 798.

K1019.

### Æðelheard

abp. Cant. in synod at Clovesho, recovered an equivalent in Kent for the monastic estate of Cookham, of the acquisition and loss of which by Christ Church, Canterbury, an eventful story is told.

✠ REGNANTE imperpetuum deo et domino nostro Ihesu Christo! Ego Aedelhardus larga omnipotentis dei gratia annuente Dorobernensis aecclesiae metropolitanus, cum praestantissimo rege nostro Cenulfo, conuocans uniuersos prouinciales episcopos nostros, duces et abbates et cuiuscunque dignitatis uiros, ad synodale concilium in locum qui nominatur Clouesho, ibi sollicito ab eis scrutinio quaesiuius qualiter apud eos fides catholica haberetur, et quomodo christiana religio exerceretur. Hiis ita exquisitis, una omnium uoce ita responsum est: Notum sit paternitati tuae, quia sicut primitus a sancta Romana et apostolica sede, beatissimo papa Gregorio dirigente, exarata est, ita credimus; et quod credimus absque ambiguitate, quantum possumus exercere satagimus. Postquam autem super hiis uberius tractatum est, ita exorsi sumus: Necessarium est, fratres charissimi, aecclesias dei et uenerabiles uiros qui iam multo tempore terrarum dispendio et absumptione ciro-

graphorum miserabiliter laborauerant, corrigere. Hiis dictis, prolatae sunt inscriptiones monasterii quod uocatur Coccham in medium, terrarumque sibi adiacentium; quod uidelicet monasterium, cum omnibus ad illud pertinentibus terris, rex inclytus Merciorum Aedelbaldus aecclesiae saluatoris quae sita est in ciuitate Dorobernia dedit; utque illius donatio perseuerantior fieret, ex eadem terra cespitem et cunctos libellos praememorati coenobii, per uenerabilem uirum Cuðbertum archiepiscopum misit, et super altare saluatoris pro perpetua sua salute, poni praecepit. Sed post mortem praefati pontificis, easdem inscriptiones Dæiheah et Osbertus, quos idem pontifex alumnos nutriuit, maligno acti spiritu furati sunt, et Cenulfo regi Occidentalium Saxonum detulerunt; at ille, accipiens statim testimonia litterarum, praedictum coenobium cum omnibus ad illud rite pertinentibus suis usibus coaptauit, neglectis praenominati archiepiscopi Cuðberti dictis et factis. Item, Bregwinus et Ianbertus archiepiscopi per singulas synodus suas, questi sunt de iniuria aecclesiae saluatoris illata; et apud Cenulfum regem Occidentalium Saxonum, et apud Offam regem Merciorum qui uidelicet saepe-memoratum coenobium Coccham et alias urbes quamplurimas Cenulfo rege abstulit, et imperio Merciorum subegit. Tandem Cenulfus rex sera ductus poenitentia, telligraphia, id est, libellos quos a supradictis hominibus Dæiheh et Osberto iniuste perceperat, cum magna pecunia, aecclesiae Christi in Doroberniam remisit, humillime rogans ne sub tantae authoritatis anathemate periclitaretur. Uerum rex Offa praememoratum coenobium Coccham, sicut sine litteris accepit, ita quanto tempore uixit, detinuit, et absque litterarum testimonio suis post se haeredibus reliquit. Secundo autem anno

regni Cenulfi facta est synodus sicut supra est praelibatum apud Clouesho; at ego Aeðelhardus gratia dei Dorobernensis archiepiscopus, et Cuba primicharius mecum, et multi alii ex illa aecclesia Christi sapientes, libellos praefati coenobii Coccham, in concilium detulimus; cumque coram synodo relict<sup>1</sup> fuissent, omnium uoce decretum est iustum esse ut metropolis aecclesia saepepraefatum coenobium Coccham, cuius inscriptiones in suo gremio habebat, perciperet, quo sub tanto tempore tam iniuste spoliata fuerat. Tunc autem placuit mihi Aeðelhardo dei gratia archisacerdoti et Cyneðryðae abbatissae quae eodem tempore saepedicto coenobio praefuit, ac senioribus ex utralibet parte, Cantia scilicet et Bedeforde, ad hoc ibidem congregatis, quatenus ipsa Cyneðriða in regione Cantia daret mihi pro commutatione saepe praefati coenobii, terram centum et decem manentium, sexaginta cassatorum uidelicet in loco qui dicitur Fleote, et triginta in loco qui dicitur Teneham, in tertio quoque loco ubi dicitur Creges aewylma, uiginti. Quas scilicet terras olim rex Offa sibi uiuenti conscribere fecit, suisque haeredibus post eum; et post eorum cursum uitae, aecclesiae quae sita est apud Beodeford consignari praecepit. Hoc etiam coram omni synodo elegimus; ut ipsa abbatissa a me percipiet saepenominatum coenobium cum suis inscriptionibus; et ego terras et libellos terrarum illarum quas mihi in Cantia reddit, ab ea acciperem, quatenus nulla imposterum inter nos haeredesque nostros et Offae regis surgat controuersia, sed quod sub tam nobilis synodi testimonio inter nos confirmatum est indirupto foedere seruetur imperpetuum. Ego quoque Aeðelhardus archiepiscopus concedo Cyniðriðae abbatissae monasterium quod situm est in loco qui dicitur Pectanege ad habendum, quod mihi



rex pius Egfridus haereditario iure possidendum donauit  
atque conscripsit.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. relecti.

Cott. Nero E. i. Part 2. 388.

(Harl. 4660 f. 7.)

Heming 8.

K183. T. p. 46.

6 Oct. 803.

} collated.

### Deneberht

bp. Worcester, in Council at Clovesho, records the settlement  
of the dispute between the See of Worcester and Wulfheard  
son of Cussa. See above, A.D. 789.

Antanbeorge & Bradanlaeh.

✠ IN nomine dñi . nři . ihu . xpi. Ea quae secundum ecclesiasticam disciplinam ac synodali decreto salubriter definiuntur quamuis solus sermo sufficeret tamen pro euitanda futuri temporis ambiguitate fidelissimis scripturis et documentis sint cōmendata, Quapropter ego deneberhtus epūs fui memor pristinae locutionis antecessoris mei heathoredi . et wulfheardi epīš circa terras illas aet intebeorgas<sup>1</sup> et aet bradanlaehe tunc wulfheardus iterum coram sinodali testimonio confirmauit cum signo crucis xpi deneberhto epō . et eius familiae in weogorna ciuitate ut ille noluisset umquam auertere ab ecclesia prenominata nisi ut ante ueraciter ac firmiter definitum habuit ut hoc per omnia firmum et fixum inter eos ppetuo maneret. Haec cōmemoratio facta est in loco qui dicitur clofeshō . añ . incarnaf . domniċ . dcccº . iiiiº Indiċ xi. pridie nonarum octobrium his adstipulantibus.

✠ ego aðelheard arçi eþs.	✠ ego werenberht eþs.
✠ ego ald wulf eþs.	✠ ego denebriht eþs.
✠ ego eadulf eþs.	✠ ego wibriht eþs.
✠ ego wulfheard eþs.	✠ ego alhheard eþs.
✠ ego alhmund eþs.	✠ ego osmund eþs.
✠ ego tidferð eþs.	✠ ego wihthun eþs.
✠ ego wermund eþs.	
✠ ego koenulf rex merč. osensi 7 suþs.	✠ ego aldred princeps.
✠ ego beornoð princeps.	✠ ego heaberht princeps.
✠ ego cynehelm priñ.	✠ ego ceolwald prinč.
✠ ego wigheard priñ.	✠ ego wiega prinč.
	✠ ego byrnwald prinč.

*Indorsed: 821—823.*

**Bremesgraf.**

✠ Ceolulf rex wilnade ðæs landes æt bremesgrafan to heaberhte bē 7 to his hirede 7 ða sende he his ærendwreocan to wulfhearde to intanbeorgum 7 heht ðæt he cuome to him 7 to ðæm higum ða dyde he swæ ða heo him to spraecon se bisceop 7 his weotan ymb ðæt land ðæt he his him geuðe ðæt heo mæchten ðone freodom begeotan 7 ða wæs he eaðmodlice ondeta ðæt he swa walde 7 to him wilniende wæs ðætte heo him funden swylce londare swylce he mid arum on beon mehte . 7 his wic ðaer on byrig beon mihte on his life. ða sende he monn to ðæm ærcebisceope 7 to eadberhte 7 to dynne 7 him heht sæcgan ðæt he wilnade ðæs londes æt intanbeorgan. ða se ærcebisceop 7 eadberht hit wæran ern-diende to cyninge. ða cuom dynne to gelærde ðone cyning ðæt he his no gepæf wæs. ða wæs higen 7 hlaforde lond unbefliten eghuæs 7 seoððan a oð his daga ende.

\*.\* Kemble appears to have printed this deed from the Harleian transcript, which is inferior to Heming, as Heming is to Cott. Nero. I have corrected it by Cott. Nero, so far as that authority goes, viz. to *ða sende* in the endorsement, and then by Heming.

<sup>1</sup> intanbergan *Heming* : intanbergum *Harl.*

Cott. Aug. ii. 61.

12 Oct. 803.

K185. B. ii. 6.

**Æthelheard**

abp. Canterbury, in Council at Clovesho, establishes the primacy of the See of Canterbury, and abolishes the metropolitan dignity which Offa had instituted at Lichfield. This important record, which disposes for ever of the archbishopric of Lichfield, is preserved in its original form, to be seen in the British Museum, and it is among the facsimiles edited by Mr. Bond.

GLORIA in excelsis dō et in terra pax hominibꝫ bonae uoluntatis.

✠ Scimus autem quod multis in dñm fideliter confidentibus notum et manifestum est . et nihil tamen illis placabile in eo uisum est . qui in gentibus anglorum commorantur quod offa rex merciō in diebus iænberhti arċepiſ cum maxima fraude honorem et unitatem sedis sċi agustini patris nostri in dorouernensi ciuitate diuidere et discindere praesumsit . et quomodo post obitum praedicti pontificis aēðelheardus arċepiſ dī gratia dona'n'ti illius successor post curricula annorum erga plurima dī ecclesiarum iura limina apostolorum et apostolicae sedis beatissimum papam leonem uisitare contigit . inter alias necessarias legationes etiam discissionem iniuste factam archiepiscopalis sedis narrauit . et ipse apostolicus papa ut audiuit et intellexit quod iniuste fuisset factum statim sui priuilegii auctoritatis praēceptum posuit et in brittanniam misit et praecipit ut honor sċi agustini sedis cum omnibus suis parrohhiis integerrime redintegraretur iuxta quod sċs gregorius nṛae gentis apostolus et magister composuit et honorabili arċepiscopo aēðelheardo in patriam peruenienti per omnia redderetur et coenuulfus rex pius merciorū ita compleuit cum senatoribus suis . anno uero

dominicę incarnationis . DCCC<sup>o</sup>III<sup>o</sup>. indictione . XI<sup>a</sup>. die . III<sup>a</sup>. idus octobris . ego æðelheardus arċepiſc̃ cum omnibus . XII. episcō s̃co sede beati agustini subiectis per apostolica praecepta domni papæ leonis in synodo qui factus est in loco celebri qui uocatur clofeshoas unianimo consilio totius s̃ci synodo . in nomine dī omnipotentis præcipientes et omnium s̃corū illius et per eius tremendum iudicium . ut numquam reges neque episcopi neque principes neque ullius tyrannicae potestatis homines honorem s̃ci agustini et suæ s̃cę sedis diminuere uel in aliquantula particula diuidere præsumerint . sed in eo per omnia dignitatis honore plenissime semper permaneat quo utique in constitutione beati gregorii et in priuilegiis apostolicorum suorum successorum habeatur nec non etiam et in s̃corū canonum rectum haberi sanctionibus uideatur. Nunc etiam dō cooperanti et domno apostolico papæ leoni ego æðelheardus arċepiſ et alii coepiscopi nostri et nobiscum omnes dignitates nostri synodi cum uexillis crucis x̃pi unianimiter primum s̃cæ sedis firmantes . hoc quoque præcipientes et signo s̃cæ crucis scribentes ut arċepiscopalis sedes in liccidfeldensi monasterio nūquam habeatur ex hoc tempore neque in alio loco aliquo nisi tantum modo in dorobernensi ciuitate . ubi x̃pi ecclesia est et ubi primus in hac insula catholica fides penituit et á s̃co águstino sacrum baptismum celebretur. insuper etiam cartan a romana sede misam per hadrianum papam de palleo et de archiepiscopatus sede in liccedfeldensi monasterio cum consensu et licentia domni apostolici leonis papæ praescribimus aliquid ualere. quia per subreptionem et male blandam suggestionem adipiscebatur. et ideo manifestissimis signis caelestis regis primatum monarchiae archiprincipatus permanere canonicis et apos-

tolicis munitioniſs statuimus ubi ſc̄m euangelium x̄pi per beatum patrem agustinum in prouincia anglorum primū pr̄dicatur . et deinde per gratiam ſc̄i ſp̄s late diffusum est. Si quis uero contra apostolicus praeceptis et nostrorū omnium ausus sit tunicā x̄pi scindere et unitatē ſc̄e d̄i ecclesiae diuidere . Sciat sé nisi digne emendauerit quod inique contra sacras canones fecit aeternaliter esse damnatum . . 7

Hic s̄t nomina s̄corū episcoporū et abbatum qui prae-scriptum cyrographi cartulā in synodo qui factus est æt clofeshoum. anno aduentus d̄ni . DCCCIII cum signo ſc̄æ crucis x̄pi firmauerunt . . 7

✠ æðelheardus ar̄cēpiš.	✠ deneberhtus epiš.
✠ alduulfus epiš.	✠ uuiththunus epiš.
✠ uuerenberhtus epiš.	✠ tidfriðus epiš.
✠ alcheardus epiš.	✠ uulfheardus epiš.
✠ uuigberhtus epiš.	✠ alhmundus p̄rs aḥ.
✠ alhmundus epiš.	✠ beonna p̄rs aḥ.
✠ osmundus epiš.	✠ f' o' r̄ðréd p̄rs aḥ.
✠ eaduulfus epiš.	✠ uuigmundus p̄rs aḥ.

\* \* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand, 'Epistulas . . .'; and in a hand of the 12th century, 'Scriptum quomodo adnichilatum sit per Æthelardum archiepiscopum archiepiscopatus Licisfeldensis quod fieri debuit contra ecclesiam cantuariensem. per offam regem.' 'latine.' B.*

Canterbury Charters, C. 195.

12 Oct. 803.

K1024.

T. p. 50.

S. i. 4.

### Æðelheard

Abp. Cant. in synod at Clovesho, and under mandate from Leo III, decrees that secular persons are not to be elected as lords of monasteries. The signatures are peculiarly interest-

ing, as giving an idea of the composition of the ecclesiastical council of the time. See H & S. iii. 547 b for further details and identifications.

✠ Ego Aeðelheardus gratia dei humilis sanctae dorobernensis ecclesiae archiepiscopus unianimo consilio totius sancti synodi . congregationibus omnium monasteriorum quae olim a fidelibus christo domino perpetuam in libertatem dedita fuerunt. In nomine dei omnipotentis . et per eius tremendum iudicium praecipio . Sicut et ego mandatum a domno apostolico Leone papa percepi . Ut ex hoc tempore numquam temerario ausu super hereditatem domini laicos et saeculares sibi praesumant dominos eligere . Sed sicut in priuilegiis ab apostolica sede datis habetur . seu etiam ab apostolicis uiris in initio nascentis ecclesiae traditum est per sanctos canones vel etiam a propriis possessoribus monasteriorum constitutum . ea regula et obseruantia disciplinae sua monastica iura studeant obseruare. Si ergo quod absit ipsi hoc nostrum mandatum . et domni apostolici papae spreuerint et pro nihilo ducunt . Sciant se ante tribunal christi nisi ante emendari uoluerint, rationem reddituros . Haec sunt nomina sanctorum episcoporum et uenerabilium abbatum et presbyterorum et diaconum qui cum totius sancti synodi consensu pro confirmatione predictae rei . signum sanctae crucis subscripserunt.

✠ Ego Aeðelheardus gratia dei archiepiscopus dorobernensis ciuitatis . signum sanctae crucis subscripsi.

✠ aeðelheah abbas ✠ Uulfheard presbiter ✠ beornmod presbiter

✠ feologeld presbiter abbas ✠ wernoð presbiter ✠ Uulfred archidiaconus

✠ Ego aldulfus liccedfeldensis ecclesiae episcopus signum crucis subscripsi.

✠ hygberht abbas ✠ monn presbiter ✠ eadhere presbiter

✠ lulla presbiter ✠ wigferð presbiter ✠ cuðberht presbiter

✠ Ego werenberht legorensis ciuitatis episcopus signum crucis subscripsi.

✠ alhmund presbiter abbas ✠ forðred presbiter abbas ✠ eadberht presbiter ✠ eadred presbiter ✠ eanred presbiter

✠ beonna presbiter abbas ✠ uuigmund presbiter abbas ✠ berhthaeð presbiter ✠ æpelhaeh presbiter ✠ mon presbiter

✠ Ego eadwulf syddensis ciuitatis episcopus signum crucis subscripsi.

✠ eadred presbiter abbas ✠ plegberht presbiter ✠ hereberht presbiter

✠ daeghelm presbiter abbas ✠ eaduulf presbiter ✠ heaðored presbiter

✠ Ego deneberht wegoranensis ciuitatis episcopus signum crucis subscripsi.

✠ hyseberht abbas ✠ paega abbas ✠ coenferð presbiter

✠ ðingcferð abbas ✠ freoðomund abbas ✠ selered presbiter

✠ Ego wulfheard herefordensis ecclesiae episcopus signum crucis subscripsi.

✠ cuðred abbas ✠ dycga presbiter ✠ heaðobald diaconus

✠ strygel presbiter ✠ monn presbiter ✠ werferð

✠ Ego wigberht sciraburnensis ecclesiae episcopus signum crucis subscripsi.

✠ muca abbas ✠ berhtmund abbas

✠ eadberht abbas

✠ Ego ealbmund wintanae ciuitatis episcopus signum crucis subscripsi.

✠ cuðberht abbas ✠ marcus abbas ✠ notheard presbiter

✠ cufa abbas ✠ lulla abbas ✠ wigðegn presbiter

✠ Ego alhheard elmhamis ecclesiae episcopus signum crucis subscripsi.

✠ folcberht presbiter ✠ eadberht presbiter ✠ hunfrið diaconus

✠ freoðuberht presbiter ✠ wulfluf presbiter ✠ beornhelm diaconus.

Cott. Aug. ii. 100.

A. D. 805 ?

K191. B. ii. 7.

## Cuðred

king of Cantware, with consent of Coenuulf king of Mercia, conveys to Æðelnoð three ploughlands aet Hægyðe þorne (? Eythorne, Kent—B) for 3000 denarii: in hereditary right and free of services.

✠ IN nomine altithroni qui solus regat ac gubernat omnia omnipotenter in æuum ego cuðredus rex cantuuariorum cum consensu coenuulfi regis merç et his testibus quorum infra nomina tenentur adscripta . dabo æðelnoðo p̃fecto meo fidelissimo in puincia cantiãe terram trium aratrorum in loco qui ðr æt hægyðe ðorne pro conpetenti pecunia id ÷ . iii<sup>a</sup>. milia denariorū . nunc itaq: p̃dicta terra in potestate illius sit donata cum rectis terminib: et iure hereditario firmiter fixa p̃maneant . seu etiā ab omni uīi sæculariū seruitiis intus uel foras libera p̃seuerat sine aliquo grauidine et lesione maiorum minorūue causarum .



ut habeat libertatem commutandi uel donandi in uita sua et post eius obitum teneat facultatem relinquendi cui-cumq: uolueris . nullus regum 'aut 'episcoporum uel principum p̃sentium uel futurorum ista sit contemnere ausus . sin autem redat rationẽ corã dō et coram angelis eius in die reuelationis dñi nři iħu xpi amen :—

✠ ego coenuulf rex merč hanc donatióem consen-siendo suþ,

✠ ego cuðred rex cantiã hanc donatióẽ meã signo sc̃æ crucis xpi firmabo 7 subscribo

✠ ego wulfredus gratia dī archiepīš cons̃ 7 suþ

✠ ego coenwald consensi 7 subscripsi,

✠ ego osuulf cons̃ 7 suþ

✠ ego ealðberht cons̃ 7 suþ

✠ ego wealh cons̃ 7 suþ

✠ ego æðelieard cons̃ 7 suþ

✠ ego berhtnoð cons̃ 7 suþ

✠ ego ceolnoð cons̃ 7 `s' uþ

✠ wulfred arčepīš

✠ alduulf épīš

✠ uuerenberht epīš

✠ beor`n'mod epīš

✠ deneberht epīš

✠ wigberht epīš

✠ tidferð epīš

✠ alhmund epīš

✠ alhheard epīš

✠ wiohthun epīš

✠ eaduulf epīš

✠ wigmund p̃r aþ

✠ wulfheard epīš

✠ beonna p̃r aþ

\*\*\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 10th century, 'hegyðe ðorn . ðreo salunga,' and in a hand of the 12th century, 'Cudred rex cantiã edelnoðo præfecto' 'latine'. B.*

*Endorsed by Aethelnoth and Gaenburh, 805—831<sup>1</sup>.*

✠ Aethelnoth se gerefa to eastorege and gaenburg his wif  
aræddan hiora erfe beforan Wulfrede arcebiscope and æthel-  
hune his masseprioste and esne cyninges thegne suae luether  
hiora suae leng lifes were foe to londe and to alre æhte gif  
hio bearn hebbe thonne foe [ð]æt ofer hiora boega dagas to  
londe and to æhte. gif hio thonne bearn næbbe and wulfred  
archibiscop lifes sie thonne foe he to thaem londe and hit .  
forgelde and thaet . wiorth gedaele fore hiora gastas suae  
aelmeslice and suae rehtlice suae he him seolfa on his wis-  
dome geleornie. and this [s]prece naenig mon uferran dogor  
on naenge othre halfe oncaerrende sie nimne suae þis gewrit .  
hafath.

✠ Uulfred arcepiš.

✠ Aethelnoth.

✠ Feol[o]geld pr ab.

✠ Gaenburg.

✠ Aethelhun pŕ.

✠ Esne.

✠ Cuthberht pŕ.

pisses londes aran thrie sulong aet haegethe thorne. and  
gif hiora othru oththe baem siith forgelimpe biscop that lond  
gebycge suae hit<sup>2</sup> thonne geweorthe.

Translation:—Aethelnoth, reeve of East Kent, and Gaenburg, his wife, declared their succession before Abp. Wulfred and Aethelhun his chaplain, and Esne, a thane of the king's. Whichever of the two should survive should take to the land and to all the property: if they have a child, it is to take, after both their days, to the land and property: if they have no child and Abp. Wulfred be alive, then he is to take to the land, and pay for it, and distribute the worth for their souls in the way of alms, and as justly as he in his wisdom may learn. And this bequest let no man in time to come divert in any other direction than as this writing containeth.—Of this land are three sulongs at Haegethe thorne; and in case of the prior decease of one or both, the bishop is to buy the land as it then stands.

<sup>1</sup> This endorsement by the purchaser and his wife is after Kemble from the Stowe MSS. For language and for contents it is remarkable. Notice *gastas* for the usual *sawla*.

<sup>2</sup> hie K.

Cott. Aug. ii. 55.

A. D. 805.

Lamb. 1212. f. 314.

K189. B. i. 13.

**Æthelheard**

abp. Canterbury, by synodal decree, restores to the brethren of Christchurch land formerly given them by Aldhun, of which, by the rapacity of some king, they had been unjustly deprived. The penmanship is remarkable, and it was selected by Kemble as one of his few specimens.

✠ Ego aedilheardus metropolitanae ciuitatis in dorobernia arc̃ ep̃is pro amore dñi ñi ih̃u xp̃i et pro absolutione meorũ criminũ terram quattuor aratroř nomine aet burnan in occidentali parte beorahames s̃cae familiae ecclesiae xp̃i in propriã possessionem donabo et obsecro in nomine dñi omnes pontifices ñros successores . ut omne bonum quod in illa terra lucrificetur fratres sibi singulariter ad mensam suam habeant et ad alteram necessitatẽ faciant qua illis bona et spontanea uoluntate maxime utile uideatur. Hanc p̃nominatam t̃erram quidam homo bonus nomine aldhun qui in hac regali uilla in huu's' ciuitatis praefectus fuit pro intuitu aeternae mercedis fratribus ñris ad mensam tradidit . sed s̃ca ecclesia xp̃i sine norma iustitiae cum rapacitate cuiusdam regis de sua terra priuata est . et nos auxiliante dño iterum illam iusto et synodali iudicio restituere huic s̃cae familiae curauimus . rogamus etiam amicos ñros id est reges et pontifices et omnes qui potestatem in hac prouincia habeant. ut semper augere his fratrib. et ñ minuere suum bonum dignentur . et certe credimus eo magis d̃m omnipotentem illis augere aeterna bona in caelestibus regnis.

actũ fuit dcccv. anno incarnať xp̃i xiii. indictione  
testiũ nomina hic infra caraxata sunt

✠ Ego aedilheard arċ eþi cum uexillo crucis xþi  
confirma

✠ ego biornmod eþi subscripsi. ✠ eanred þpoš.  
✠ biornhard þpo.

✠ monn'a' pŕ. ✠ cuba þ. ✠ uulfhard þ. ✠ ciol-  
stan þ. ✠ osuulf þ. ✠ paul þ

✠ heamund þ ✠ heremod þ ✠ uulfred arċ diã  
✠ guðmund. ✠ eadred diã

✠ goda subdiã ✠ wine

✠ ego cuðred rex cantie consensi et subscripsi

✠ ego cudaman aþ osensi et suþ

✠ ego feologeld aþ. et subsċr. ✠ aldberht suþ

✠ osuulf dux subseþi ✠ esne subseþi

✠ berhtnoð subscrip ✠ heahfirð suþ

✠ sigehard subscriþ.

\*.\* *Endorsed by a hand of the 12th century, 'Scrip. V.' 'iiii aratra.'*  
Eðelardus archiepiscopus burnan ecclesie Christi recuperavit et ad men-  
sam suam quam haldun prefectus civitatis prius ei contulit 'V.' B.

Cott. Aug. ii. 79.

A. D. 805–810.

K 226. B. i. 15.

### Osuulf and Beornðryð

an Aldorman and his Lady, gave to Christchurch (Canterbury) an estate at Stanstead (Kent), humbly petitioning that their anniversary might be kept with a solemnity equal to that of the governors and benefactors of that church. Then Abp. Wulfred, speaking in the First Person, engages that their request shall be granted, and that they shall have a yearly-day, which shall be kept with a special service and almsgiving, and a College Gaude; the provision and preparation for which are hereby directed, as well as the Rubric for the commemorative services.—An early and striking example of Fraternization, of which we have a later example about 1050 (K 945). This private anniversary is much the same as that which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries came to be called a yearly

Mynde.—The deed is further interesting as an early example of one wholly in Saxon; and it is worthy of remark that it contains no þorn, that sound being throughout represented by ð. A specimen is facsimiled in Cod. Dipl., and the whole by Mr. Bond, who describes the writing as ‘rounded minuscules, partly following the Irish type.’ Mr. Kemble dated this piece 805—831, but Haddan and Stubbs have shewn that it cannot be later than 810. Dialect Kentish.

✠ Ic osuulf Aldormonn mid godes gæfe ond beorn-ðryð min gemecca sellað to cantuarabyrg to cristes cirican ðæt lond æt stanham stede. xx. swuluncga gode allmehtgum 7 ðere halgon gesomnuncgæ fore hyhte 7 fore aedleane ðæs aecan 7 ðæs towardon lifes, 7 fore uncerra saula hela 7 uncerra bearna. Ond mid micelre eadmodnisse biddað ðæt wit moten bion on ðem gemanon ðe ðaer godes ðiowas siondan 7 ða menn ða ðaer hlafordas wæron 7 ðara monna ðe hiora lond to ðaere cirican saldon. Ond ðættæ mon unce tide ymb tuælfmonað mon geuueorðia on godcundum godum 7 æc on aelmessan suæ mon hiora doed,

Ic ðonne uulfred mid godes gæfe aſc eþis ðas forecuaedenan uuord fullia 7 bebeode ðæt mon ymb tuælfmonað hiora tid boega ðus geuueorðia to anes daeges to osuulfes tide ge mid godcundum godum ge mid aelmessan ge aec mid higna suesendum, ðonne bebeode ic ðæt mon ðas ðing selle ymb tuælfmonað of liminum ðe ðis forecuaede'ne' lond to limpeð of ðaem ilcan londe æt stanham stede. cxx. huaetenra hlafa. 7 xxx. denra. 7 an hriðer dugunde. 7. iii. scep. 7 tua flicca. 7. v. goes. 7. x. hennfuglas. 7. x. pund caeses gif hit fuguldaeg sie, Gif hit ðonne festen dæg sie. selle mon uuēge cæsa 7 fises 7 butran 7 aegera ðætmon begeotan maege. 7 xxx. ombra godes uuelesces aloð ðæt limpeð to xv. mittum. 7 mittan fulne huniges. oðða tuēgen uuines. suē hwaeder suae

mon ðonne begeotan maege Ond of higna gemenū godū ðaer aet ham mon geselle. cxx. gesufra hlafa to ael-messan for hiora saula. suae mon aet hlaforða tidū doed̃. Ond ðas forecūðenan suęsenda all agefe mon ðem reogolwarde 7 he brytnię swæ higū maest red sie 7 ðaem sawlū soelest. aec mon ðaet weax agæfe to ciricican 7 hiora sawlum nytt gedoe ðe hit man fore doed̃. aec ic bebeode minum aeft̃erfylgendū ðe ðaet lond hebb̃en aet burnan ðaet hiae simle ymb. xii. monađ foran to ðære tide gegeorwien ten hund hlafa 7 swae feola sufla 7 ðet̃ mon gedele to aelmessan aet ðere tide. fore mine sawle 7 osuulfes 7 beornðryðe 'aet crist̃es cirican' 7 him se reogolweorð on byrg gebeode foran to hwonne sio tid sie. aec ic bidde higon ðette hie ðas godcundan god gedon aet ðere tide fore hiora sawlū. ðaet eghwile messepriost gesinge fore osuulfes sawle twa messan twa fore beornðryðe sawle. 7 aeghwile diacon arede twa passione fore his sawle twa fore hire Ond eghwile godes ðiow gesinge twa fiftig fore his sawle twa fore hire. ðaette ge fore uueorolde sien geblitsade mid ðem weorolde cundum godum 7 hiora saula mid ðem godcundum godum. aec ic bidde higon ðaet ge me gemynen aet ðere tide mid sulce godcunde gode sulce iow cynlic ðynce. Ic ðe ðas gesett- nesse sette ge hueder ge for higna lufon ge ðeara saula ðe haer beforan hiora namon auuritene siondon.

## VALETE IN DÑO.

\*\*\* *Endorsed, by a nearly contemporaneous hand 'his is gesetnes osulf ond biarnðryðe;'* and by one of the 12th century, with the exception of the date, which is added later, 'Anno dcccvi Osulfus alderman dedit Stanhamstede ecclesie christi tempore Wlfredi archiepiscopi. Anglice.' B.

Cott. Aug. ii. 47.

21 April 811.

K195. B. ii. 11.

## Wulfred

abp. Canterbury, who was a considerable landowner in Kent, exchanges land with Christ Church. H&S. vol. iii. p. 557.

✠ IN nomine altithroni dī summi regis aeterni. Ego uulfred dñi inspirante gratia xpi ecclesiae antistes ꝥ reuerentia dñi nři ihu xpi. ac ꝥ deuotissimo sinceræ caritatis affectu, et ꝥ expiatione piaculorum meorum . seu etiam ꝥ mutua commoda uicissitudinis agellorum nřorum quorundam . hoc ÷ uerbi gratia ꝥ familie xpi ecclesiae id ÷ ꝥprie nřis fřib; in perpetuæ hereditatis facultatē tribuens donabo terram trium aratrum meae ꝥprie iuris in regione easterege quae inibi ab incolis folcuining lond uocatur atq; iterum etiam in eadē regione eosterege meae ꝥprie hereditatis ruriculū unius aratri illis trib; adherens ꝥdictis nřae fraternitati on byrg ad possidendū reddo. Haec quattuor qđ po's's'es'siones aratra ita mihi in ꝥpriam ꝥtinerunt condicionē . illa iğ tria aratra id ÷ ðæt folcwinig lond on eosterge 7 unum aratrū ibi in nřae terrae medio et liminum coenuulf rex mihi cum suis primis dignitatum gradib; cum ceteris agellis donauerit. pro illius agelli conparatione on magonsetum æt geardcylle terra decim manentium quem á cyneðryðae adquirere 7 conparare curaui . Sed illud aratrum unū on liminū de quo ꝥdiximus id ē ðæt wynnhearding lond 7 babbing lond 7 an iocled on uppan ufre quam terram id ÷ aratrum illud æt liminū ad xpi ecclesiā<sup>1</sup> tribuam ꝥ agello illius aratri ꝥ fřib; nřis sicut ꝥdixi tradidi on eosterge . et illud iam dudum etiam xpi ecclesiae ꝥprium fuit, Insuper etiam addidi n eostorege quintum aratrum fřib; nřis concedendam ꝥ a reacolunsae ecclesiae prius

transmotauerã qđ dunwaling lond đr. hoc eđ ea condicione addens dabo ut quanto eorũ humilitas atq: oboedientia circa nos deuotior fuerit . tanto iđ illis semp largiores in cunctis bonis dño miserante existere curamus . Has itaq: terrulas ideo collegere et simul ita in unũ coniungere eximiae caritatis industria curauit . ut facilius elaborare ac desudare sua propria in illis potuissent quasi adunate unius termini intra septa conclusi . atq: illas etiam meae ppriae arbitrio in dño nr̃is fr̃ib: p̃petue dono cum omnib: bonis ad se rite undecumq: p̃tinentib: cum siluis pascuis pratib:q: 7 cum omni eximia libertatis honore eis tribuam exceptis trib: tantum debitis . id ẽ expeditionẽ 7 arcis munionẽ 7 pontis instructionẽ aduersus paganos . ut nr̃a familia uidelicet fr̃s nr̃i feliciter et p̃petualiter salua iure illis . iuxta suae necessitatis pprietatem p̃ omnia ut illis placuerit in dño fruerentur . huius eđ reconciliationis nr̃ae uicissitudinem beniuolamente adnuendo consentiendo crucis xp̃i uexillo roborabo, Hac tñ uera interposita rationis condicione tam clementer hoc agens q̃ mihi 7 meis heredib: tam stabile 7 immune 7 p̃petue immobile fixum in dño in ẽum p̃duret illa uerbi gratia uicissitudinis transmotatio quã mihi familia nr̃i fr̃s uidelicet ex suo pprio iuris arbitrio unanimo desiderio 7 consono mentis consensu cunctorũ seniorum iuniorumque ppria uoluntate tradideřt terram utiq: ubi ab incolis regionis æt burnan uocabulum đr . quattuor aratrũ quam terram totam iam dudum aldhun quidam comes uenerabiles ppinquus domni iaemberhti ar̃c̃ep̃is familiae 7 ppriae singulariterq: fr̃ib: p̃ aeterna familiaritate ac p̃ animae suae redemptione iure p̃petua liberaq: ad possidendũ illis donauerut . illamq: terram ecgberht rex aldhuno conscribendo dederat . Sed p̃t eo rex offa p̃dictam terram a nr̃a familia abstulit uidelicet quasi non liceret ecgberhto



agros hereditario iure scribere . Sed post ea beatae memoriae aeðelheard arçepiſ a rege offa adquirere studuit illā terram cū integra libertate ad xpi eccleſiā . Sed 7 ipſe aeðelheard arçepiſ nŕ paulo ante obitum ſuū cum pſuaſſione amicorū frīb: nŕis illam terram cum illa libertate 7 cunctis reb: rite ad eam pſinentib: restituere demandauit . ut illi terrę fructib: utilitatisq: uſib: fr̄s p redemptione animę illius ppetuę ſecundū ſuum placitū tantum in dño fruereſſent . quamobrem fr̄s ac familia nŕa illa quattuor aratra ipſius terrę æt burnan pprię illorum iuris hereditatē mihi in ius pprię ac ppetuę hereditatis arbitrium tradideſſent ad transmotationis uiciffitudinē illius terrę on eaſterege quam pdiximus, mihi qđ tam liberam 7 ſecuram p omnia habendam fruendamq: ppetuę 7 ad trahendam ſecundum meae uoluntatis placitum arbitriumq: in aeuū dederunt 7 conſcientib: animis cunctorumq: manib: crucis ſignaculo libenter ſubſcribentib: atq: hoc etiam difinīuīmus 7 firmiter reconcilians coram idoneis teſtib: roborauimus ut tota illa terra quam ipſi tradiderunt mihi æt burnan tam immunis abſq: alicuius contradictionis obſtacula ppetuę fieri poſſet ſicut illa terra on eoſtorege quam illis dederam eis ppetuę inuiolabilem eē deſiderio.

Si h̄ q absit aliquis maliuola audacia hanc nŕam uiciffitudinē p tyrannidē inuadere ꝛ infringere temtauerit nouerit ſe ante tribunal ſummi 7 tremendi iudicis xpi eē rationē redditurum . niſi illud prius digna ſatisfactione emendauerit . et ſi qualibet nŕae partis condicio innocens 7 incontaminata reperta ipſius rei fuerit ſeu forte utraq: ſuae ppriae iuris poſſeſſio ſalua 7 integra ratione ad priſtinę hereditatis gremium reuertetur . pars h̄ illa quę rea 7 deprauata fuerit ſuae ppriae partis rea priuetur et iuſtum arbitrorum iudicium

subire cogetur ibiq: iuste districtiones accipiat sentiatq:  
satisfactionem

✠ ego uulfred gratia dī arċepiſ huius reconciliationis  
nrae uicissitudinē signo scae crucis xpi confirmabo 7  
subscribo

✠ ego beornmodus epiſ osenſ 7 suþ

✠ ego wernoð pŕ 7 aþ osenſ 7 sub .

✠ ego beornwine pŕ 7 aþ osenſ 7 suþ

✠ ego feologeld pŕ 7 aþ osenſ 7 suþ ,

✠ aeðelhun pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ ceolstan pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ heamund pŕ osens 7 suþ .

✠ osuulf pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ heremod pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ tudda pŕ. osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ deornoð pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ abba pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ guðmund pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ badaheard pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ cuðric pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ hunferð pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ uuilnoð pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ dryhtnoð pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ eangearð pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ aeðelheah pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ ealhun pŕ osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ deneberht diã . consenſ 7 suþ .

✠ coenhere diã . osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ tilred diã osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ billheard diã osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ dudd diã osenſ 7 suþ .

✠ goda diã osenſ 7 suþſ .

- ✠ brunheard dia osenš 7 suþ .
- ✠ uulfheard osenš 7 suþ .
- ✠ osmund osenš 7 suþ .

Actum ÷ H hoc anno dominicę incarnĩ .deccc.xi. indicatione ++ .iiii<sup>a</sup>. imperii H coenuulfi regis .xv. anno. pręsulatus H wulfredi arčepiř anno .vi. die H undecimo kl mai . in loco řclara in ciuitate dorouernia . regnante dño sine fine, amen :—

\* \* *Endorsed in a hand of the 12th century, ' .VI. Commutatio quarundam terrarum inter archiepiscopum Wlfredum 7 fratres ecclesie Christi id est folquiningland .iii. aratra an eastreie. 7 .i. aratrum in loco qui dicitur biri. 7 .i. in loco qui dicitur dunwalingland . pro burne .iiii. aratrorum . ' ' latine . bonum . ' B.*

<sup>1</sup> It appears on the facsimile as if ecclesię had first been written, and then corrected to ecclesiā.

Cott. Aug. ii. 10.

1 Aug. 811.

K196. B. i. 14.

### Coenuulf of Mercia

grants to abp. Wulfred two and a half 'hagan' in Canterbury. This was done at a council held in London. The ceremonious formality of the deed is remarkable. We see that land in a borough was subject to the trinoda necessitas no less than in the open country.

✠ IN nomine dñi summi regis aeterni. Anno aĩ incarnationis eiusdem dñi saluatoris mundi iħu xpĩ. dccc<sup>o</sup>.xi<sup>o</sup>. indictione uero. iiii<sup>a</sup>. Porro qđq imperii piis-  
simi regis merciorũ coenu'ulfi<sup>1</sup> anno. xv<sup>o</sup>. praesulatus etiā wulfredi archipontificis anno. vi<sup>o</sup>. prāma kalendarũ die augustarũ in loco řclaro oppidoq: regali lundanię uicu conciliũ pergrande collectũ habebatur. in quo uide-  
licet ipse rex coen'ulf atq: wulfred arč episč cum

coepiscopis illius duob: uerbi gratia. deneberht hu'u'iciorũ eþis. Aeðeluulf episcopũ australiũ saxonũ. cum principib: ducibusq: et maiores natu. quorũ nomina infra craxantur. inter alias qđ diuersarum rerũ causas in illo habentes concilio interpretatas. Placuit pio regi coenuulfo cum consilio et consensu totius concilii illius id ẽ episcoporũ principũ ducũ iudicume maiorumq: natu. Pro honore dñi omnipotentis ac pro expiatione piaculorũ eius. atq: pro reuerentissima dilectione uulfredi aŕceþisċi. seu etiam pro eius larga pecuniarũ remuneratione. hoc ẽ centum et uiginti. vi. mancosas pro his reb: in occidentale cantiae in regione suburbanaq: regis oppido ibi ab incolis roeinga hām nuncupato Terrā duorũ aratruum qđ appineg lond illic nominatur. et rursũ in alio loco et in regione suburbana ad oppidũ regis quod ab incolis ibi fefres hām appellatur. Terrā qđ duorũ aratruũ in locis nominatis illic ðaet suiðhunineg lond aet grafon aea atq: iterũ in ciuitate dorouernia in australe parte ecclesiae saluatoris<sup>2</sup> duas possessiunculas et tertiā dimediā id ẽ in nrā loquella ðridda half haga et prata duo ad eas prius et modo pertinentia in orientale parte sture fluminis sita Coenuulf rex has terrulas sui propriae puplicae iuris cum praedicto concilii consensu. ac pro cunctis antedictis causis uulfredo suo archipontifici donare ac conscribere in propriā atq: in perennē hereditatem habendũ fruendumq: et ad tractandum cum campis pascuis pratib: siluis saltib: piscuosis ac maritimis fretib: paludib: uallibusq: dulcis salsuginesque salisq: stationib: coctionesq: et cum cunctis fructib: interius exteriusq: uel aliunde usquam ad eas rite uel umquā pertinentia in talem sibi usum qualē semet ipsi utillimum optimumue fore uideretur firmiter pleniterq: deiudicauit. Integrum qđ libertatē his terrulis atq: ruriculis rex coenuulf cum auctoritate supra dicti

concilii decreuerat. Ut perpetue sint liberate ab omnib: puplicis tributis et â cunctis regaliũ rerũ uel operum debitis. siue principũ seu ducũ uel procuratorũ aut etiam ab omni saeculariũ causarũ rerumue grauidine exceptis his debitis. id ẽ pontis instructionẽ. et contra paganos expeditionẽ. atq: arcis munitionẽ destructionemũe Cum tamen hoc uniuerso populo oportunitas summa poposcerit et necessitas eximia hoc agendũ cunctos undicumq: coherceret. tunc et illi rite sua reddent,,

✠ Ego coenuulf dñi misericordia rex mercioř huius nřae dationis ac libertatis remunerationẽ mente consona propriisq: manib: crucis xp̃i signo confirmare roborareque st[atui].

✠ aelfp̃ryð regina consentiens subscripsit.

✠ sigred rex subscripsit.

✠ uulfred archi ep̃is xp̃i gratia consentiens subscripsit.

✠ deneberht ep̃is subscripsit.

✠ beornmod ep̃is subscrip̃.

✠ æðeluulf ep̃is subscrip̃.

✠ heardberht prinč subscrip̃.

✠ beornnoð prinč subscrip̃.

✠ cynehelm prinč subscrip̃.

✠ eadberht dux coñs subscrip̃.

✠ ecguulf dux coñs subscrip̃.

✠ eanberht dux coñs suðs.

✠ heahferð dux coñs suðs.

✠ cyneberht p̃piñ eius suð.

✠ coenwald p̃piñ eius suð.

✠ æðelheah pedes sessor suð.

✠ cuuoenburg ab̃ba suð.

✠ seleburg ab̃b subscripsit.

✠ cuðred p̃r subscripsit.

\* \* *Endorsed in an ancient hand, 'grafen ea;' in a hand of the*

10th century, 'swiðhuning land,' and 'grauanea;' and in a hand of the 12th century, 'Concilium cenulfi regis in quo dedit suið hunigland et grauenea Wlfredo archiepiscopo.' 'Latine.' B.

<sup>1</sup> The scribe wrote coenulfi, and a correcting hand has intimated another u over the line. This occurs three times in the early part of the deed, and after that the uu is duly written in its place.

<sup>2</sup> At Canterbury Augustine heard of an old church of the Roman period, and by the king's help he recovered it, and consecrated it 'in nomine sancti Salvatoris.' Beda, E. H. i. 33. Afterwards it came to be called Christ Church. That is Canterbury Cathedral.

Chart. Ant. Cantuar. C. 1278.

A. D. 812.

K199. S. i. 6.

### Coenuulf

king of the Mercians, exchanges land in the eastern parts of Kent with Abp. Wulfred, who was a private landowner.

✠ In nomine dei summi regis aeterni. Anno quoque incarnationis dei et saluatoris mundi . DCCC<sup>o</sup> . XII<sup>o</sup> . indictione. v. Regni quoque gloriosissimi merciorum regis coenuulfi Anno . XVI<sup>o</sup> Praesulatus etiam anno uulfredi archiepiscopi . VII<sup>o</sup>. INter alios quoque deo adnuente bonarum rerum euentōs uerbi gratia placuit itaque regi coenuulfo atque uulfredo archiepiscopo quorundam commutationes agellorum ambobus competentius in orientalibus cantiae partibus sapientibus eorum consentientibus<sup>1</sup> firmiter peragere. Ita quoque primitus uulfred archiepiscopus hac interposita ratione aliquam terrae partiunculam . hoc est duarum manentium in loco ubi sueordhlinas uocitantur iuxta distributionem suarum utique terrarum ritu cantiae an sulung dictum Seu in alio loco mediam partem unius mansiunculae id est an ioelet ab incolis ibi ecgheanglond appellatur. Quam terram uidelicet Uulfred archiepiscopus plenario

ac digno comparauerat praetio ab uulfhardo praesbytero iam dudum Aeðelheardi bonae memoriae archiepiscopi sibi ad possidendum atque fruendum per omne modum Seu etiam cum libertate sicut et ipse illam terram comparare et possidere optenuit . Id est ut iure hereditario perpetuae possederet et ab uniuersis etiam terrenis difficultatum notis et ignotis condicionibus ac tributis siue ab omni opere puplico aedificiorum aut in quolibet ductu perenniter libera frueretur et sua sic utilitate quaecumque sibi dei dono praeuideret terram dereliqueret illam. UNde igitur christi gratia uulfred archiepiscopus eandem terram sibi tam propriam et quam liberam habendam fruendamque in suum proprie arbitrium comparare pleniter ut praediximus praecurabit. Atque etiam insuper sic regi coenuulfo dare atque ad rei public . . . e condicionis donare decreuerat ubi uel quicumque utilitati sibi fore uideretur. Pro agellorum Transmutatione Uerbi gratia istorum qui in partibus suburbanis regis oppidulo fefresham dicto fieri uidebantur . Hoc est terrae particula duarum manentium id est an sulung ubi ab incolis grafoneah uocitatur. Ab aquilone habens terminum suuealuue fluminis . A plaga oriente suiðhuning lond . A parte occidentali ealhfleot . Ab austro sighearding meduae ond eac suithhuning lond. Atque rursum in partibus australi in regione on liminum et in loco Ubi ab indegenis ab occidente kasingburnan appellatur de mediam partem unius mansiunculae id est an ioclet . ad id insuper addito illo litore foris maritimo cum pristinis terminibus cunctis ad eam usquam rite pertinentibus . Dei gratia quoque rex Coenuulf has praedictas terrulas uerbi gratia aet grafon aea atque iterum aet casingburnan litoreque illo cum omnibus . undecumque legitimis limitibus campis salsuges pascuis siluis pratibus paludibus

litoribus piscuosis seu cunctis aliunde usibus quisquibet maritimisque fructibus Pro illis praedictis agellorum uicissitudinibus aet sueordhincum et ecgheanglond Uulfredo archiepiscopo ueraciter et firmiter in propriae condicionis ac in perpetue possessionis hereditatem cum uniuersae integritatis libertate perpetualiter in domino concedens donabo sibi ipsi habendum ac perpetue fruendum ac sic ad trahendum Ut semet ipso utillimum esse uideretur . Cum uniuersae libertatis praedictae discretionem per omnia immobiliter secundum quod terram praedictam Uulfred archiepiscopus conparauerat haberet. Atque hac condicione regi Coenuulfo Transmutare et in domino donare diiudicauerat Sicut superius ratum ac delibratum et infra crucis uexillo et sub idoneis testibus roboratum habetur . INsuper additur hoc Si huius uicissitudinis persona quilibet ex utralibet parte hanc commutationem aliter transmutare aut uiolare temptauerit quam difinitum fieri uidetur . salua iure intemerata possessiuncula cum praedicta libertate absque obstaculo aliquius quaestionis ad proprie hereditatis gremium redeat.

Aut etiam quilibet dominorum Seu summo saeculi dignitatum gradu ditatus huius uicissitudinis reconciliationem tyrannico fraude fretus ex his utralibus partibus quod Tam firmiter reconciliaretur hanc mutare vel fraudare iniqui temptauerit. Nouerit se anathematum esse et ante tribunal summi iudicis Xpi rationem redditurum. Nisi prius digna satisfactione emendauerit.

✠ Ego coenuulf xpi gratia rex merciorum huius nrae uicissitudinis munificentiam larga manu donabo atq; crucis uexillo roborabo.

✠ Ego Uulfred gratia di aŕc epiſc huius nostrae reconciliationis munificentiam adnuendo consentiens et signo crucis xpi roborabo.



- ✠ Ego eaduulf episc consentiens subscripsi.
- ✠ Signum manus cuðredi pŕ.
- ✠ Sigñ mañ ploesa ducis.
- ✠ Sigñ mañ cyneberhti reḡ ꝥpinḡ.
- ✠ Sigñ mañ æðelheah pēd seč.

\*.\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 11th century 'grauan ea:—in a hand of the 12th century 'Commutatio terrarum inter Kenulfum regem et Wulured archiepiscopum pro suerdling et ecgingland . grauenea et casinburne . latine:—and in a hand of the 13th century 'Carta Ceonulphi Regis de Suordlinge q' dedit Wulfredo archiepiscopo.'*

<sup>1</sup> sapientibus eorum consentientibus. As if the archbishop too had his witenagemot. See above, p. 69, 'se bisceop and his weotan.' So Thurstan abp. York, in his charter to Beverley, says, 'et consilio meorum baronum.' Stubbs, *Select Charters*, part iii.

Somner's Ant. Battely. App. p. 35.

A. D. 813.

K200.

## Wulfred

abp. Cant. having rebuilt his monastery ordains that the members of his familia may have and use the houses they have built, and may also give or bequeath them; but only to members of the congregation. This is granted as a favour on condition of their greater devotion to their duties and constant attendance at prayers. They are also required to use the common refectory and dormitory.

✠ IN nomine sanctae saluatoris dei et domini nostri Ihesu Christi. anno ab incarnatione eiusdem dei et redemptionis mundi DCCC.XIII. Indict. VI. praesidente Christi gratia archipontifice Uulfredo metropolitano sedem ecclesiae Christi quae sita est in dorouernia ciuitate anno VII. episcopatus eiusdem archiepiscopi diuina ac fraterna pietate ductus amore deo auxiliante renouando et restaurando pro honore et amore dei sanctum monasterium dorouernensis ecclesiae reaedificando refici auxiliantibus eiusdem ecclesiae presbiteris et diaconibus

cunctoque clero domino deo seruientium simul. Ego Uulfredus misericordia dei archisacerdos pro intimo cordis affectu dabo et concedo familia Christi habere et perfruere domos quas siui proprio labore construxerunt iure perpetuo hereditatis munificentia illis uiuentibus seu decedentibus cuicumque relinquere uel donare uoluerint unusquisque liberam habeant facultatem in eodem monasterio donandi sed nec alicui foras extra congregationi. Ita etiam in Christi caritate obsecrans precipio omnibus successoribus meis hanc praedictam donationem inconcussam et inuiolatam salua ratione seruandam sed sine semper in euum. hac tamen conditione ut deo humiliores et gratiores omnium beneficiorum dei semper existant seduloque frequentatione canonicis horis ecclesiam Christi uisitent orantes ac deprecantes pro seipsis propriis piaculis et pro aliorum remissione peccatorum misericordiam domini implorent. Necnon domum refectionis et dormitorium communiter frequentent iuxta regulam monasterialis disciplinae uitae obseruant. Ut in omnibus honorificetur deus et uita nostra et bona conuersatio nobis nostrisque proficiat in bonum. Si quis illorum per audaciam suae malae uoluntatis hanc praedictam constitutionem inritam habere et in obliuionem deducere et congregare conuinias ad uescendum et bibendum seu etiam dormiendum in propriis cellulis sciat se quisquis ille sit reatum se esse propriae domi et in potestate archiepiscopi ad habendum et cuicumque ei placuerit donandum ꝛ manentem itaque hanc kartulam in sua nihilominus firmitate.

✠ Ego Uulfred gratia dei archiepiſc signo sanctae crucis Christi firmans subscripsi.

✠ Ego uuernoth ꝑr aꝑ coñ 7 subscripsi.

✠ Ego wulfheard ꝑr coñ 7 suꝑ.

- ✠ Ego heamund þr coñ 7 suð.
- ✠ Ego osuulf þr coñ 7 suð.
- ✠ Ego ceolstan þr coñ 7 suð.
- ✠ Ego tudda þr coñ 7 suð.
- ✠ Ego diornoth þr coñ 7 suð.
- ✠ Ego guthmund þr coñ 7 suð.
- ✠ Ego cuthberht þr coñ 7 suð.
- ✠ Ego coenhere coñ 7 suð.
- ✠ Ego brunheard coñ 7 suð.
- ✠ Ego haehferth coñ 7 suð.

\*.\* While the form is that of an extension of liberty, it seems plainly a politic concession of rights which had been already usurped, with a view to arrest the progress of encroachment and restore some elements of discipline. The limit here put on right of property within the precinct, was necessary to prevent the acquirement of absolute possession. The appropriation of houses with limited freedom of testamentary disposition is the very utmost that could have been conceded, without dissolution of cenobitic life. We may gather from this how secularized the monasteries had become, and how deeply rooted were those degenerate customs which Dunstan's reformation at length plucked up.

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Cott. Aug. ii. 77.

A. D. 814.

K204. B. ii. 12.

### Coenuulf

king of Mercia, grants land of ten ploughs at Bexley to Abp. Wulfred. A very interesting deed, with much in it to stimulate local research; as for example:—Is there an Avon in Kent?

✠ IN nomine s̄ci saluatoris d̄i et d̄ni n̄ri īhu xp̄i. Regnante ac gubernante eodem d̄ño īhu. Simulq: sp̄u s̄co gubernacula in imis et in arduis disponendo ubique regit. licet sermo Sapientium cons̄iliumq: prudentium stabilis p̄maneant. tamen ob incertitudine temporalium rerum diuinis numinibus muniendo. p̄scrutando p̄ ignotis et incertis euentis stabilienda roborandaque in d̄o uiuo et

uero sunt . Quapropt̃ ego coenuulfus gratia dī rex merciorū . uiro uenerando mihique in xpi caritate summo pontificalis apice decorato . uulfredo arc̃æpiš dabo et concedo aliquam partem terrę iuris mei quæ mihi largitor omnium bonorū d̃s donare dignatus est ꝑ intimo caritatis affectu ut aṗls ait . hilarem enim datorem diligit d̃s . et hoc . est in loco qui dicitur byxlea .x. aratrorū in ꝑpetuam possessionē . et hæc terra libera ꝑmaneant . ꝑter arcem . et expeditionem pontisq: constructionē . Quod si quisq: huic largitioni contradixerit . contradicat ei d̃s . et denegat ingressum cælestis uitæ . et his limitibus hæc pars telluris circumgýrari uidetur . ærest up of crægean on fulan riðe . 7lang riðe oð þone fæstendíc . 7lang dices oð þæt gebýhte . of þam gebýhte 7lang hagan oð cýninges healh . þanon 7lang hagan ut on crægean . 7lang crægean oþ ðone hagan . 7lang hagan oð pæðfeld . þanon 7lang hagan oð æscburnan . of ðam burnan 7lang hagan on casinegstræt . east 7lang stræte on scoffoces sæ . þanon norð 7lang stræte oð lýtlanlea . þanon east 7lang mearce oð enede mere suð rihte of ðam mere to burnes stede . þanon 7lang hagan oþ casingstræt . 7lang stræte on þone calewan telgan . þanon ut on crægean . swa eft on fulan riðe . Hæc sunt nomina pastuum porcorum . helfreðingdenn . hunbealdinghola . frumesingleah . burnes stedes denn . heanyfre . þæs gemære is on east healfe spachrycg . on suðan plumwearding pearrocas . on westan lind cýlne . on norþan auene . Actum ÷ hoc anno dñice incarnationis .dccc°. xiiij°. indict̃ .uiª. his testibus consentientibus atq: confirmantib: quorū infra nomina nota sunt.

✠ ego coenuulf gratia dī rex merciorū hanc donationis confirmationē signo scē crucis xpi roborauī .

✠ ego uulfred arc̃eþs cons̃ 7 suð .

- ✠ ego denebyrht eþs conſ 7 suþ
- ✠ ego uulfhard eþs conſ 7 suþ
- ✠ signum manus eadberhti ducis .
- ✠ signum manus ealhheardi ducis .
- ✠ signum manus ceoluulfi ducis.

*\*.\* Endorsed in a hand of the 10th century 'to byxlea,' and in a hand of the 12th century, 'Kenulfus rex Wluredo archiepiscopo bixle x. aratrorum.' 'latine.' B.*

Harley Charter 83. A 1.

A. D. 814.

K207.

B. ii. 14.

### Coenuulf

grants to Suiðnoð 'comes' land free for himself and his heirs. This document was thus described by Kemble in 1839: 'An original of Coenuulf of Mercia, now in a case for the inspection of visitors.' Cod. Dipl. VI. xvii. But Mr. Bond pronounces it to be 'late ninth century.' Vol. iv. p. 7.

✠ IN nomine dī summi. Igitur anno dñce incarnationis DCCCXIII regni uero nři a dō concessi XVIII. Ego coenwulf rex merċ suiðnoðe meo comite terram . i . aratrorum in propriam possessionem et libertatem sibimet uel suis heredibus in ppetuum fruerē pdonabo Scilicet iuxta silua quae dicitur caert cum campis cum siluis cum pascuis cum pratis . xv . carra de feno capientia cum uno molina 7 waldbera wiolhtringden 7 ðorningabyra 7 beardingaleag 7 focgingabyra 7 speldgisella 7 hegeðonhyrs 7 hriðden 7 cunden 7 begcegyra 7 sponleoge 7 ðet firhde bituihn longanleag 7 ðem suðtune 7 ða snadas illuc p̃tinentia cum antiquis terminibus liberabo p̃dictam terram a notis causis 7 ignotis a magnis uel modicis aetiam nomina testium infra adscribuntur pro cautella futuri ambiguitatis augentis

hanc donationem meam a misericordissimo dño aeternam benedictionem consequantur:—Si quis uero regum uel principum seu pfectum hunc libertatem meam infringere aut minuere uoluerit Sciat se separatam ēē in die iudicii a consortio s̄corū nisi digne emendauerit ante reatum suum:—

✠ Ego coenwulf gratia dī rex mer̄c hanc donationem meam cum signo s̄cē crucis confir̄m 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego aelfōryða regina mer̄c ōseñ 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego uulfred aŕcepi ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego alduulf epi ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego werenbert epi ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego denebierht epi ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego eadwulf epi ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego wulfhard epi ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego tidferd epis ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego sibba epi ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego beornmod epi ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego aeðelnoð epi ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego wigberht epi ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego wigðeng epi ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego wilheard pŕ aḥb ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego wigmund pŕ aḥ ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego reðhun pŕ aḥ ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego piot pŕ aḥ ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego tidbald pŕ aḥ ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego wulfhard pŕ aḥ ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego cuðwulf pŕ aḥ ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego heardberht dux ōs 7 subs̄cr.

✠ Ego biornnoð dux ōs.

✠ Ego dynne dux ōs.

✠ Ego eðelheah dux ōs.

✠ Ego mucel dux ōs.

- ✠ Ego sigered dux oš.
- ✠ Ego æðelmod dux oš.
- ✠ Ego wigheard dux oš.
- ✠ Ego eatferð dux oš.
- ✠ Ego wulfred dux oš.
- ✠ Ego eadberht dux oš.
- ✠ Ego ealhhard dux oš.
- ✠ Ego ciolhard dux oš.
- ✠ Ego biornhard dux oš.
- ✠ Ego bofa dux oš.
- ✠ Ego ecgwulf dux oš.
- ✠ Ego cudred oš.
- ✠ Ego wulfred oš.
- ✠ Ego wighard oš.
- ✠ Ego eadwulf oš.

\*\*\* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand, '✠ be cert suiðnoðes boec;'*  
*and in a later hand 'tunes boec.'* B.

Somner's Ant. Battely. App. p. 12.  
 K205.

A. D. 814.

### Coenuulf

king of Mercia, grants to Abp. Wulfred, a piece of land in his right, about thirty jugera, at a place called Binnanea, situate between two rivi gremiales of the river Stur.

✠ IN nomine sancti saluatoris dei et domini nostri Ihesu Christi, regnante ac gubernante eodem domino Ihesu simulque spiritu sancto gubernacula in imis et in arduis disponendo ubique regit! Licet sermo sapientium consiliumque prudentium stabilis permaneat, tamen ob incertitudine temporalium rerum, diuinis numinibus muniendo, perscrutando, pro ignotis et incertis euentis, stabilienda roborandaque in deo uiuo et uero sunt.

Quapropter ego Coenulfus gratia dei rex Merciorum, viro uenerando in Christi charitate summo pontificalis apice decorato, Uulfredo archiepiscopo dabo et concedo aliquam partem terrae iuris mei, quae mihi largitor omnium bonorum deus donare dignatus est, pro intimo caritatis affectu, ut apostolus ait, hilarem enim datorem diligit deus. Et hoc est in loco qui dicitur Binnanea, circiter xxx. iugera, inter duos riuos gremiales fluminis quod dicitur Stur. Et haec terra libera permaneat in perpetuam possessionem aecclesiae Christi. Quod si quisque huic largitioni contradixerit, contradicat ei deus, et denegat ingressum coelestis uitae. Actum est hoc anno dominicae incarnationis DCCC.XIII<sup>o</sup>. Indiet. vi. his testibus consentientibus atque confirmantibus, quorum nomina nota sunt.

✠ Ego Coenuulf gratia dei rex Merciorum hanc donationis confirmationem signo crucis Christi roborauit.

✠ Ego Uulfred archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi.

✠ Ego Denebyrht episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

✠ Ego Uulfhard episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

✠ Signum manus Eadberhti ducis.

✠ Signum manus Ealhheardi ducis.

✠ Signum manus Ceoluulfi ducis.

\* \* \* Kemble does not verify Binnanea, but he does identify Stur with the Stour of Kent. I am not sure whether rivi gremiales are two streams confluent to form a river, or two streams branching out of one river-bed to make their divergent ways to the sea. In the former case, Binnanea must be sought near Ashford; in the latter case (which seems the likelier) at the S.W. angle of Thanet. However this be, the fact of the Latin description being a translation of the name, gives an insight into this deed: and binnan, it may be added, is not so frequent, but what a clear case of its entrance into a local name is a fact deserving of attention.



Cott. Aug. ii. 93.

17 Sept. 822.

K216. B. ii. 15.

## Ceoluulf

king of the Mercians and Kentish men, grants to Abp. Wulfred land in the province of Kent called Mylentun (Milton). The exemptions are remarkably described, and so are also the necessary obligations. Several considerations are alleged for the grant, the concluding one being a gold ring of seventy-five mancuses. The deed is a good example of ungrammatical half-vernacularized Latin.

✠ IN nomine ih̃u xp̃i . saluatoris mundi qui est et qui erat . et qui uenturus est . per quem reges regunt et diuidunt regna terrarum . sicut dispensatur uniuersę terre distribuit secundum mensuram sui proprię uoluntatis . ita iedem d̃i gratia concedente . ego ceolwulf rex merciorum uel etiam contwariorum . dabo et concedo uulfredo uenerabile ar̃cepiš . aliquam partem terre iuris meg . id est .u. aratro . in prouincio cantie ubi nominatur mylentu'n' in propriã potestatem . ad abendum possidendum commutandumq; uel etiam post se relinquendam cuicumq; ei karorum placuerit . cum omnibus usis ad eam rite pertinentibus . cum campis . silbis . pratis . pascuis . aquis . molinis . piscationibus . aucupationibus . uenationibus . et quicquit in se abentibus . insuper etiam hanc p̃dictam terram liberabo, ab omni seruitute secularium rerum a pastu regis episcopis principum . seu prefectum exactorum . ducorum . canorum . uel equorum seu accipitrum ab ref̃ctione et habitu illorum omnium qui dieuntur fæstingmen ab omnibus laboribus operibus . et oneribus . siue difficultatibus . quit plus minusue numerabo uel dico . ab omni grauitatibus maioribus minoriis . notis ignotis undiq; liberata permaneat in ef̃um nisi is quattuor causis que nunc nominabo . ex-

peditione contra paganos ostes . et pontes constructione seu arcis munitione uel destructione in eodem gente et singulare pretium foras reddat . secundum ritum gentes illius . et tamen nullam penam foras alicui persoluat set semper sine aliqua . ui . ullius causę . in integritate liber et secura perseueret, wulfredo episcopi et heredibus eius in posterum cum certissimis terminis suis . ab oriente cymesinc . in australe se hole welle . et occidente diorente . ab aquilone scorham silba similiter qui dicitur cert ab occidente . et aquilone greotan edesces lond in oriente cyme singes cert et in austram ondred . item in ondrede pastum et pascua porcorum . et armentum seu caprorum suis locis . in hyrst sc'ýofing den . snad hyrst . et si quis scire desiderat . quare hanc donam tam deuotissime dedissem uel liberassim . sciat illi recitatur quod inprimis pro amore dñi omnipotentis et pro uenerabili gradui . pretiati pontificis . seu etiam consecrationis meę quam ab eo eodem die . per dñi gratiã accepi . nec non pro eius placabili pecunia . id est anulus aureus abens .lxx.u. mancusas . ut ab eo accepi ÷

Actum est anno dominice incãti .dcccxxii. indicti .xu. die uero .xu. kl octob . in loco regale qui dicitur bydic tun is testis consentientibus et scribentibus . quorum nomina infra abentur .

✠ ego ceolwulf rex merciorum hanc meam donationem proprio manu subscribo .

✠ ego wulfred arhçepiș consensiens subscribo .

✠ ego eðelwald epiș osensi 7 subscribo .

✠ ego reðhun epiș osensi 7 subscribo .

✠ ego wulfheard epiș osensi 7 subscribo .

✠ ego heaberht epiș osensi 7 sub .

✠ ego sigered dux osensi 7 suð .

✠ ego eadberht dux osensi 7 suð .

- ✠ ego wulfred dux ȁsensi 7 suþ .
- ✠ ego muca dux ȁsensi 7 suþ .
- ✠ ego eatferð dux ȁsensi 7 suþ .
- ✠ ego bofa dux ȁsens 7 suþ .
- ✠ ego piot pŕs ȁsens 7 suþ .
- ✠ ego eadbald .
- ✠ ego cyneberht .
- ✠ ego wighelm .
- ✠ ego beadheard .                      ✠ ego tunred .

*\*\* Endorsed in a hand of the 10th century, 'mylentun,' and in a hand of the 12th century, 'Celulfus rex merciorum dedit Wluredo archiepiscopo mylentun.' 'latine.' B.*

Cott. Aug. ii. 19.

A.D. 831.

K 228.

T. p. 465. B. ii. 19.

### Eadwald and Cyneðryð

with the advice of their friends, settle the succession to the land at Chart (Kent). A genuine contemporary specimen of the Kentish dialect, that is to say, of the English of the South in the earlier stages of its culture.

✠ Ðis is geðinge eadwaldes osheringes 7 cyneðryðe eðelmodes lafe aldormonnes ymbe ðet lond et cert ðe hire eðelmod hire hlabard salde wes hit becueden osbearte his broðar suna gif he cyneðryðe oferlifde 7 siððan neniggra meihanda ma ðes cynnes ac hia hit atuge yfter hira dege swe hit him boem rehtlicast 7 elmehtlicast were ðonne hebfað eadwald 7 cyne<sup>1</sup> ðas wisan ðus fundene mid hira friandum gib eadweald leng lifige ðonne cyneðryð geselle et ðem londe et cert .x. ðusenda gif he gewite er ðonne hia his barna sue hwelc sue lifes sie agefe ðet feoh ond atee<sup>2</sup> sue hit soelest sie forða hit bege-

tan nis eðelmode enig meghond neor ðes cynnes ðanne  
 eadwald his modar his broðar dohtar mest cyn ðet he  
 ðet lond hebbe 7 his beorn yfter him 7 sue ateon sue  
 him nytlicas ðynce for ða ðe hit mid reohte begetan

✠ ego ceolnoð mid godes gefe ercebiſc þis mid xps  
 rode tacne festnie 7 write

✠ ego ðelwald episċ oſ

✠ ego whelm episċ oſ

✠ ego osmund pŕ oſ

✠ ego eðelwald pŕ oſ

✠ ego biarnhelm pŕ oſ

✠ ego biarnheah pŕ oſ

✠ ego eardulf pŕ oſ

✠ ego eðelmund pŕ aþþ oſ

✠ ego sefreð pŕ oſ

✠ ego biarnhelm pŕ oſ

✠ ego eadgar pŕ aþþ oſ

✠ ego elfstan pŕ oſ

✠ ego sigefreð pŕ oſ

✠ ego sigefreð aŕdċ oſ

✠

✠ ego ealhstan aŕdċ oſ

✠ ego biarnnoð aŕdċ oſ

✠

✠

✠

✠

✠ ego biarnhelm pŕ aþ oſ

✠ ego cialbarht pþ<sup>3</sup> dċ oſ

✠ ego wealdhelm sþdċ oſ

✠ ego tirwald sþdċ oſ

✠ ego oba mī oſ

✠ ego sigemund pŕ oſ

✠ ego herefreð pŕ cs

✠ ego wynhelm arčđ oš

✠ ego wunbeald oš

✠ ego wermund oš

Translation :—This is the agreement of Eadwald the son of Oshere and Cynethryth the relict of Ethelmod the aldormon, about the land at Chart which Ethelmod her lord gave her. It was bequeathed to Osbert his nephew if he had overlived Cynethryth, and after him no more of the relatives of that kin; but she was to dispose of it after their time in such a manner as should be most right and pious for them both (i.e. for Ethelmod and Cynethryth). Accordingly Eadwald and Cynethryth with their friends have devised the following arrangement :—If Eadwald live longer than Cynethryth he is to give on account of the land at Chart ten thousand: if he die before her, then whichever of his children is then alive is to pay that money, and devise the estate as may be best for those who acquired it. There is no relative nearer of kin to Ethelmod than Eadwald, whose mother is his niece; and therefore it is most natural that he should have the land, and his children after him, and so devise as to them may seem most expedient for those who lawfully acquired it.

<sup>1</sup> Cyne[ðrið] Thorpe, as if rectifying a scribal error, but I apprehend this was a recognised form of speech, though it appears but rarely in the literary remains. See my Sax. Chron. A.D. 590 (A), and p. xxii, note.

<sup>2</sup> oniatee K. & B.: I follow Thorpe's reading of the manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> So MS.; but sð K.

Cott. Aug. ii. 52.

About A.D. 831.

K 229.

T. p. 468. B. ii. 21.

### Ealzburg and Eadweald

their bequests from the land at Burne to Christ Church, Canterbury.—Also the bequest of Ealhhere to the same, from the land at Denglesham. In contemporary Kentish, like the previous number.

✠ Ðis sindan geðinga ealzburges 7 eadwealdes et ðem lande et burnan hwet man elce gere ob ðem lande to cristes cirican ðem hiwum agiaban scel for ealzburges 7 for ealdred 7 fore eadweald 7 ealawynne .xl. ambra

mealtes 7 xl. 7 cc. hlaba .i. wege cesa .i. wege spesces .i. eald hriðer .iiii. weðras .x. goes .xx henfugla .iiii. foðra weada 7 ic ealzburg bebiade eadwealde minem mege an godes naman 7 an ealra his haligra ðet he ðis wel healde his dei 7 siððan forð bebeode his erbum to healdenne ða hwile ðe hit cristen se ✠ 7 suelc mon se ðet lond hebbe eghwylce sunnan dege xx gesuflra hlafa to ðare cirican for ealdredes saule 7 for ealzburg ✠ Ðis is sia elmesse ðe ealhhere behead ealawynne his doehter et ðenglesham et .iii. sulungum elce gere .c. peñ to cristes cirican ðem higum 7 suelc man se ðisses landes bruce agebe ðis fiah an godes gewitnesse 7 an ealra his haligra 7 suilc man sue hit awege ðonne se hit on his sawale nas on ðes ðe hit don het

\*.\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 12th century, 'donum ealhbreges quod instituit donari de burne . familie ecclesie Christi,' 'Item donum ealhbere ad opus familie ecclesie Christi de terra de ðenglesham . anglice.'* B.

Cott. Aug. ii. 92.

A.D. 832.

K 231.

T. p. 474. B. ii. 22.

### Lufa

her bequest for her soul's need to the brotherhood at Christ Church, Canterbury. In Kentish Saxon<sup>1</sup>.

✠ Ic lufa mid godes gefe ancilla ði wes soecende 7 smeagende ymb mine saul ðearfe mid ceolnoðes ærcebiscopes geðeahte 7 ðara hiona et cristes cirican willa ic gesellan of ðem ærfe ðe me god forgef 7 mine friond to gefultemedan elce gere .lx. ambra maltes 7 .cl. hlafa .l. hwite hlafa .cxx. elmes hlafes .<sup>2</sup> an hriðer an suin .iiii. weðras .ii. wega spices 7 ceses ðem higum to cristes circean for mine saule 7 minra frionda 7 mega ðe me to gode gefultemedan and ðet sie simle to adsumsio scæ

marie ymb .xii. monað end sue eihwelc mon swe ðis lond  
 hebbe minra ærbenumena ðis agefe 7 mittan fulne  
 huniges .x. goes .xx. henfuglas.

✠ Ic ceolnoð mid godes gefe ercebiſc mid cristes rode  
 tacne ðis feſtnie 7 write

✠ beagmund pŕ geðafie 7 mid write

✠ beornfrið pŕ geðafie 7 mid write

✠ wealhhere pŕ

✠ osmund pŕ

✠ deimund pŕ

✠ æðelwald diač

✠ werbald diač

✠ ſifreð diač

✠ ſwiðberht diač

✠ beornheah diač

✠ æðelmund diač

✠ wighelm diač

✠ lubo

✠

✠ Ic luba eaðmod godes ðiwen ðas forecwedenan  
 god 7 ðas elmessan geſette 7 gefeſtnie ob minem erfe-  
 lande et mundlingham ðem hiium to cristes cirican 7 ic  
 bidde 7 an godes libgendes naman bebiade ðæm men ðe  
 ðis land 7 ðis erbe hebbe et mundlingham ðet he ðas  
 god forðleſte oð wiaralde ende ſe man ſe ðis healdan  
 wille 7 leſtan ðet ic beboden hebbe an ðiſem gewrite ſe  
 him ſeał'd' 7 gehealden ſia hiabenlice b'l'edsung ſe hiſ  
 ferwerne oððe hit agele ſe him ſeałd 7 gehealden helle  
 wite bute he to fulre bote gecerran wille gode 7 mannum  
 uene ualete

*\*\* Endorsed in a contemporary hand, '✠ lufe pincg gewrit,' and  
 in hands of the 12th century, 'luue mulier quedam dedit ecclesie  
 Christi munlingham tempore celnoð archiepiscopi,' and 'ix anno*

dcce°xxxii°. luue mulier dedit familie ecclesie Christi cantuariensi mun-  
lingham tempore chelnothi archiepiscopi.' B.

<sup>1</sup> This piece is given in Thorpe's *Analecta* as a specimen of East Anglian; but Kemble remarked that Mundlingham is in Kent.

<sup>2</sup> *The words .cxx. elmes hlafes . are written in the eleventh line of the charter with the reference mark ñ corresponding with ð at the place of insertion.* B.

Cott. Aug. ii. 102.

A.D. 833.

K 234. B. i. 16.

### Ecgeberht

king of Kent grants land to abbot Dunne and his brethren,  
and 120 loads of fuel from Andred for salt-boiling.

✠ REGNANTE in perpetuum dño nño ihũ xpo. Cum cuncta cotidie fugitiue uitae tempora prosperis et aduersis causis consistere cernimus. rapidissimoq: cursu annorum spatia regnorumq: ubiq: gaudia. finita esse manifestissimis signis declaratum est.

Quapropter ego ecgeberhtus rex cantie necnon et aliarũ gentium. cum consensu ac licentia meorum optimatum non ꝑ pecunia sed ꝑ remedio animae meae et pro expiatione scelerum meorum. aliquantulam partem terrae iuris mei id est centum quinquaginta iugera libenter donans impendo. ad aecclesiam beatae genetricis dī et dñi nñi ihũ xpi 7 dunne aþþ suisq: sociis in loco qui dicitur sand tun. et in eodem loco sali coquenda iuxta limenae. et in silua ubi dicitur andred centum uiginti plaustra ad coquendum sal. Et his limitibus haec telluris particula circũgyrari uidetur. ab oriente terra regis. ab austro fluuius qui dī liminae. ab occasu et in septemtrione hudanfleo. si quis autem aliquando pulsatus aut iudicatus fuerit aut heredis meus hoc neglexerit cū iuda traditore dampnatus in inferno inferiore. Scripta est haec cartula anno ab incarnatione dñi nñi ihũ xpi .D.CCLXXIII.<sup>1</sup> his testibus consentientibus quorũ nomina inferius annotari uidentur.



✠ Ego ecgberht rex hanc meam donationē signū crucis xpi inpressi.

✠ Ego cialnoth gratia dī arch eps hanc p̃dictā donationē cū signo sc̃ae crucis xpi roborauī 7 subscripsi.

✠ Ego beornmod eps cons̃ et subs̃c.

✠ Ego alhstan eps cons̃ 7 subs̃c.

✠ Ego coenred eps cons̃ 7 subs̃c.

✠ Ego osmod dux cons̃ 7 subs̃c.

✠ Ego uulfhard dux cons̃ 7 subs̃.

✠ Ego eanuulf dux cons̃ 7 subs̃.

✠ Ego bofa dux cons̃ 7 subs̃.

✠ Ego drihtnoth aḥḥ cons̃ 7 subs̃

✠ Ego freodoric aḥḥ cons̃ 7 subs̃

✠ Ego heaberht diaḥ cons̃ 7 sub

✠ Ego beornmod m̃ cons̃ 7 subs̃.

✠ Ego heanoth m̃ cons̃ 7 subs̃.

✠ Ego oshere m̃ cons̃ 7 subs̃

✠ Ego alphere m̃ cons̃ 7 subs̃

✠ Ego lulla m̃ cons̃ 7 sub

\* \* *On the back of the Charter is written by a hand of the 10th century, 'Sand tunes hoc; and by a later hand, 'Egbertus Rex dedit c.l. iugera ad ecclesiam sanote Marie de Sandtun.' 'Latine.'* B.

<sup>1</sup> Kemble corrected the false date from the witnesses' names: and Mr. Bond observes that the corrected date is more consistent with the handwriting of the deed. B. i, p. vi.

Cott. Aug. ii. 64.

A.D. 835.

K235.

T. p. 469. B. ii. 23.

## Abba

a Reeve, his will—which has something about it suggestive of a marriage settlement.

✠ Ic abba geroefa cyðe 7 writan hate hu min willa is þæt mon ymb min ærfe gedoe æfter minū dæge . ærest

ymb min lond þe ic hæbbe 7 me god lah 7 ic æt minū hlafordū begæt, Is min willa gif me god bearnes unnan wille ðæt hit foe to londe æfter me 7 his bruce mid minū gemeccan 7 sioððan swæ forð min cynn ða hwile þe god wille ðæt ðeara ænig sie þe londes weorðe sie 7 land gehaldan cunne, gif me ðonne gifeðe sie ðæt ic bearn be-geotan ne mege þonne is min willa þæt hit hæbbe min wiif ða hwile ðe hia hit mid clennisse gehaldan wile 7 min broðar alchhere hire fultume 7 þæt lond hire nytt gedoe . 7 him man sælle an half swulung an ciollan dene to habbanne 7 to brucanne wiððan ðe he ðy geornliocar hire ðearfa bega 7 bewiotige . 7 mon selle him to ðem londe .iiii. oxan . 7 .ii. cy, 7 .l. scēpa 7 ænne horn, gif min wiif ðonne hia nylle mid clennisse swæ gehaldan 7 hire liofre sie oðer hemed to niomanne ðonne foen mine megas to ðem londe 7 hire agefen hire agen . gif hire ðonne liofre sie an mynster to gánganne oðða suð to faranne ðonne agefen hie twægen mine megas alchhere 7 æðelwold hire . twa ðusenda 7 fon him to ðem londe, 7 ágefe mon to liminge .l. eawa, 7 .v. cy, fore hie . 7 mon selle to folcanstane in mid minū lice .x. oxan . 7 .x. cy. 7 .c. eawa . 7 .c. swina . 7 higum ansundran .d. penð . wiððan ðe min wíif þær benuge innganges swæ mid minū lice swæ sioððan yferran dogre swæ hwæder swæ hire liofre sie, gif higan ðonne oððe hlaford þæt nylle hire mynster lifes geunnan . oðða hia siolf nylle 7 hire oðer ðing liofre sie, þonne agefe mon ten hund penð inn mid minū lice me wið legerstowe 7 higum ansundran fif hund penð . fore mine sawle, 7 ic bidde 7 bebeode swælc monn se ðæt min lond hebbe ðæt he ælce gere agefe ðem higum æt folcanstane .l. ambra maltes 7 .vi. ambra gruta . 7 .iii. wega spices 7 ceses 7 .cccc. hlafa 7 an hriðr . 7 .vi. scep 7 swælc monn seðe to

minum ærfe foe ðonne gedele he ælcum messepreoste  
 binnan cent mancus goldes 7 ælcum godes ðiowe penð, 7  
 to sçe petre min wærgeld twa ðusenda 7 freoðomund foe  
 to minū sweorde 7 agefe ðer æt feower ðusenda 7 him mon  
 forgefe ðer an ðreotenehund pending 7 gif mine broðar  
 ærfeward gestrionen ðe londes weorðe sie þonne ann ic  
 ðem londes, gif hie ne gestrionen oðða him sylfū ælles  
 hwæt seþe æfter hiora dege ann ic his freoðomunde gif  
 he ðonne lifes bið, Gif him elles hwæt sæleð ðonne ann  
 ic his minra swæstar suna swælcum se hit geðian wile 7  
 him gifeðe bið, 7 gif þæt gesele þæt min cynn to ðan  
 clane gewite ðæt ðer ðeara nan ne sie ðe londes weorðe  
 sie þonne foe se hlaford to 7 ða higon æt kristes cirican  
 7 hit minum gaste nytt gedoen, an ðas redenne ic hit  
 ðider selle ðe se monn seðe kristes cirican hlaford sie  
 'se' min 7 minra erfewearda forespreoca 7 mundbora 7  
 an his hlaford dome 'we' bian moten,

✠ ic ciolnoð mid godes gefe ærcebiscop ðis write 7  
 ðeafie 7 mid cristes rode tacne hit festniæ,

✠ ic beagmund pŕ ðis ðeafie 7 write

✠ ic wærhard pŕ aþ ðis ðeafie 7 write

✠ ic abba geroefa ðis write 7 festnie mid kristes rode  
 tacne

✠ ic æðelhun pŕ ðis ðeafie 7 write

✠ ic abba pŕ ðis þeafie 7 write

✠ ic wigmund pŕ ðis write 7 ðeafie

✠ ic iof pŕ ðis ðeafie 7 write

✠ ic osmund pŕ ðis ðeafie 7 write

✠ ic wealhhere diač ðis write 7 ðeafie

✠ ic badanoð diač ðis write 7 ðeafie

✠ ic heaberht diač ðis write 7 þeafie

✠ ic noðwulf subdiač ðis write 7 ðeafie

✠ ic wealhhere subdiač ðis write 7 ðeafie

✠ ic ciolwulf subdiaċ ðis write 7 ðeafie

✠ heregyð hafað ðas wisan binemned ofer hire deg  
7 ofer abban ðæm higum et cristes cirican of ðæm londe  
et cealflocan . ðæt is ðonne ðritig ombra alað . 7 ðreo  
hund hlafa ðeara bið fiftig hwhite hlafa, an weg spices 7  
ceses . an ald hriðr . feower weðras, an suin oððe sex  
weðras, sex gos fuglas . ten henn fuglas . ðritig teapera  
gif hit wintres deg sie . sester fulne huniges . sester fulne  
butran . sester fulne saltas, 7 heregyð bibeadeð ðem  
mannū ðe efter hire to londe foen . on godes noman ðæt  
hie fulgere witen ðæt hie ðiss geleşten ðe on ðissem  
gewrite binemned is `em higum to cristes cirican, `7  
ðæt sie simle to higna blodlese<sup>1</sup> ymb twelf monað agefen',  
7 se mann se to londe foe agefe hire erfe honda xiii .  
pund pendinga . 7 hio forgifeð fiftene pund for ðy ðe  
mon ðas feorme ðy soel gelæste , ,

\*.\* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand*, 'abban geroefan arfe gedal  
his geðinga to kristes cirican,' and *in a hand of the 12th century*,  
'Testamentum abbe . cuius uxor henhith dedit cheafloke . conuentui .  
tempore chelnothi . anglice,' and *in a hand of the 14th century*, 'Anno  
deccc<sup>o</sup>.xxx<sup>o</sup>v<sup>o</sup>.' B.

<sup>1</sup> to higum beodlese K.

Cott. Aug. ii. 9.

A.D. 836.

K 237. B. ii. 24.

## Wiglaf

king of Mercia, grants to the monastery in Heanbyrg (Hambury, Worc.) freedom from all but rampart and bridge construction.

✠ REGNUM dī querendum ÷ sup uniūersa lucra terrena paulo testante apostolo quae enim uidentur temporalia sunt sed quae non uidentur aeterna sunt quid prod÷ homini totum mundū lucrare si anima eius detrimentum patietur, Quapropter ego uuiglaf rex merciorū cum meis episcopis et ducib; et magistratib; illut monasteriū<sup>1</sup> in

heanbyrg in circuitu cū silua ad eam ptinentem et cum campis et pratis 7 cum omnib; utensilibs et cum putheis salis et fornacibus plumbis 7 uillis et omnia illuc ptinentia in caelestem culmen generaliter p totum gentem merciorum et pro absolutione criminum n̄orum liberaliter liberamus a modicis et a magnis causis a notis et ignotis praeter uallis et pontes constructionem , Factum ÷ haec donatio in craeft anno dominicae incarnationis .deccc°. xxx°. uio, indiç uero . xiiii° regni h̄ n̄ri a dō concessi .uiii°. p redemptione animae meae placabile atque dilectabile mente praedicta loca liberabo cum uniuersis casallis q; ipsis locis uniuersis st̄ subditi ho'c' modo p aeuum liberabo a pastu regis 7 principū 7 ab omni ostruptione regalis uille et a difficultate illa quā nos saxonice faestingmenn dicimus haec omnia mente concedo spontaneo , Scitote ergo uos q<sup>i</sup> hanc labens regnū p't me obtineatis qare hoc munus 7 hanc libertatem scripsi 7 scribere p̄cipi q in d̄m meū desidero et in ð ineffabilem misericordiā ofido ut dñs n̄r ihs xps meas iniquitates quas p ignorantiam feci d̄s delere faciat Credo p hoc bonum a cunctis me emundare dignet' q scriptū ÷ peccatū ibi emenda ubi nascitur modo posteros meos p gloriosū 7 p mirabile nomen dñi n̄i ihs xpi humiliſt supplico ut elemosinā quā in altitudinē caeli culminis in manus dñi datā habeo communī p me 7 p totū gentem merciorū tā benignīſt stare demittetis 7 multiplicare dignemini—

✠ ego uuiglaf rex merc̄	✠ cyneðryþ regina
✠ ceolnoð archiep̄	✠ cyneferð ep̄
✠ eaduulf ep̄	✠ heaberht ep̄
✠ eaduulf ep̄	✠ alhstan ep̄
✠ husa ep̄	✠ cunda ep̄
✠ ceolberht ep̄	✠ cynred ep̄
✠ mund āb	✠ uueohtred āb
	✠ beorn-

helm aþ ✠ ego sigred dux hanc donationem signo  
crucis xpi ƿfirmaui ,

✠ mucoel dux      ✠ tiduulf dux      ✠ aepel-  
hard dux      ✠ cyneberht dux      ✠ aepeluulf  
dux      ✠ alhhelm dux      ✠ humberht dux  
✠ aelfstan dux      ✠ mucoel dux      ✠ wigga  
✠ aldred      ✠ aldberht      ✠ aelfred      ✠ hwithyse  
✠ werenberht.

✠ wulfred      ✠ wiglaf      ✠ eanuulf      ✠ alh-  
mund      ✠ berhtuulf      ✠ ecghard

✠ ƿæs friðom wæs bigeten aet wiglafe cyninge mid  
ƿaem tuentigum hida aet iddes hale end ƿæs londes  
friðom aet haeccaham mid ƿy ten hida londe aet felda  
bi weoduman , end mucele esninge ƿaet ten hida lond  
aet croglea , hæbbæn heora dæg 7 æfter heora dæge  
agefe mon ƿaet land into dære halgan stowe into  
weogurnacestre :—

\*\*\* *Endorsed in contemporary hands* 'P ƿis is heanbirige friðom se  
wæs bigeten mid ƿy londe æt iddes hale 7 æt heanbyrig ten hida ƿæs  
londes 7 æt felda ten hida on beansetum.' '7 biscop gesalde sigrede  
aldormenn sex hund scillinga on golde.' '7 mucele aldormenn ten hida  
lond æt crog lea. ;' and in a fourth hand, 'wiglaf cinig.' B.

<sup>1</sup> The expression 'illut monasterium' simply means 'the monastery.'  
So in a Mercian deed of 840, recently discovered, we find 'illa congre-  
gatio' for 'the congregation.' See below, Cuðuulf 840.

Cott. Aug. ii. 20, 21, 37.

A.D. 838.

K 240.

B. i. 17 ; ii. 26, 27.

## Ecgherht

king of Wessex and his son Æpelwulf, with abp. Ceolnoth,  
held a Council at Kingston in Surrey, and there they made

a Reconciliation or Concordat between the Royal House of Wessex and the Metropolitan See.

✠ REGNANTE in perpetuum dño dō nño sabaoth. Congregatū est uenerabile concilium in illa famosa loco quæ appellatur cyninges tūn in regione sudregiē. Pręsidente H huic eadem dō deuote congregatione ceolnotho arc̃ epis̃c ceterisq. perplurimis epis̃c. nec non excellentissimis regibus nñis ecgberhto et ætheluulfo cum omnibus gentis suę optimatibus. Omnesq. in unum consona mente. ac sincerissima cordis intentione spiritaliū sæculariūq. rerū necessitatib; inter semet ipsos commune consilio scrutantibus. quomodo pax et unianimitas ecclesiarum dī totiusq. populi xp̃iani eorum seculari dicioni per dī om̃ptis gratiam subiecti firmissimi dilectionis uinculo seruari potuisset. Inter ea uº á pręfato uenerabili arc̃ epis̃c ceolnotho flagitatum → quod á regib; prenominatis ecgberhto et ætheluulfo illis in sempiternam aelemosynam illum agrum æt mallingum ad ecclesiam xp̃i quæ sita est in dorouernia ciuitate reddidissent. quod ante á baldredo rege ad eandem ecclesiam perdonata est. sed á quibusdam dictum est quia cum recto libertate facta non esset. quia in fugatu eius conscripta et concessa fuisset. Tunc uº pro intima caritatis affectu pręcibus epis̃c adnuentes cum consilio ac licentia omniū sapientū eorum spiritalium sæculariūq. graduū qui inibi congregati fuissent. hoc pręfatum agrum æt mallingum pro sempiterna salute animarum suarum ac spe remunerationis æternę ad pręnominatam ecclesiam xp̃i in perpetuam hereditatem cum omni libertate beniuola mente tradidissent. Hac uº condicione interposita hæc pręnominata donatio firma permaneat. quod nos ipsi nñiq. heredes semper in posterū firmam inconcussamq. amicitiam ab illo arc̃ epis̃c ceolnotho eiusdem congregatione ecclesie

xpi habeamus et ab omnib; successorib; eius hoc idem patrociniũ ac protectionem illius sedis nos et hereditas nra nriq. heredes quicumq. di uoluntatis fuerit quod illi sint in omnib; necessitatib; nris absq. omni dubitatione spontaneum paratũq. amicali amore semper inueniant. seu etiam familię liberorũ monasteriorũ qui antiquitus sub iure dominioq. abbatum abbatissarũq. constituti fuerint qui me meumq. patrem ecgberhtũ regem pro suis propriis ac maximis necessitatib; sibi ad protectionem et ad dominiũ elegerunt spiritalisq. dominos id ÷ episç mecum constituti propria uoluntate mecum habuerunt ut in omnib; libertas et regula monasterialis uite rite ac recte ab omnib; illis seruetur. sed et post dies meos sue libertatis electione absq. omni obstaculo cuicumq. personis digni habeantur. Insuper etiam pro hac nra susceptione electioneq. nequaquam á cuicũq. potestatis homine siue regi † episç mai[ori]s minorisue personis accusati calumniantur neq. libertas eorũ semper in posterum in aliqua frangatur. Nullaq. altercatio alicuius questionis inter nos nrosq. heredes et hereditatem nram et illum aŕe episçpũ successoresq. eius et ecclesiam xpi et familiam eius ex hac die et deinceps inimicaliter exorta sit. sed pax nra conglutinata amore uigere florere crescereq. inter nos nrosq. carissimos amicos perpetualiter ualeat. Duasq. scripturas per omnia consimiles<sup>1</sup> huius reconciliationis conscribere statuimus. alteram habeat aŕe episç cum telligraphis ecclesię xpi. alteram ecgberht et aetheluulf reges cum hereditatis eorum scripturis. Actum ÷ h anno dominice incarnationi dcccxxxi. Indictione. i. die. iiii. feria. his testib; consentientib; qui hanc nram reconciliationem cum signo sçe crucis xpi confirmantes subscripserunt.

✠ Ego ceolnotht gratia di aŕe episç hanc reconcilia-



tionem et istam confirmati cum signo s̄ce cruci[s] x̄pi  
roþ 7 suþ.

✠ Ego bægmund p̄r aþ cons̄ 7 suþ.

Ego uuerhard p̄r aþ cons̄ 7 suþ.

✠ Ego brunhard p̄r cons̄ 7 suþ

✠ Ego hysenoth p̄r cons̄ 7 suþ

✠ Ego hunred p̄r cons̄ 7 suþ

✠ Ego wigmund p̄r cons̄ 7 suþ

✠ Ego beornnoð p̄r cons̄ 7 suþ

✠ Ego osmund p̄r cons̄ 7 suþ

✠ Ego heaberht diač cons̄ 7 suþ

✠ Ego badanoð diač cons̄ 7 suþ

✠ Ego ueealhhere diač cons̄ 7 suþ

✠ Ego noðwulf s̄ diač cons̄ 7 suþ

✠ Ego ceolwulf s̄ diač cons̄ 7 suþ

Pro ampliore itaq; confirmatione iterū adducta ÷ hæc  
scedula corā ætheluulfū regē et optimates eius in uilla  
regali qui appellatur úiltún his testib; consentientib; et  
subscribentib; quorū nomina subter prænotata s̄t.

✠ Ego æðeluulf rex cons̄ et suþ.

✠ Ego alhstan episč cons̄ 7 suþ

✠ Ego eadhún episč cons̄ 7 suþ

✠ Signū mā wulfhardi p̄rin

✠ Siġ mā æðeluulfi p̄rin

✠ Siġ mā eanwulfi p̄rin

✠ Siġ ma eadberhti diač

✠ Siġ mā æðelheardi miniš

✠ Siġ mā ecgberhti miniš

✠ Siġ mā alhstani miniš

✠ Siġ mā osmundi miniš

✠ Siġ ma hudan miniš

✠ Siġ mā ósrici ministri

✠ Siġ mā ceolrædi miniš

✠ Siġ mā uulflafi miniš

✠

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✠ Anno ab incarnatiō xpi dccc̃. xxx̃viiĩ. indictione.

†. primo uidelicet anno regni eðeluulfi regis post obitum patris sui factum est uenerabile conciliabulum omnium episcoporū qui eru'n't in australe parte fluminis humbreꝝ in loco quæ dicitur æt astran ibique pro firma stabilitate hec eadem scedula adducta est. et cum sig crucis xpi ab hiis testibus roborata quorum nomina subter prænotat[a] cernentibus clare patescunt.

✠ Ego ceolnoð gratia dī donante dño archi epi hanc reconciliationem iterato uice confirmens signum scē crucis exarauī et in nomine scē trinitatis omnib: fidelib: obseruandum ꝑcipio. .

✠ Siġ mā alhstani epi.

✠ Siġ mā helmstani epi

✠ Siġ mā humberhti epi

✠ Siġ mā cyrredi<sup>2</sup> epi

✠ Siġ mā cyneferði epi

✠ Siġ mā ræðhuni epi

✠ Siġ mā heaberhti epi

✠ Siġ mā ceolberhti epi

✠ Siġ mā beorhtredi epi

✠ Siġ mã uuillredi eþi

✠ Siġ mã cuðuulfi eþi

\*\*\* *Endorsed by a hand of the 12th century*, 'Egbertus et aðulfus filius ejus' reges celnoðo archiepiscopo ad opus ecclesie Christi prius a baldredo rege datam et postea ablatam rediderunt mellinges. simul cum conditione firme pacis inter illos et ipsum et successores eorum.' 'Latine.' B.

<sup>1</sup> Two writings in all respects similar were to be made of this Reconciliation, one for each of the high contracting parties. It is a remarkable fact that three copies of this Reconciliation are preserved in the Cotton Library; and that two of them are in the same character and style, but the third is very different. They are all facsimiled as above indicated. I was curious to form an opinion about their age; and I am glad to be able to say that I had judged them all three to be contemporaneous before I had seen that Mr. Bond had come to the same conclusion in the Preface to his second volume. The above is printed from B. i. 17.

<sup>2</sup> cynredi K. corr.

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MS. Lee-Warner.

A.D. 840.

Arch. Journal, 1873.

## Cuðuulf

bishop of Hereford, and the congregation of his church, grants to Ælfstan dux, four manentes for three lives, subject to a rent charge, with reversion to the monastery of Bromyard, which is not otherwise known. The manor of Bromyard belonged to the church of Hereford at the Domesday Survey.

✠ IN nomine arci poli conditoris. Ego cuðuulf divina dispensatione xþi ecclesie antestis, necnon et illa congregatio<sup>1</sup> sçae ecclesie herefordensis cum consensu et licentia Berhtwulfi Merciorũ regis, damus aelfstano duce terram .iiii. manentiũ in uilla qui juxta flumine q' ðr from situm est, ut habeat beneq: perfruat in diem trium hominum. et postea sine ullo obstaculo intus tota reddatur ista terra ad monasterio qui ðr bromgeard. et qui agrũ habeat semel semper in anno ad Bromgearde de agro isto reddat .xv. modios de pura

celia hoc ÷ buttam plenā. uasque plenū mellis, † eius  
 p̃tiū in liquore . . . . s cocto, alter dulcatū, unumq: ar-  
 mentū cū .c. panibus unūq: ouem cum uno suillo . . . .  
 nasterii q: p̃tinent ad bromgearde foras<sup>2</sup> nullo modo  
 concedamus id ÷ jugerorū xxv. . . . . hanc terrā supra-  
 dictā liberalit̃ liberabo aelfstano duce omnib:q: eā ha-  
 bentibus . . . . ecunio id ÷ in uno anulo .xv. mañc. nisi  
 pontum faciat et arcē et expeditione solacium . . . . ad  
 adpoenā foras nihil persoluat. testes namq: huius dona-  
 tionis sunt . . . . atq: libertatis quorum infra nomina  
 notantur,,

. . . . hanc meā donationē atq: libertatē simul cū signo  
 crucis xp̃i confirmaui . . . . si 7 subscripsi. ✠ Ego  
 cuðwulf ep̃i ðs 7 svb. ✠ ælfstan dux ðs 7 svb. ✠ mucel  
 dvx ðs 7 suþ . . . . .<sup>3</sup> noð ðs 7 suþ. ✠ aldred coñs  
 7 suþ. ✠ eadgar ðs 7 suþ. ✠ wiglaf ðs 7 suþ.

\*.\* For the history, description, and facsimile of this beautiful frag-  
 ment, which belongs to the Rev. Henry James Lee-Warner of Thorp-  
 land, Norfolk; see the Journal of the Archæological Institute for the  
 year 1873.

<sup>1</sup> 'Illa congregatio' means 'the congregation': see above, Wiglaf  
 836.

<sup>2</sup> This may refer to the outlying district in the neighbourhood of  
 Bromyard called 'The Foreign.' Arch. Journal.

<sup>3</sup> The gaps are all of uniform length, and nearly equal to half of one  
 of our lines.

Chart. Cotton. viii. 36.

26 Dec. 847.

K 260. B. ii. 30.

### Æthelwulf

king of the West Saxons, with consent and licence of his  
 bishops and princes, books to himself twenty manentes of  
 land in heredity.

✠ REGNANTE dño nro ihu xp̃o in ppetuum, Siquidem  
 sacris insertum . . . orum p̃claris satisq: salutarib: co-

tidie instruimur oraculis . hoc solum supesse homini in omni labore suo quod laborat sub sole et in cunctis quæ possidet dieb: uanitatis suæ Si quid in elemoxsinarū largitate piis intentus operib: expenderet proximorūq: communicanda necessitàtib: p possibilitate uirium faciat sibi secundū saluatoris pceptum amicos de mamona iniquitatis qui eum recipiant in æterna tabernacula . qua de re ego ætheluulf dō auxiliante occidentē saxoñ rex cum consensu ac licentia episcoporū et principum meorū aliquantulam ruris partem uiginti manentiū . mihi in hereditatem ppriam describere iusi . id ÷ me ad habendū et ad pfrendū cum pratis et pascuis cum campis et siluis cum aquis currentiū et incurrentiū . et iterū qualicumq: put me placabilis sit æternaliter relinquendum<sup>1</sup> . Terra h' pdicta liber et securus omniū rerum pmaneat . id ÷ regaliū et principaliū tributum et ui exactorum operū siue poenaliū causarū furisq: cōphensione et omni sæculari grauidine sine expeditione et pontis instructione . Scripta ÷ H' huius donationis pagina anno dominici incarnationis .dccc°xluii<sup>a</sup>. indicē .x<sup>a</sup>. Territoria uero ista sunt orum uigintorum cassatorum qui æthel-uulfe regi om homme<sup>2</sup> senatores eius concedissent . IN illo loco qui nuncupater dornuuarana ceaster secunda die natalis dñi coram idoneis testib: quorū nomina infra aspicientium oculis caraxata liquescunt Ærest on merce cumb ðonne on grenan pytt ðonne on ðone torr æt mercecumbes æwielme ðonne on dene waldes stan ðonne on ðone díc ðær esne ðone weg fordealf ðonon of dune on ðæs wælles heafod ðonne ðær of dune on broc oð tiddesford ðonne up on broc oð heottes díc to ðære flodan from ðære flodan of dune ðær fyxan díc to broce gæð 7 ðonne of dune on broc oð sæ . ðonne from ðyrelan stane up on broc oð smalan cumb fram smalan

cumbes heafde to græwan stane ðonon wiðufan ðæs wælles heafod on odencole ðonon on ðone healdan weg wið huitan stanes ðonon to ðæm beorge ðe mon hateð æt ðæm holne ðonon an haran stan ðonon on secgwælles heafod ðonon on ða burg eastewearde ðonon on ða lytlan burg westewearde ðonon to stræte ðonan benioðan wuda on geryhte ut on hreodpól ðonne up on afene oððæt ðe se alda suinhaga utscioてð to afene ðonne be ðæm hagan on anne beorg ðonne on sueordleage wælle ðonon on wulfwælles heafod ðonon on wealweg on ðone stan æt ðære flodan from ðæm stane forð on ðone herepað on ðone díc ðonon of dune oð wealdenes ford ðonon on ðone holan weg ðonon of dune on bróc on hunburgefleot 7 ðær to sæ.

Si quis h' huius munificentia conlationem quouis tempore . qualibet occasione cuiuslibet etiam dignitates uel p̃fessiones uel gradus p̃uertere . uel in irritum deducere sacrilega p̃sumptione temptauerit . sit a consortio x̃pi ecclesiæ et a collegio s̃corũ hic et in futuro dispartitus parsq: eius cum auaris et rapacib:q: ponatur et communionem habeat cum iudas scarioth qui tradidit dñm . si quis h' pia intentione potius p̃ditus hæc roborare hac defendere curauerit amplifcet d̃s portionẽ eius in hereditate iustorũ et cum omnibus . . . sine fine gaudeat,

✠ ego ætheluulf rex ad confirmandã hanc donationẽ uenerabiliter trophei signũ s̃cæ crucis exarrabi

✠ siġ mǣ æðelbaldi fīl reġ ✠ siġ mǣ osrici priñ ✠ siġ mǣ osmundi min ✠ siġ mǣ ecgheard minī,

✠ siġ mǣ lulling miñ ✠ uulflafi aþþ ✠ siġ mǣ ecguulfi miñ ✠ siġ mǣ lulluc ministri,

✠ ego alhstan epis̃c cons̃ et sub . ✠ siġ mǣ ceorli priñ ✠ siġ mǣ . . . .

✠ siġ mā uulfræd miñ . siġ mā alhstan miñ ✠ siġ  
mā milræd miñ

*\*\* Endorsed in a hand of the 10th century, 'to hamme.' B.*

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kemble in Cod. Dipl. vol. ii. p. ix, has called particular attention to this deed as illustrating the nature of folc-land. Cf. Æthelberht, A.D. 858.

<sup>2</sup> *Blunder for on homme.*

Chart. Cantuar. C. 1280.

A.D. 848.

K 243. S. i. 8.

### Berhtuulf

king of Mercia grants to his thane Forthred nine hides of land in perpetuity.

✠ IN nomine domini. Ego berchtwulf . cyning sile  
forðrede minum ðegne . nigen higida<sup>1</sup> lond . in wudo-  
tune . in ece erfe him to hiobbanne 7 to siollanne .  
ðaem ðe hit wille mið eaðmodre hernisse him to geeor-  
nigan . ofer his daeg . cisseðebeorg . feower treowe hyl .  
7 eanburge mere . tihhanhyl . 7 ut bigeht . tu higida  
lond in erfe . ece . 7 he salde to lond ceape . xxx . man-  
cessan . 7 nigen hund scillinga . wið ðaem londe . him in  
ece erfe. Ic berhtwulf . rex . ðas mine gesaldnisse  
trymme 7 faestna in cristes rode tacne 7 in his ðaere  
haligran<sup>2</sup> 7 in his wotona gewitnisse . aerist . saeðryð  
regina . cyneferð episcopus . alchhun . episcopus .  
berchtred . episcopus . deorlaf . episcopus . ceored .  
episcopus . wichred . abbas . aldred . abbas . mucel .  
dux . hunbercht . dux . burgred . dux . aefstan .  
cyneberht . dux . sigred . dux . alberht . dux . aldred .  
dux . mucel . dux . hunstan . dux . eadwulf . beornoð .  
wulfred . mucel . aldred . wicga . eadgar . baldred . weren-  
berht . eadred . aeðelwulf presbiter . heaberht presbiter .  
ecghun . ecgheard . beornhaeð . aldred.

7 we aec alle bibeodað . ðe aet ðisse gewitnesse werun .  
on cristes noman . 7 on his ðære haligran gif aenig  
monn . ðas ure gewitnesse incerre . on owihte . ðaet he  
aebbe ðaes aelmaehtgan godes unhlis<sup>3</sup> . . 7 his ðære  
haligran unlu . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> This document is remarkable for the form *higid*, which with a collateral *hiwisc*, tends to identify *hild* with the idea on which are based such terms as *familiatus*, *casatus*, for quantities of land. See Kemble, *Saxons in England*, vol. i, c. 4, p. 91 sq. It is however doubtful whether a single instance of the form *higid* will bear so great a weight as is thus put upon it. Especially as the letter G plays in Anglo-Saxon a semi-vocalic part, as a mere consonantal film to keep two vowels distinct, so that the *g* might have just the same value as a modern diæresis; thus *higid* = *hiid*.

<sup>2</sup> *haligrana*, K; *haligranna*, S:—but two subsequent instances seem to justify *haligran*, and the added *-a* or *-na* looks rather like the attempt of a *διορθωτής* to fill in a gap left by the scribe. Even in the two cases of *haligran* below, unless the manuscript is clearer than the facsimile, a doubt remains. In the genitive plural of adjectives after the article, the Kentish dialect seems to have had this peculiarity, that only the strong form was used. The phenomenon before us looks like a blending or confusion of this peculiarity with the more familiar syntax. See Rudolf Zeuner, *Die Sprache des Kentischen Psalters* (1882), § 65.

<sup>3</sup> unhli . K.

Cott. Aug. ii. 71.

A.D. 853.

K 269. B. ii. 31.

### Æþelwulf

king of Wessex and Kent grants one ploughland at Ulaham to Ealdhere with hereditary right, and exemption from all services but the inevitable three. The bounds are described in Latin. One of the sons of the king, Eðelbearht, signs as rex; and from this it is concluded by Stubbs (*Constitut. Hist.* c. vi. p. 142 n.) that he reigned as king of Kent, as his brother Ethelstan had reigned with his father until A.D. 850. Remarkable as a piece of chancery Latin. The document is dated 855, which Kemble corrected.

✠ REGNANTE in perpetuum dño dō nño omnipotenti  
ego eðelwulf rex occidentaliū saxonū nec non et can-  
tuariorū cum consensu ac licentia meorū optimatū



seu p expiatione piaculorum meorum et obsolutione criminum m'eorum dabo et concedo meo fideli ministro ealdherē p eius humili oboed'ientia et q'ia mihi in omnibus rebus semper fidelis minister extitit dono hei aliquam partem terre iuris mei in puincia cantuariorū hoc ÷ unum aratrum ubi ulaham nominaſ siui auendum et possidendū feliciterq: in dies eius perfruendum et post dies eius cuicumq: hei eredi placuerit derelinquendum liberam per omnia abeat potestatem cum campis siluis pratis pascuis aquis uenationib: et cum omnib: utilitatibus rite ac recte ad eandem terram pertinentib: hanc H terram supranominatam et ulaham . ego eðelwulf rex ab omni seruitute regali operis intus et foris magnis ac modicis notis et ignotis perenni desiderauo<sup>1</sup> nisi his tantum trib: causis hoc ÷ expeditione et arcis munitione pontisq: constructione hec terra suprascripta et ulaham his notissimis terminib: undiq: circumcincta est ab occidente hodorða ab aq'ione winterbur'na' ab oriente prata illa toliminge . a meritie bromteag hsi quis uero heredū successorūq: meorū han'c' meam donationem t liuertatem seruare uoluerit seruet ei desup' benedictio sempiterna hsi H aliquis q absit diabolica temeritate instigatus surrexerit q' hanc liuertatem t munificentiam infringere t minuere aut in aliut conbertere quam a nobis constitutum est temptauerit sciat se coram xpo iudice et celesti exercitu rationē redditurum esse nisi prius digna satisq: placuili factione dō et hominib: emendare uoluerit hactum est H anno dominicę incarnationis .dccc.lu. indictiō .i. his testib: consentientibus et signo sçe crucis xpi confirmantib: quorū hic nomina infra ac in scedula karaxata atnotant<sup>r</sup>

✠ ego eðelwulf rex hanc meam donationem cū signo sçe crucis xpi roß 7 sußcē

✠ ego cialnoðus gratia ði arçepið hanc donationem consensi 7 suðð

✠ ego eðelbearht rex hanc donationem cum signo sçe crucis xpi rob 7 suðð

✠ ego lullede dux oð 7 sðscð

✠ ego eðelmod dux oð 7 sðscð

✠ ego eadred dux oð 7 sðscð

✠ ego elfred fili regis oð 7 sð

✠ ego eðeric dux oð 7 sðscð

✠ ego duduc m̃ oð 7 sð

✠ ego cyneheard m̃ oð 7 sð

✠ ego wiohtgar m̃ oð 7 sð

✠ ego cialmund m̃

✠ ego milred m̃

✠ ego lulla m̃

✠ ego wullaf m̃

✠ ego eðelred m̃

\*\*\* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand, '✠ ðis sindan ðes landes bec et uluham ealðheres landes'; in a later hand 'uleam'; and in a hand of the 12th century, 'Rex ethelwlf dedit vleham haldene'.* latine.' B.

<sup>1</sup> Sic MS. : It perennitir liberauo K.

<sup>2</sup> *haldene* is what the Norman scribe had made of the name Ealdhere; having misread the Saxon p as n. Kemble, Cod. Dip. vol. i. p. xliii, has given some curious instances of similar errors.

Cott. Aug. ii. 66.

A.D. 858.

K 281. T. p. 119. B. ii. 33.

## Eðelbearht

king (of Kent) makes an exchange of land with his thane Wullaf.

✠ REGNANTE in perpetuum dño ðo nño omnipotenti sabaot ego eðelbearht rex cum consensu ac licentia

meorū secularium optimatū diuinorumq: p̃sonarū liuenti animo dabo et concedo meo fideli ministro wullafe aliquam partem terre iuris mei hoc ÷ .u. aratra in illa loco ubi wasngwelle nominat in bicissitudinem alterius terre hoc ÷ et mersaham hanc terram supranominatam et wassingwellan ego eðelbearht ab omni seruitute regali operis eternaliter liuerabo sicut ante fuerat illa prenominata terra et mersaham hec sunt etenim marisci q: ad eandem terram rite ac recte p̃tinent q' h'ega ante abuerat id est an wiwarawic q' ante subiecta erat to wii 7 to leanaham 7 et febreſham .i. sealtern 7 .ii. wena gang mid cyninges wenū to blean ðem wiada 7 .iiii. oxnum gers mid cyninges oxnum an wiwarawic .xxx. statera kasei et item .x. statera in alia wiwarawic 7 .xx. lamba 7 .xx. fehta hec h' terra suprascripta et wassingwellan his notissimis terminib: antiq̃tus circū iacentibus ab occidente cyninges folcland <sup>1</sup> q' abet wighelm 7 wulflaf ab aq̃lone cuðrices dun heregeðeland ab oriente wighelmes land a meritie biscepes land to cert .ii. q: molina ad illam eandem terram p̃tinentia una an wassingwellan alia an hwiteceldan hec sunt pascua porcorum quot nostra lingua denbera nominamus hoc ÷ lamburnanden orricesden teligden stanehtandenn et illa silua sandhyrst nominat q: p̃tinet to wassingwellan hancq: liuertatem huic eodem agell'ulo illo q: wullafe similiter et wassingwellan cum consensu ac licentia meorū optimatum liuenter largitus sum ut omnium regalium tributum et ui exactorum operum et penalium rerū principali dominatione furisq: comprehensione <sup>2</sup> et cuncta seculari grauidine absq: expeditione sola et pontium structura et arcium munitiōib: secura et immunis p̃maneant si h' aliq̃s q' absit diabolika fraude deceptus et mundana cupiditatē inlectus hoc infringere † irritum facere conauerit sciat se a consortione

katholicorū segregatum et in die magni æxaminis quando celū et terra mouent̃ coram x̃po et exercitu celesti nisi ante emendauerit rationem redditurum esse hactum est h̃ anno dom̃ic incarnationis .dccccliii. indictione vi his testib: consentientibus ac conscribentibus q̃orū hic nomina infra karaxant̃

hec sunt prata to wassingwellan stocmed healf be norðan hegforde be sturemeda sue ðer to limpað

✠ ego eðelbearht rex hanc meam donationem cum signo s̃c̃e crucis x̃pi rouorauo et subscribo

✠ ego eðelmod dux oð 7 s̃b̃sc̃r

✠ ego eastmund pedesecus oð 7 s̃b̃sc̃r

✠ ego wullaf oð 7 s̃b̃sc̃r

✠ ego eðered oð 7 s̃b̃sc̃r

✠ ego sigenoth oð 7 s̃b̃sc̃r

✠ ego beagmund oð 7 s̃b̃sc̃r

✠ ego ese oð 7 s̃b̃sc̃r

✠ ego dun oð 7 s̃b̃sc̃r

✠ ego oslac oð 7 s̃b̃sc̃r

✠ ego dudda oð 7 s̃b̃sc̃r

✠ ego mucel oð 7 s̃b̃.

✠ ego burgnoð oð

✠ ego eðelweald oð

✠ ego eadweald oð

✠ ego lulla oð

✠ ego acka oð .

✠ ego cynelaf oð .

✠ ego eðelhere oð

✠ ego wighelm oð

✠ ego noðmund oð

✠ sigemund oð

✠ hunfreð oð

✠ ðis siondan ðes landes boec et wassingwellan ðet

eðelbearht cyning wullafe sealde his ðegne wið oðrum sue mielū lande et mersahā se cyning sealde 7 gebocade wullafe fif sulung landes et wassingwellan wið ðem fif sulungum et mersaham 7 se cyning dyde ðet land et mersaham him to folclande ða hie ðem landū iehwerfed hefdan butan ðem merscum 7 butan ðem sealtern et fefresham 7 butan ðem wioda ðe to ðem sealtern limpð

\* \* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand, '✠ ðis siondan ðes landes boc et wassingwellan,' and in a hand of the 12th century, 'commutatio terrarum inter eðelbeartum regem 7 wullafum . latine.'* B.

<sup>1</sup> This deed is remarkable as being one of three on which we depend for our knowledge of the nature of Folcland. See above, *Æthelwulf*, Dec. 26, 847: Schmid, *Gesetze*. p. 577: and a deed bearing the name of Offa in the *Textus Roffensis*, given below among the Secondary Records.

<sup>2</sup> Kemble identified the formula 'principali dominatione furisque comprehensione' with the jurisdiction of infangenthef and utfangenthef which has not been found before the time of Edward the Confessor in any other document that is above suspicion. *Cod. Dipl.* vol. i. p. xlvii. But after all, I think it is here meant as an immunity and not as a jurisdiction.

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Cod. Winton. 112.

A.D. 858.

K1058.

### Swiðun

grants Fearnham to Aedelbald, his king, for life, and Aedelbald grants it after his time to the bishop and church at Winchester for evermore.

✠ REGNANTE inperpetuum domino nostro Ihesu Christo summo et ineffabili rerum creatore ac moderatore, omnium tempora qui sua multimoda disponens potentia, temporibus ut uoluerit finem imponet; iccirco cunctis agendum est ut hic, bonis actibus, futurae beatitudinis foelicitatem adipisci mereantur. Quapropter ego Swiðun, diuina providente gratia, Wentanae aeclesiae episcopus, cum consensu et licentia eiusdem aecle-

siae congregationis, hoc est presbyteris, diaconibus, et omni clero consentientibus, dedi atque concessi dilectissimo domino meo et reuerentissimo Occidentalium Saxonum regi Æðelbaldo, terram .IX. cassatorum in loco qui dicitur Fearnham, ita ut habeat atque possideat praefatam terram quamdiu in hac uita praesente uixerit, sine ulla nostrorum successorum contradictione uel contentione, cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus, hoc est, campis, siluis, pascuis, pratis, piscariis, atque omnia in omnibus ad eandem terram pertinentibus. Ego autem Æðelbald, dei gratia, Occidentalium Saxonum rex, dono atque concedo pro dei amore atque animae meae remedio et parentum meorum, hoc est aui mei Ægelberhti regis et genitoris mei Aðulfi regis, post obitum meum ab hac praesenti uita ipsam terram, hoc est .IX. cassatorum in loco praenominato æt Fearnaham, episcopo et omni congregationi Wentanae aecclesiae; et tam rato ac stabili tenore quilibet episcopus et illa sancta congregatio eandem terram teneat atque possideat propria potestate ac uoluntate sibimet ad habendam, et nullus iam licentiam ulterius habeat Christi neque sancti Petri illam terram praedictam alicui dandi neque abstrahendi de illo loco, similiter nullus licentiam Christi neque sancti Petri neque ausus sit ulterius illam terram praedictam rogandi in beneficium; terra autem iamdicta sit inperpetuum libera ab omni regali seruitio et omnium saecularium, quamdiu fides et christiana religio in Anglorum gente inconcussa permaneat, praeter expeditionem, et pontium constructionem, et arcium munitionem. Si quis autem hanc nostrae satisfactionis donationem augere uel amplificare uoluerit, augeat omnipotens deus dies eius prosperos. Si uero quis infringere uel mutare praesumpserit, noscat se ante tribunal Christi redditurum rationem,

nisi prius satisfactione emendauerit. Scripta est autem haec cartula anno dominicae incarnationis .DCCC.LVIII. in loco qui dicitur Amberesburg, testibus his consentientibus quorum nomina infra scripta esse uidentur.

✠ Æðelbald rex.      ✠ Iudið regina.      ✠ Swiðun episcopus.      ✠ Osric dux.      ✠ Cynewulf dux.  
 ✠ Beorðwald abbas.      ✠ Beornred abbas.      ✠ Os-  
 mund minister.      ✠ Beorðhelm minister.      ✠ Dud-  
 da minister.      ✠ Wlfhere minister.      ✠ Æðelred minister.

\*.\* Where judgment is difficult, I am glad to rest on the authority of Prof. R. Pauli, *Alfred*, p. 80, note: 'Ungemein merkwürdig ist die von keiner Seite her zu bezweifelnde Urkunde bei Kemble C. D. 1058.'

Cott. Aug. ii. 16.

A.D. 859.

K 282. B. ii. 34

### [Plegred

bought of Æðelmod (dux) land whereof part belonged to Wilburge wella, an interesting name as shewing the naturalized form of the Latin villa, of which the ordinary Saxon equivalent was haga.

✠ IN nomine almo trino diuino an'no' dominice incarnationis .dccc.luiiii. indictione septem ego plegred aliquam terre unculam emi 'et'<sup>1</sup> eðelmode duci sexcentis denariis hoc est an healf tun que ante pertinebat to wilburgewellan ðet land healf 7 healfne tun hiis terminibus circumcincta ab oriente cyniges heiweg a meritie stret to scufeling forde ab occidente stur ab aquilone cyninges land 7 halfne weruna prata on burgwara medum suðewardum 7 an norðewardum burgwaramedum healfmed 7 meahselog an cyninges strete hanc casam supranominatam ego eðelmod plegrede donabo sibi abendum et possidendum feliciterque in dies eius perfruendum et post dies eius cuicumque ei

eredi placuerit derelinquendum lineram per omnia abeat potestatem si h' contingat' q, aliquis posterum meorum hanc meam donationem infringere † minuere temptauerit sciat se coram xpo iudice rationem esse redditurum communi uia per unam portam perfruendum intra uillulam et extra uillulam

✠ ego eðelwulf rex hanc meam donationem cum bexillo sçe crucis xpi rouorauo 7 sbscŕ

✠ ego eanulf dux oſ 7 sbscŕ

✠ ego eðelwulf dux oſ 7 sbscŕ

✠ ego eðelmod dux oſ 7 sbscŕ

✠ ego hunred oſ 7 sſb

✠ ego eðelbeald fili regis oſ 7 sbscŕ

✠ ego eðeric dux oſ 7 sbscŕ

✠ ego dudda oſ 7 sbscŕ

✠ ego wimund oſ et sbscŕ

✠ ego ceolmund oſ

✠ ego werenbearht oſ

✠ ego lulling oſ

✠ ego eadweald oſ

✠ ego wulfred oſ 7 sbscŕ

✠ ego deimund pŕ aſ oſ 7 sbscŕ

✠ ego sebearht pŕ oſ 7 sbscŕ

✠ ego diar oſ 7 sſb

✠ ego biarnhelm pŕ oſ 7 sſb

✠ ego hyse pŕ oſ 7 sſb

✠ ego osulf oſ 7 sſb

✠ ego dunineg arēdē oſ 7 sſb ✠ ego eðel'noð oſ 7 sſb

\*.\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 12th century, 'pleired dedit eðelmod duci terram at wilburgewel . latine.' B.*

<sup>1</sup> This 'et' is so marked (after B) because it is in the margin and looks like a correction; but with the same ink and hand. It is the Anglosaxon æt=at; and the sense is 'I have bought of Ethelmod.' This 'et' is not rare.



Chart. Cantuar. M. 369.

A.D. 860-863.

K 293.

T. p. 127. S. i. 9.

**Ealhhere**

conveys land which he has sold. A mutilated but interesting piece. Alfred is among the signatories. Mr. Sanders edited this document more completely than Kemble or Thorpe had done, and we benefit thereby. .

✠ IN nomine domini ego ealhhere dabo et concedo  
 oswige et weathræðe aliquem partem terre . . . . .  
 uirgas in latitudine contra eius pecunia que accepi ab eo  
 hoc est cc. et lxx. denarios . ex his . . . . .  
 land in miridie winesland in occidente tucenan land et in  
 aquilone puplica semita . . . . . hereditatem  
 illis habendum et possidendum feliciterque in diebus  
 eorum perfruendum . . . . . derelinquendum  
 liberam per omnia habeant potestates et si quis hanc  
 meam donationem ser . . . . . benedictio si  
 autem absit quod non optamus ut alicuius personis homo  
 cum diabolica t . . . . . infringere aut  
 minuere temptauerit sciat se ante tribunal christi ratcio-  
 nem . . . . . et hominibus emendare u . . . t  
 his testibus consentientibus et conscribentibus quorum  
 no . . . . . ego eðelbearht rex hanc mea . . . . .  
 nem cum uexillo sancte crucis christi roborabo et sub-  
 scribo ego . . . . . ego cialnoð archiepiscopus con-  
 sensi . . . ryhtwald dux ego mucel minister ego east-  
 mund minister ego ealh . . . . . ego ełfred  
 filius regis . hos omnes consenserunt et signo sancte  
 crucis conscripserunt ego eðelwine minister . . . . .  
 . . . . . ego eðelstan et ingan burgware ego eðelhelm et  
 eniahta geoldan<sup>1</sup> . ego herewine et herreð . Ego . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> K. and T. gealdan; S. gegildan = guildsmen; but this rests on a process of expansion.

Chart. Ant. Cantuar. M. 14.

A. D. 863.

K 288.

T. p. 121.

S. i. 10.

**Æthelberht**

king of the West Saxons and also of the Cantware, grants to his thane Ethelred land at Mersaham. The bounds are in mixed Saxon and Latin.

✠ In nomine trino diuino regi regnanti in perpetuum domino deo hsabaoth cui patent cuncta penetralia cordis et corporis terrestria simul et celestia necnon super ethera regnans in sedibus altis ima et alta omnia sua dicione gubernans cuius amore et eternis premiis ✠ ego eðelbearht rex occidentalium saxonum nec non et cantuvariorum dabo et concedo meo fideli ministro et principi meo eðelredo aliquam partem terre iuris mei hoc est VIII. aratra in illa loco hubi nominatur mersaham in sempiternum hereditatem sibi abendum et possidendum feliciterque in dies eius perfruendum et post dies eius cui cumque hei heredi placuerit derelinquendum liberam per omnia habeat potestatem cum campis siluis pratis pascuis aquis uenationibus pascuis porcorum simulque mariscis et cum omnibus utilitatibus rite ac recte ad eandem terram pertinentibus hoc feci pro eius humili hoboedientia simulque pro eius placuili atque contenti pecunia quam ab eo accepi hoc est cccctos. mancusas auri purissimi hanc autem terram supranominatam et mersaham ✠ ego eðelbearht rex ab omni seruitute regali operis intus et foris magnis ac modicis notis et ignotis perenniter liuerauo nisi his tantum tribus causis hoc est expeditione et arcis munitione pontisque constructione et illud foras reddat quot siui intus faciendi appetat hec autem terra prenominata his notissimis ter-

minibus circumcingitur a meritis et ab occidente stur  
 usque blacanriðe ab aquilone et ab oriente eadwealdes  
 bocland to bradeburnan estque una semis aratra ab  
 oriente sture quae iacet at confinium usque garulfi regis  
 ministri to mersaham 7 meda be eastan ee sue ðer mid  
 riahte to ðem lande limpað unamque salis coquinariam  
 hoc est . I . sealternsteall 7 ðer cota to in illa loco ubi  
 nominatur herewic et . IIII . carris transductionem in  
 silba regis sex ebdomades a die pentecosten hubi alteri  
 homines silbam cedunt hoc est in regis communione hec  
 sunt pasqua porcorum que nostra lingua saxonica den-  
 bera nominamus hoc est husneah efreðing-  
 denn herbedingdenn pafingdenn widefingdenn  
 bleccingdenn nec non . XX . statera casei  
 of mersce ad mersaham reddatur et XL agnos et XL  
 uellera ouium et duorum dierum refectio uel XXX.  
 argenteis hoc est semi cum libra redimatur hsi quis uero  
 heredum successorumque meorum regum principum  
 ducum optimatum siue exactorum hanc meam dona-  
 tionem seruare uoluerit seruetur ei desuper benedictio  
 sempiterna hsi autem absit quod non optamus alicuius  
 personis homo diabolica temeritate instigatus surrexerit  
 qui hanc meam donationem uel liuertatem infringere uel  
 minuere aut in aliud conbertere quam a nobis constitutum  
 est temptauerit sciat se ante tribunal summi et eterni  
 iudicis rationem esse redditurum nisi ante digna hsatis-  
 que placabili factione deo et hominibus emendare stu-  
 duerit hacta est autem hec eadem donatio uel liuertas in  
 illa loco que uocitatur birenefeld anno dominice incar-  
 nationis DCCCLXIII indictione XI his testibus consen-  
 tientibus et signo sancte crucis christi confirmantibus  
 quorum hic nomina infra ac in scedula patefacta li-  
 quescunt.

✠ ego eðelbearht rex hanc meam donationem uel liuertatem cum uexillo sancte crucis christi roborabo et subscribo.

- ✠ ego eðered dux consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego eðered filius regis consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego dryhtweald dux consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego mucel minister consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego heahmund presbiter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego heremod presbiter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego garulf minister consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego eastmund minister consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego uulfred minister consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego wigstan minister consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego ecgferð minister consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ealdred minister consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego sigenoð minister.
- ✠ ego elfstan minister.
- ✠ ego wighelm minister.
- ✠ ego piahtred minister.

✠ Item at stabilitatem huius suprascripte donationis uel liuertatis ✠ ego ciolnoð gratia dei archiepiscopus mea propria manu signum sanctae crucis christi inpressi.

✠ ego deimund presbiter abbas consensi et subscripsi.

- ✠ ego biarnulf presbiter abbas consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego eðelweald presbiter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego noðheard presbiter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego osmund presbiter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego iab presbiter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego wighelm presbiter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego tida presbiter consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego biarnheah archidiaconus consensi et subscripsi.

- ✠ ego osulf archidiaconus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego ealhstan consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego sigefreð archidiaconus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego diarweald subdiaconus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego sefreð subdiaconus consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego osmund consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego dudda consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego beagmund consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego osweald consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego lulla consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego oba consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego lulla consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego hunfreð consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego lulla consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego eadulf consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego osbearht consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego wealdhelm consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego ealdhere consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego diara consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego garulf consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego elric consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego dudda consensi et subscripsi.
- ✠ ego eðelwulf consensi et subscripsi.

Ic eadwald sellu 7 forgeofu þis lond et wifeles berge agustines higum into hiora beode minre sawle to are 7 to leedome<sup>2</sup> 7 iow fer godes lufe bidde þet ge hit minre sawle nyt gedeo 7 me hit for gode leanie eow to elmessum amen.

\*\*\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 11th century, 'merse ham:—and in one of the 12th century: 'Rex ethelbertus dedit merseham ethelredo ministro suo. latine.'*

<sup>1</sup> And two cots there. T. But? 'and there cots too' = 'and likewise the cots there.'

<sup>2</sup> So MS. Thorpe has lecdome, which he translates medicament.

Cott. Aug. ii. 95.

A D. 867.

K294. B. ii. 37.

**Ethelred**

king of the W. Saxons and the Cantware grants in perpetuity to Wighelm a priest, in a place called St. Martin's Church, a spot of land with a little homestead upon it.

✠ IN nomine dī summi regis eterni ego eðelred rex occidentalium saxonum . non et cantwariorum cum consensu ac licentia meorum optimatum dabo et conce'do' meo fideli amico wighelme p̃rs unam sedem in loco q: dicitur s̃ci martini ecclesia mihhi ad elemosynam et 'u'nam modicam uillulam at eandem sedem cum recte pertinet hec sunt termina . circumgacentia . ab aquilone puplica strata ab occidente hina meteren a meritiē hina gemene weg ab oriente terra at s̃cm agustinum hanc p̃dictam dotionem pro remedio anime mee proq; spe remunerationis eterne in sempiternā ereditatem concedendo donabo sibi abendū et possidū feliciterq; in dies eius p̃fruendum et post dies eius cuiūq; ei eredi placuerit derelinquendum liberā per omnia abeat potestatem et ab omni seruitute regaliū seculariūq; difficultatū intus et foras magnis ac modicis p̃enniter liberabo supplicabo q°q; ego eðelred rex 7 in alme trinitatis nomine firmiū p̃cipio omnib; successorib; meis quicūque sint reges 7 episcopos † principes † modo uiuentib; † qui post illos futuri sunt p̃ fidem s̃ci martini confessoris x̃pi ut numquam aliquis hanc ñram munificentiam infringere p̃sumat siquis u° quod non optamus alicuius perssonis homo diabolica temeritate instigatus surrex'erit<sup>1</sup> quod hanc meā munificentiam mutare aut minuere temptet minuatur pars eius de terra uiuentiū ipseq; reus ante tribunal terribili particeps existat illoꝝ q<sup>i</sup> filiū dī et uendiderunt ,

et crucifixeŕt nisi ante digno satisfactione đo et ominib' emundare uoluerit: Hanc libertatem prescriptā cū his testib' ĩfra naminatis firmiter ĩ ihu xpō cū signaculo sċe crucis ofirmantes roborauimus . Actū ÷ H' anno ab ĩarnatione dñi .dcccclxvii. indictione .xv. Y' dorobernia cibitate

✠ ego eðelred . rex anc meã donationē cū signo sċe crucis xpī roborabo 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego eastmund . dux oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ eg'o' ealhheard . aþ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego heremod pþ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego mucel mĩ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego beorhtnoð mĩ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego forðred mĩ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego eðelwulf mĩ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego eðelred mĩ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego acca mĩ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego biarhtwulf mĩ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego mannel mĩ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ IN nomine dñi eodem regi regnante ego cialnoð gratia đī afeþs hanc donationem eðeredi regis cū signa sċe crucis xpī roboro 7 ofirmabo

✠ ego biarnhelm pŕ aþ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ 'ego' noðheard pŕ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ 'ego' biarnfreð pŕ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego osmund pŕ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego wighelm pŕ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego eðelweald pŕ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego eardulf pŕ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego biarnhelm pŕ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego tidweald pŕ oš 7 sċscŕ

✠ ego beornred pŕ oš 7 sċscŕ

- ✠ ego sefreð þr̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego beornheah þr̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego sigefreð þr̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego sebearht þr̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego sigemund þr̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego torhthelm þr̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego herefreð þr̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego beornweald þr̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego wealdhere þr̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego elfstan þr̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego aldred þr̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego bearnulf þr̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego sigefred aŋc̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego bearnoð aŋc̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego herefreð aŋc̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego ealhheard suþ̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego cialbearht suþ̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego wealdhelm suþ̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥
- ✠ ego tirweald suþ̥ oð 7 sþsc̥r̥

\*\*\* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand 'ân setl æt s̥ce martine;'*  
*above which are traces of another short endorsement. B.*

<sup>1</sup> With the marks of reference, ð and h. B.

Cott. Aug. ii. 17.  
 K 296. B. ii. 38.

A.D. 868.

### Cialulf

conveys to his friend and relative Eanmund property in Canterbury. The date was corrected by Kemble.

✠ IN nomine dñi ego cialulf anno ab incarnatione dñi  
 nři ihu xp̃i . deccclxxxviii. dabo et concedo eanmunde  
 amico meo et cognito<sup>1</sup> aliquam partem terre iuris mei  
 hoc est in dorobernia ciuitate ið ÷ in longitudo .vi.



uirgis et in latitudo .iii. haec sunt terminib: in oriente  
 ęðelmund pŕ in meredie deibearht in occident ciolulf in  
 aquilone hemma haec omnia dabo eanmunde , pro conpe-  
 tenti pecuniam quam ab eo accipio ið ÷ cxx. denarios  
 argenteis in sempiternam hereditatem sibi habendum et  
 possidendum feliciterq: in dies eius perfruendum et post  
 dies eius cuicumq: ei herede placuerit ad derelinquendum  
 liberam ab omni seruitute regali subgectione liberrima  
 quando xpiana fides in terra seruatur ęternaliter per-  
 maneat hoc ipsumq: omnib: successorib: nŕis in nomine  
 omnipotentis đi obseruare precipimus 7 si quis hoc  
 seruare uoluerit seruet eum omnipotens đs si quis uero pŕ  
 tyrannicam potestatem fringe aut minuere uoluerit sciat  
 se anathematum coram xpō et angelis eius nisi ante  
 digna satisfactione ęmendare uoluerit đō 7 hominib:  
 manente hac cartula in sua nihilhominum firmitate  
 roborata his testib: consentientib: ac scribentib: quorum  
 hic nomina infra scripta sunt

✠ ego ęðered rex hanc meam donationem cum uexillo  
 sęe crucis xpī roborabo et subscribo , , ,

✠ ego ciolnoð gratia đi archepisc oð 7 sð

✠ ego heahmund ęlect episc oð 7 sð

✠ ego ęðelwulf dux oð 7 sð

✠ ego dryhtweald dux oð 7 sð

✠ ego eastmund dux oð 7 sð

✠ ego garulf m̃ oð 7 sð

ego ecgbearht m̃ oð 7 sð

ego ecgferð m̃ oð 7 sð

ego acca m̃ oð 7 sð

ego wunsige m̃ oð 7 sð

✠ ego ęðered m̃ oð 7 sð

✠ ego dudda m̃ oð 7 sð

✠ ego lulla m̃ oð 7 sð

- ✠ ego eðelweald m̃ oð 7 sð
- ✠ ego eðelmund m̃ oð 7 sð
- ✠ ego eacca m̃ oð 7 sð ,
- ✠ ego eðelweald m̃ oð 7 sð ,
- ✠ ego eðelweald p̃r̃ oð 7 sð ,
- ✠ ego osmund p̃r̃ oð 7 sð ,
- ✠ ego ciolulf m̃ oð 7 sð ,

\* \* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand*, '✠ ciolulf scalde eanmunde his mege ðisne tuun betwix eum wið cxx in ec eðbe eðeðedes cyninges friols 7 his handseten 7 seġen;' *and in a somewhat later hand*,

'✠ æðeleræ gebohte et cialulfe ða strēte siððan hæ ðis land hæfde ða hær be æften stent · vii· fau · fet an bræde ðe to ðissum lande belimpeð suð innan ðet land an ðara wistræte an lucænan gewitnesse · 7 hyldefriðes 7 an cuðulfes · 7 an hýmman 7 an eadulfes · 7 an biarhthlafes · · 7 ðær ne gebyreð an ðam lande an folcæs folcrysht to lefænnæ rumæs butan twigen fyt to yfæs drypæ ·' <sup>2</sup>

*and in a hand of the 12th century*, 'latine.' B.

<sup>1</sup> cognato. See the first endorsement.

<sup>2</sup> The memorandum in the endorsement about a right of two feet as easement for the eavesdrop as against the public way, is highly curious. Mr. Coote says: 'The easement thus referred to is the *jus stillicidium vertendi in tectum vel aream vicini*, *Dig. 8. 2, 2*;' *The Romans in Britain*, p. 362.

Kemble, *Saxons in England*, cap. ii, p. 45, treated this as a restraint upon the owner who is bound to leave this margin upon his possession, and not build to the verge, lest a neighbour or the public should be annoyed thereby. And this suits the text best. He refers to Plutarch, *Solon* 23, for analogous rules of the Athenian legislator, whereby the cultivator must leave a margin of five feet uncultivated, and may not plant a fig or olive tree nearer to his bounds than nine feet.

Cott. Aug. ii. 89.

A.D. 875.

K 307. B. ii. 40.

## Eardulf

grants to his friend Wighelm a piece of land at Ham, with all the rights conveyed to himself by Alfred, king of the West Saxons and Cantware.

IN nomine dñi regnantis per omnia ac disponentis

ubique omnia cuius melliflua largitate ditatus ego eardulfus dabo ac concedo amico meo wighelmo aliquā partē terre iuris mei ðæt is an swulung 7 an iocleta in illo loco ubi ab incolis dictū est æt hāme cū eadē libertate quā ælfredus rex occidentaliū saxonū necnon æt cantwariorū mihi in ius propriū cū multorū fideliū testimonio donauit hec facio pro eius competenti atque mihi placabili pecunia quā ab eo accepi id est .c. uiginti mancusas auri purissimi ista ætenim terra præfata h'is terminibus undiq: circūcincta ÷ in oriente hā fleot in occidente puplica strata in aquilone hireses seota to presta tune 7 se merse se to ðam ilcan lande belimpð quæ ælfredus rex ad augmentū predictæ donationis tradidit æt in meridie puplica strata oð ðane ford isti sunt termini huius prænominati marisci in oriente hireses merse to presta tune in occidente heferfleot in aquilone hā fleot in meridie illa ipsa terra æt hāme 7 an cinges bocholte<sup>1</sup> fif wena gang frā lacū oð sumermessan . hec omnia dabo ei in sempiternā hereditatē sibi habendū æt possidendū feliciterq: in dies eius perfruendū æt post dies eius cuicumq: ei herede placuerit derelinquendū liberā per omnia habeat potestatē intus æt foris magnis ac modicis notis atq: ignotis cū cāpis siluis pratis pascuis piscationibus omnibusq: ad eā rite hac recte pertinentibus hoc ipsumq: omnib: successorib: fñris in nomine omnipotentis dñi obseruare præcipimus ut quādiu cristiana fides in terra seruatur libera ab omni regali seruitute æternaliter permaneat nisi his tantū trib: causis id ÷ expedicione æt arcis munitione pontisq: constructione si quis h' hoc seruare uoluerit seruatur ei eterna benedictio in celis si h' absit quot non obtamus ut alicuius personis homo diabolica temeritate instigatus surrexerit qui hanc donationē infringere uel minuere temptauerit sciat se rationē esse redditurū æt a dō et

angelis eius in die iudicii separatū nisi antea digna satisfactione dō et hominib: hoc emendare uoluerit actū est  
 Hf hec donatio anno dominice incarnationis decclxxv°. indicē .v°. viii. his testib: consentientib: hac conscribentib: quorū ic nomina infra hac in scedula caraxsant<sup>r</sup>.

ego ælfred gratia dī rex hanc libertatē donationis meae consensi manuq: mea propria roborauī et subscripsi

ego æðeredus archieps . consensi . et subscripsi .

ego oswealdus filius regis . ๑.ṣ. 7 sṭ .

ego ælfstan dux . ๑.ṣ. 7 sṭ .

ego beorhtulf dux . ๑.ṣ 7 sṭ .

ego sigulf . m̃ . regis . ๑.ṣ. 7 sṭ .

ego sighelm . m̃ . regis . ๑.ṣ 7 sṭ .

ego odda . m̃ . ๑.ṣ 7 sṭ .

ego mired . m̃ . ๑.s 7 sṭ .

ego oswulf . m̃ . ๑.ṣ 7 sṭ .

ego wulfstan . m̃ . ๑.ṣ. 7 sṭ .

ego heahulf . m̃ . ๑.ṣ. 7 sṭ .

ego cenweald . m̃ . ๑.ṣ. 7 sṭ .

ego ceolmund . m̃ . ๑.ṣ. 7 sṭ .

ego hereweald . m̃ . ๑.ṣ. 7 sṭ .

ego eadmund . m̃ . ๑.ṣ. 7 sṭ .

ego osweald . m̃ . ๑.ṣ. 7 sṭ .

ego eanulf . m̃ . ๑.s. 7 sṭ .

ego wulfhere . pr̃b 7 aṭ . ๑.ṣ 7 sṭ .

Itē ad stabilitatē eiusdē donationis ego plegmundus misericordia dī archieps ๑.sensi et subscripsi .

ego beornhelm pr̃b 7 aṭ ๑.ṣ .

ego beornheah c̃r 7 aṭ ๑.ṣ .

ego beahstan . pr̃b . ๑.s .

ego wynhelm . pr̃b . ๑.ṣ .

\* \* *Endorsed in a hand of the 10th century, 'hammes boc,' and in a*

*hand of the 12th century*, 'Eardulfus dedit hamme amico suo Wigelmo quam dederat ei elfredus Rex . latine.' B.

<sup>1</sup> In vielen Urkunden ertheilen die Könige Weide-, Mast-, und Holzberechtigungen auf uncultivirtem Lande und besonders in Wäldern, die mitunter Wälder des Königs [K 307], mitunter auch gemeine Wälder [K 96] genannt werden. Erwin Nasse, *Ueber die mittelalterliche Feldgemeinschaft*, Bonn, 1869, p. 21.

MS. Stowe, ed. Manning.

A.D. 880-885.

K 314.

T. p. 484.

### Alfred's Will.

✠ Ic Ælfred cinge, mid godes gife 7 mid geþeahtunge Æðeredes ercebisceopes 7 ealra Westseaxena witena gewitnesse, smeade ymbe mīnre sǣwle þearfe, 7 ymbe mīn yrfe ðæt me god 7 mīne yldran forgeafon, 7 ymbe ðæt yrfe ðæt Aðulf cinge, mīn fæder, ūs þrim gebrōðrum becwæð, Aðelbolde 7 Æðerede 7 me, 7 swylc ūre swylce lengest wære, ðæt se fenge tō eallum. Ac hit gelamp ðæt Æðelbold gefōr, 7 wyt Æðered, mid ealra Westseaxena witena gewitnesse, uncerne dǣl oðfæstan Æðelbyrhte cinge, uncrum mǣge; on ða gerǣdene ðe he hit eft gedyde unc swá gewylde swá hit ðá wæs, ðá wit hit him oðfæstan, 7 he ðá swá dyde, ge ðæt yrfe, ge ðæt he mid uncre<sup>1</sup> gemānan begeat, 7 ðæt he sylf gestrynde. Ðá hit swá gelamp ðæt Æðered tō feng, ðá bæd ic hine, beforan ūrum witum eallum, ðæt wyt ðæt yrfe gedǣldon, 7 he me ágeafe mīnne dǣl. Ðá sæde he me, ðæt he nǣht eáðe ne mihte tōdǣlan, forðon he hǣfde ful oft ár ongefangan: 7 he cwæð ðæs ðe he on uncrum gemānan gebrúce 7 gestrynde, æfter his dæge he nānum menn sel ne ūðe ðonne me: 7 ic ðæs ðá wæs wel gefafa. Ac hit gelamp ðæt we ealle on hǣ-

ðenum folce gebrocude wæron; ðā spræce wyt ymbe  
 uncre bearn, ðæt hý sumre áre beþorftan, sælde unc on  
 ðām brocum swā unc sælde: ðā wæron we on gemóte  
 æt Swinbeorgum; ðā gecwædon wit on Westseaxena  
 witena gewitnesse, ðæt swáðer uncer leng wære, ðæt  
 he geúðe óðres bearnum ðára landa ðe wyt sylfe be-  
 geaton, 7 ðára landa ðe unc Aðulf cinge forgeaf be  
 Æðelbolde lifendum, bútan ðām ðe he ús þrim gebró-  
 ðrum gecwæð: 7 ðæs uncor ægðer óðrum his wedd  
 sealde, swáðer uncer leng lifede, ðæt se fenge ægðer  
 ge tó lande ge to mádmum 7 tó eallum his áhtum,  
 bútan ðām dæle ðe uncer gehwáðer his bearnum be-  
 cwæð. Ac hit gelamp ðæt Æðered cinge gefór; ðā ne  
 cýðde me nán mann nán yrfe-gewrit, né nāne gewit-  
 nesse, ðæt hit ænig óðer wære bútan swā wit on gewit-  
 nesse ár gecwædon. Ðā gehýrde we nú manegu yrfe-  
 gefritu: nú ðā lædde ic Aðulfes cinges yrfe-gewrit on  
 úre gemót æt Languardene, 7 hit man árædde beforan  
 eallum Westseaxena witum. Ðā hit áræd wæs, ðā  
 bæd ic hý ealle, for mínre lufan, 7 him mín wedd beád  
 ðæt ic hyra næfre nænne ne oncúðe forðon ðe hý on riht  
 spræcon, 7 ðæt hyra nán ne wandode né for mínan  
 lufan né for mínum ege, ðæt hý ðæt folcriht árehton;  
 ðýlæs ænig man cweðe, ðæt ic míne mægild, oððe  
 yldran, oððe gingran, mid wó fordémde. 7 hý ðā ealle  
 tó rihte gerehton 7 cwædon, ðæt hý nán rihtre riht ge-  
 þencan ne mihtan, né on ðām yrfe-gewrite gehýran:  
 “nú hit eall ágán is on ðæron oð ðíne hand: ðonne ðú  
 hit becweðe 7 sylle swā gesibre handa swā fremdre,  
 swáðer ðe leófre sý:” 7 hí ealle me ðæs hyra wedd  
 sealdon 7 hyra handsetene, ðæt be hyra life hit nænig  
 man næfre ne onwende on nāne óðre wisan, bútan swā  
 swā ic hit sylf gecweðe æt ðām nyhstan dæge.

Ic Ælfred Westseaxena cinge, mid godes gife 7 mid ðisse gewitnesse, gecweðe hú ic ymbe mīn yrfe wille æfter mīnum dæge. Ærest ic an Eādwearde mīnum yldran suna, ðæs landes æt Strætneāt on Triconscire,<sup>2</sup> 7 Heortingtūnes, 7 ða bōcland ealle ðe Leófheāh hylt, 7 ðæt land æt Carumtūne, 7 æt Cylfantūne, 7 æt Burnhamme, 7 æt Wedmōr; 7 ic eom fyrmdig tō ðām hiwum æt Ceodre ðæt hý hine ceōsan<sup>3</sup> on ða gerād ðe we ér gecweden hæfdon, mid ðām lande æt Ciwtūne 7 ðām ðe ðærtō hyrað; 7 ic him an ðæs landes æt Cantuctūne, 7 æt Bedewindan, 7 æt Pefesigge, 7 Hysseburnan, 7 æt Súttūne, 7 æt Leódridan, 7 æt Aweltūne. And ealle ða bōcland ðe ic on Cent hæbbe, 7 æt ðām nyðeran Hysseburnan, 7 æt Cýseldene, ágyfe man intó Wintanceastre, on ða gerād ðe hit mīn fæder ér gecwæð, 7 ðæt min sundorfeoh ðæt ic Ecgulfe oðfæste on ðām neoðeran Hysseburnan . 7 ðām gingran mīnan suna ðæt land æt Eaderingtūne, 7 ðæt æt Denē, 7 ðæt æt Meone, 7 ðæt æt Ambresbyrig, 7 æt Deone, 7 æt Sturminster, 7 æt Gifle, 7 æt Cruærn, 7 æt Hwítancyrīcan, 7 æt Axanmúðan, 7 æt Branecescumbe, 7 æt Columtūne, 7 æt Twýfyrd, 7 æt Mylenburnan, 7 æt Exanmynster, 7 æt Súðeswyrðe, 7 æt Liwtūne, 7 ða land ðe ðær tō hyran, ðæt synd ealle ðe ic on Wealcynne hæbbe būtan Triconscire. And mīnre yldstan déhter ðæne hām æt Welewe; 7 ðære medemestan, æt Clearan, 7 æt Cendefer; 7 ðære gingestan ðone hām æt Welīg, 7 æt Æsetūne, 7 æt Cippenhamme; 7 Æðelme, mīnes brōðer suna, ðone hām æt Ealdingburnan, 7 æt Cumtūne, 7 æt Crundellan, 7 æt Beadingum, 7 æt Beadingahamme, 7 æt Burnhām, 7 æt Ðunresfelda, 7 æt Æscengum; 7 Æðelwolde, mīnes brōðor suna, ðone hām æt Godelmingum, 7 æt Gyldeforda, 7 æt Stæningum; 7 Os-

ferðe mínum mæge, ðone hám æt Beccanlea, 7 æt Hryðeranfelda, 7 æt Diccelingum, 7 æt Súðtúne, 7 æt Lullingmynster, 7 æt Angemáringtun, 7 æt Felhhamme, 7 ða land ðe ðær tó hyran; 7 Ealhswíðe ðone hám æt Lambburnan, 7 æt Waneting, 7 æt Eðandúne; 7 mínum twám sunum án þusend punda, ægðrum fif hund punda; 7 mínre yldstan déhter, 7 ðære medemestan, 7 ðære gingstran, 7 Ealhswíðe, him feowrum, feower hund punda, ælcum án hund punda; 7 mínra ealdormanna ælcum án hund mangcusa, 7 Æðelme, 7 Æðelwolde, 7 Osferðe, eác swá; 7 Æðerede ealdormenn án sweord on hundteontigum mancsum; 7 ðám mannum ðe me folgiað, ðe ic nú on eástertíðum feoh sealde, twá hund punda ágyfe man him, 7 dæle man him betweoh, ælcum swá him tó gebyrian wille, æfter ðære wísan ðe ic him nú dælde; 7 ðám ercebisceope .c. mancusa, 7 Esne bisceope, 7 Wærferðe bisceope, 7 ðám æt Scireburnan. Eác swá gedæle for me 7 for mínne fæder, 7 for ða frýnd ðe he fore þingode 7 ic fore þingie, twá hund punda, fiftig mæssepreostum ofer eall mín rice, fiftig earmum godes þeowum, fiftig earmum þearfum, fiftig tó ðære cyrican ðe ic æt reste; 7 ic nāt nāht gewislice hwæðer ðæs feos swá micel is, né ic nāt ðeáh his mære sý; bútan swá ic wéne. Gif hit mære sý, beó hit him eallum gemæne ðe ic feoh becweden hæbbe; 7 ic wille ðæt mine ealdormenn 7 mine þenigmenn ðær ealle mid syndan, 7 ðis ðús gedálan. Ðonne hæfde ic ær on oðre wísan áwriten ymbe mín yrfe, ðá ic hæfde mære feoh 7 má maga, 7 hæfde monegum mannum ða gewritu oðfæst, 7 on ðás ylcan gewitnesse hý wæron áwritene; ðonne hæbbe ic nú forbærned ða ealdan ðe ic geáhsian mihte. Gif hyra hwyle funden bið, ne forstent ðæt nāht; forðám ic wille ðæt hit nú ðús sý mid



godes fultume. And ic wille ða menn ðe ða land habbað, ða word gelæstan ðe on mīnes fæder yrfe-gewrite standað, swā swā hý fyrmest magon: 7 ic wille gif ic ænigum menn ænig feoh unleánod hæbbe, ðæt mīne magas ðæt huru geleánian. And ic wille ða menn ðe ic mīne bōcland becweden hæbbe, ðæt hý hit ne ásyllan of mīnum cynne ofer heora dæg; ac ic wille [ofer] hyra dæg ðæt hit gange on ða nyhstan hand me, bútan hyra hwylc bearn hæbbe; ðonne is me leófast ðæt hit gange on ðæt strýned on ða wápned healfe, ða hwile ðe ænig dæs wyrðe sý. Mīn yldra fæder hæfde gecweden his land on ða sperehealfe, nās on ða spinl-healfe; ðonne, gif ic gesealde ænigre wífhandas ðæt he gestrynde, ðonne forgyldan mīne magas, 7 gif hý hit be ðan libbendan habban wyllan; gif hit elles sý, gange hit ofer hyra dæg swā swā we ár gecweden hæfdon: forðon ic cweðe, ðæt hī hit gyldan, forðon hý foð to mīnum ðe ic syllan mót swā wífhandas swā wápnedhandas swáðer ic wylle. And ic bidde on godes naman 7 on his hāligra ðæt mīnra maga nān né yrfe-wearda, ne geswence nān nēnig cyrelif ðāra ðe ic foregeald, 7 me Westseaxena witan tō rihte gerehton, ðæt ic hī mót lætan swā freo swā þeówe, swáðer ic wille; ac ic, for godes lufan 7 for mīnre sáwle þearfe, wylle ðæt hý sýn heora freolses wyrðe 7 hyra cyres; 7 ic on godes lifiendes naman beóde ðæt hý nān man ne brocie, né mid feos mánunge, né mid nēnigum þingum, ðæt hý ne mótan ceósan swylene mann swylce hý wyllan. And ic wylle ðæt man ágyfe ðām hiwum æt Domrahamme hyra landbéc 7 hyra freols, swylce hand tō ceósenne swylce him leófast sý, for me 7 for Ælflæde, 7 for ða frýnd ðe heó fore þingode 7 ic fore þingie. And séc man eác on cwicum ceápe ymbe mīnre sáwle þearfe, swā

hit beón mæge, 7 swá hit eác gerysne sý, 7 swá ge me forgyfan wyllan.

<sup>1</sup> uncrum Thorpe; who translates, 'that which he with our common property had acquired.'

<sup>2</sup> 'At Stratton in Cornwall.' T. See Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.* i. p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> As there are charters of Eadwig, Eadgar, and Eadmund, which are dated from a royal home at Cheddar, Mr. Thorpe understands by the *hiwan* either the king's vassals or else the members of a religious house there, having a legal right to choose their lord. The latter seems most favoured by the singular term 'cyrelif' below, and the light afforded by the context there. See Bosworth, ed. Toller, v. Cyrelif.

MS. Stowe. Lye, App. Dict.

A.D. 871-889.

K 317.

T. p. 480.

### Elfred dux

his will, addressed to king Alfred and others concerned.

✠ Xþ. Ic Elfred dux hatu writan 7 cyðan an ðis-  
sum gewrite. Elfrede regi 7 eallum his weotum 7 ge-  
weotan. 7 ec swylce minum me gum 7 minum gefeorum.  
ða men ðe ic mines erfes 7 mines boclondes seolest onn.  
ðæt is ðonne Werburg min wif 7 uncer gemene bearn.  
ðæt is ðonne æt ærestan an Sonderstede 7 on Selesdune  
xxxii hida. 7 on Westarham xx hida. 7 on Cloppaham  
xxx hida. 7 on Leangafelda vii hida. 7 on Horsalege  
x hida. 7 on Netelamstyre vii hida. Ic Elfred dux  
sello Werburge 7 Alhðryðe uncum gemenum bearne.  
Ater minum dege. ðas lond mid cwide erfe. 7 mid  
earðe. 7 mid allum þingum ðe to londum belimpað.  
7 twa þusendu swina ic heom sellu mid ðem londum.  
gif hit hio gehaldeð mid ðare clænnisse ðe uncer word  
gecwædu seondan. 7 hio gebrenge æt sancte Petre min  
twa wergeld gif ðet godes wille seo ðæt heo ðæt færeld

age; Ond æfter Werburge dæge seo Alhðryðe ða lond unbefiten on Sonderstyde . 7 on Selesdune . 7 on Leangafelda. Ond gif heo bearn hæbbe . feo ðæt bearn to ðæm londum æfter hire . gif heo bearn næbbe . feo ðonne an hire rehtfæderen sio neste hond to ðem londe . ond to ðem erfe . 7 swa hwylc minra fædrenmega swa ðæt sio ðæt hine to ðan gehagige . ðæt he ða oðoro lond begeotan mæge . 7 wille . ðonne gebycge he ða lond æt hire mid halfe weorðe. Ond swe hwylc mon swa ðæt sio ðæt ðes londes bruce ofer minne dæg on Cloppaham ðanne geselle he cc peninga eghwylce gere to Ceortesege for Ælfredes sawle . to feormfultume. Ond ic 'sello Æðelwalde minum suna III hida boc londes . II hida on Hwætedune . anes hides an Gatatune . 7 him sellu ðærto c swina . 7 gif se cyning him geunnan wille ðes folclondes to ðæm boclonde . ðonne habbe 7 bruce . gif hit ðæt ne sio . ðonne selle hio him swa hwaðer swa hio wille . swa ðet lond on Horsalege . swa ðet an Leangafelda; Ond ic sellu Berhtsige minum mege an hide boclondes on Læncanfelda . 7 ðærto c. swina . 7 geselle hio c. swina to Cristes cirican for me . 7 for mine sawle . 7 c to Ceortesege . 7 ðone oferecan mon gedæle gind mynsterhamas to godes ciricum in Suðregum . 7 in Cent . ða hwile ðe hio lestan willen; Ond ic sellu Sigewulfe minum mege . ofer Werburge dæg . ðæt lond an Netelhamstyde. Ond Sigulf geselle of ðem londe . c peninga to Cristes cirican. Ond eghwylc ðara erfewearda ðe æfter him to ðæm londe foe . ðonne ageofen hio ða ilcan elmessan to Cristes cirican for Ælfredes sawle . ða hwile ðe fulwiht sio . 7 hit man on ðæm lande begeotan mæge; Ond ic sellu Eadrede minum mege ðet lond on Fearnlege æfter Æðelredes dæge . gif he hit to him geearnian wile . 7 he geselle

of ðem londe xxx [sestra] cornes æghwelce gere to Hrofescestre. Ond sio ðis lond gewriten 7 unbefliten æfter Eadredes dæge in Ælfredes reht meodrencynn ða hwile ðe fulwhte sio on Angelcynnes ealonde. Deos foresprec . 7 ðas gewriotu . ðe her beufan awreotene stondað . ic Ælfred willio . 7 wille ðæt hio sion soð-fæstlice forðweard getrymed me 7 minum ærfeweardum. Gif ðæt ðonne god allmæhtig geteod habbe . ond me ðæt on læne gelið ðæt gesibbra ærfeweard forðcymeð wepnedhades . 7 acenned weorðeð . ðanne ann ic ðæm ofer minne dæg alles mines erfes to brucanne . swa him leofust sio ; And swa hwyle mon swa ðas god . 7 ðas geofe . 7 ðas gewrioto . 7 ðas word . mid rehte haldan wille . ond gelestan . gehalde hine heofones cyning in ðissum life ondwardum . 7 eac swa in ðæm towardan life ; Ond swa hwyle mon swa hio wome . 7 breoce . gewome him God almahtig his weorldare ond eac swa his sawle are ;

Her syndon ðæra manna naman awritene ðe ðeosse wisan geweotan sindon.

✠ Ic Æðered ar.bisc. mid ðære halgan Cristes rode tacne ðas word 7 ðas wisan fæstnie 7 write. ✠ Ælfred dux. ✠ Beorhtuulf dux. ✠ Beornhelm aþþ. ✠ Ear-duulf aþþ. ✠ Werburg. ✠ Sigfred pŕ. ✠ Beon-heah pŕ. ✠ Beagstan pŕ. ✠ Wulfheah. ✠ Æðel-wulf pŕ. ✠ Earduulf pŕ. ✠ Beornoð diač. ✠ Weald-helm diač. ✠ Wine sþ diac. ✠ Sæfreð. ✠ Ceolmund m̃. ✠ Eadmund m̃. ✠ Eadwald m̃. ✠ Signulf m̃.

\*.\* This Will is a chief text for the definition of folcland. See Schmid v. Folcland. The testator bequeaths to Werburg his wife large estates which are spoken of as hereditary and as bocland ; and he also bequeaths three hides of like tenure to his son Æðelwald—' and if the king will grant him the folcland in addition to the bocland, then let him have it and enjoy it : but if that be not so, then she (Werburg) is to

give him one or the other, which she pleases, of two estates above given to her, of which the one was seven the other ten hides.' From this we learn an important difference between bocland and folcland, that the former could, the latter could not, be willed. And we gather that folc-land could not go to a woman.

Moreover, in this will, we catch a glimpse of the large herds of swine which the Saxon landowners kept.

This Elfred the testator was the person who gave to Christ Church that book which is known as the Golden Gospels, and which is now at Stockholm. It is facsimiled in Rask's Grammar, and by Prof. Westwood, 1868.

Canterbury Archives.

A.D. 889.

S. i. 11.

### Suithulf

bp. of Rochester, with the brotherhood there, grants land to Biorhtwulf a priest. This was first published in the Facsimiles of the Ordnance Survey.

✠ REGNANTE in perpetuum domino nostro ihesu christo Omnia regna huius labentis uitæ regnorumque dispensatores ab initio histius sæculi cum uelocitate deficientes ceciderunt. Ideo fugitiuis ex mortalibus rebus æterna gaudia promerenda sunt, qua propter ego swiðu-ulf episcopus 7 ða higan æt hrofes cestre, dabunt biorhtuulfo presbitero aliquam partem terre in pro-uincio cantie in regione que uocatur haddun id est dimidium unius aratri pro eius placabili pecunio in hereditatem sempiternam iure hereditario tibi ad habendum æt possidendum feliciter perfruendum in dies tuos. æt post dies tuos cuicumque herede tibi placuerit. dere-linguendum liberam per omnia habeas potestatem. Hæc sunt æt enim termini histius predicti agelli circumia-centia biscopes mearc annorðan east be hunesbiorge oð ciolmundes mearce 7 ðes landes in erefwe suð ober haddune middewearde 7 ober ðane ealdan tunsteall oð

cinges mearce 7 suð be cinges mearce oð ðane myclan  
del norðan 7 west be cinges mearce oð ciolmundes wioda  
7 west be ðy wioda andlanges ðare rode oð ðane pyt 7  
east fram ðy pytte ðurh ðane wioda wið suðan hunes-  
biorge 7 wen weg ðy lande ober ciolmundes land to  
ealdan strete, hæc sunt prata que ad illam terram  
pertinent.

.1. Et bioccan lea . 7 an suð healfe strodes an cyninges  
medum ða ðe ðærto belimpað.

Anni domini nostri ihesu christi DCCCLXXXVIII scripta  
est hec cartula his testibus consentientibus æt subscri-  
uentibus quorum hic nomina tenentur ad scripta

✠ Ego suuiðulf episcopus hanc donationem signo  
sancte crucis christi confirmavi,

✠ Ego sigehelm dux consensi et subscripsi

✠ Ego ealhhere minister consensi et subscripsi

✠ Ego dioruulf presbyter consensi et subscripsi

✠ Ego earduulf presbyter consensi et subscripsi

✠ Ego sigebearht presbyter consensi et subscripsi

✠ Ego ciolmund archidiaconus consensi et subscripsi

✠ Ego ealhstan diaconus consensi et subscripsi

\*\*\* *Endorsed* :—✠ Eadgar cyning of his agenre handa sealde þas boc  
leofrice on þara gewitnesse þe her benīþan standap. dunstan . archiepis-  
copus ✠ athelwold episcopus. oswald episcopus. ælfhere . dux. ælfwine  
frater eius. ✠ wulstan . minister. osgar abbas. ealdred minister.  
eadelm . minister. wulfheh minister. leofstan minister. ælfheh minister.  
wulfsige minister. byrhtic minister. wulfsige minister. leofric minister.

Suipulfus episcopus roffensis . et conuentus  
dederunt biortuulfo dimidium aratri at haddun  
. latine .

Haddune booc.

Cott. Vesp. A. v. 169.

A.D. 896.

K 1073.

T. p. 139, from Heming.

**Æðelred of Mercia**

held a great council for revision of government, and it was at this Witenagemôt that Werferð bishop of Worcester recovered from one Æðelwald the woodland of Woodchester (Gloucester), which had been given to his see by king Æðelbald. This woodland had been appropriated to the conterminous estates of Bisley, Avening, Thornbury, &c., for all which annexations a single man is answerable, named Æðelwald. He does not pretend to dispute the bishop's claim, but petitions the enjoyment on lease for his own time and that of his son Alhmund.

✠ RIXIENDUM ussum dryhtene ðæm hælendan Crist!  
 Æfter ðon ðe ægân wæs ehta hund wintra and syx and hund nigontig efter his ácennednesse and ðy feówer-teóðan gebonngére, ðá ðý gére gebeón Æðelred ealderman ælle Mercna weotan tósomne tó Gleaweceastre bisceopas, and aldermen, and alle his dúguðe, and ðæt dyde be Ælfredes cyninges gewitnesse and leáfe; and heó ðá ðær smeadan hú heó rihtlicost heora þeóðscip ægðer ge for Gode ge for weorlde gehealdan mehton, and éc monige men ryhtan ge godcundra hada ge weorldcundra, ge on londum ge on má ðára þinga ðe heó on forhaldne wéran. Ðá cýðde Werferð bisceop ðám weotum ðæt him wære fornéh eall ðæt wudulond on gereáfad ðe tó Wuduceastre belomp ðæt Æðelbald cyning gesealde tó Weogornaceastre him tó écre ælmessan, Wilferðe b tó mæstlonde and tó wudulonde; and ðæt sæde ðæt hit wære sume genumen tó Bislége, sum tó Æfeningum, sum tó Scorranstáne, sume tó Ðornbyrig ðæs ðe he wénde; ðá cwædon eall ða

weotan ðæt mon úðe ðære cyrcan rihtes swá well swá óðerre, and ða sona wæs Æðelwald ðæs wordes ðæt he nō ðes rihtes wiðsacan wolde, and sæde ðæt Aldberht and Alhhún bisceop wæron ær ymb ðæt ylce and cwæð ðæt he ælcra circæn āa his dæla rihtes úðe; and hit swá swíðe mildlice ágeáf ðām bisceop and heht his geneát, Ecglaf hátte, rídan mid ceastersetna preoste, Wulfhun hátte, and he hine ðā gelædde ealle ða gemæru swá he him of ðām aldan bōcum rædde hú hit ær Æðelbald cyning gemærude and gesalde. Ðā wilnede Æðelwald swá ðeh tō ðām þ and tō ðām higen, ðæt heó him mildemóde álefdan þ he his móste brúcan ða hwíle ðe he wære and heó Alhmund his sunu; and heó hit woldon habban on his láne and hina, and he næfre né heora nowðer hine bereáfan wolde ðære mæstréddene ðe he him áleáfed hæfde on Longan hrycge ðām tíðum ðe hine God him salde; ond he ðā Æðelwald ðæt word gecwæð ðæt hit āa hæfde ofer Godes est ðe hit hæfde bútan ðære cyrcan hláforde ðe he hit tō ágeáf bútan Alhmunde, and ðæt ðonne on ða gearan<sup>1</sup> ðe he heólde ða ylcan freonde-réddene ðe he heöld wið ðone bisceop; gif hit ðonne gebirie ðæt Alhmund swá ða freondréddene healdan nolde oððe hine mon offericte ðæt he ne móst landes wyrðe beón, oððe þridða wend gif him ær his ende gesélde, ðæt ðonne ðære cyrcan hláford fenge tō his londe swá hit Mærca weotan on ðā gemóte gerahton and him ða béc wisedon ðæs londes. And ðis wæs gedón on Æðelredes gewitnesse aldormonnes, and on Æðelfláde and Æðulfes aldormonnes, and Æðelferðes aldormonnes, and Alhhelmes aldormannes, and Eád-nóðes, and Ælfrædes, and Werferðes, and Æðelwaldes, mæssepreóstæs, and his ágenra maga Æðelstánes and



Æðelhúnnes and eác Alhmundes his agenes sunu : and  
 ðús se ceastersetna preóst hit gerád and se Æðel-  
 waldes geneát mid hine, árost on Ginneðlæge<sup>2</sup> and  
 ðanon on Roddanbeorg sylfne, ðanon on Smececumb  
 ðanon on Sengetlæge, ðanon on Heardanlæge ðære is  
 oðer noma Dryganlég, ðæt swá on ða læssan Nægles-  
 læge, and swá tó Æðelferðes londe. Ðús him gewísede  
 se Æðelwaldes mo[n] ða gemæru swá him ða aldan béc  
 ryhtan and wisedón.

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe suggests *gerad*.

<sup>2</sup> Gemyðlege T.

Translation:— ✠ Under the government of our Lord and Saviour Christ! When there was gone 896 years after his birth, and in the fourteenth Indiction, in that year summoned alderman Æthelred all the Mercian councilmen together to Gloucester; bishops, and aldermen, and all his nobility; and that he did by king Alfred's knowledge and leave; and they then there deliberated how they could rightliest order their people as well before God as before the world, and likewise to right many men both of the spiritual and of the temporal orders in respect of lands and other things besides, wherein they had been injured. Then did bishop Werferð declare to the councilmen that he had been dispossessed of well-nigh all the woodland belonging to Woodchester, which king Æðelbald had given to Worcester for a perpetual alms on his own account, and for mastland and woodland to bishop Wilferð: and that he said had been partly taken to Bisley, part to Avening, part to Scorrastan, part to Thornbury, as he supposed. Then said all the councilmen that justice should be accorded to that church as well as to any other; and immediately upon that Æthelwald expressed himself as having no wish to dispute the right, and he said that bishop Aldberht and Aldhun had been formerly about the same business, and he said that he had always for his part been disposed to render full right to every church: and so he mildly yielded it up to the bishop, and ordered his yeoman, Eoglaf by name, to ride with the citizens' chaplain who was called Wulfhun, and he shewed him all the bounds as he read to him out of the old books, according as king Æðelbald had originally defined and granted it. Then did Æðelwald however make request to the bishop and to the society that they would graciously allow him to enjoy it for his lifetime and that of Alhmund his son; and how that they would hold it on loan from him and the society, and he would never, nor would either of them, deprive him of the swine-pasture that he had let him have on Long Ridge for such times as God should give

it him ; and he then Æthelwald spake the word that whoever held it, except the lord of that church to whom he had restored it, would always hold it under God's displeasure, with the exception of Alhmund, and that exception made upon the understanding that he was to maintain the same friendship with the bishop as he (Æthelwald) had done. If however it should come to pass that Alhmund refused to maintain that friendship, or if he should be convicted of a crime which would make him incapable of holding land, or, a third case, if his end should happen first, that then the lord of that church should take to his land, as the Mercian councilmen at that Gemôt had settled it, and as the deeds of the land directed them. And this was done with the witness of Æthelred alderman, and of Æthelflæd, and of Æthulf alderman, and Æthelferð alderman, and Alhhelm alderman, and Eadnoth, and Ælfræd, and Werferð and Æthelwald priest, and his own kinsmen Æðelstan and Æðelhun and likewise Alhmund his own son ; and thus the citizens' priest rode the bounds and Æðelwald's yeoman with him, first at Ginneðleah, and thence on to Rodborough itself, thence to Smececumb, thence to Sengetleah, thence to Heardanleah, otherwise called Dryganleah, and so on to the lesser Næglesleah, and so to Æðelferð's land. Thus did Æthelwald's man guide him over the bounds as the old deeds directed and indicated.

Chart. Ant. Cantuar. F. 150.

A.D. 898.

K 324. S. i. 12.

### Ælfrædus

Saxonum rex, grants in perpetuity to aldorman Sighelm one manens at Fearnleag (Farleigh on the Medway above Maidstone) and one large 'wisce' to go with the land. This may be a 'wash' or marish ; and Mr. Sanders cites Domesday for eel fisheries at Farleigh. He also notes that Eadweard the heir to the throne is styled 'rex' in his father's lifetime.

✠ IN nomine domine ego ælfrædus gratia dei saxonum rex . meo fideli duce sigilmo<sup>1</sup> concedo in perpetuam possessionem terram iuris mei uniusque manentis in loco qui dicitur fearnleag et an myclan wisce vi. æceres mæde into ðam lande an norðeweardre wið eadweald sibirhtigne<sup>2</sup> pro eius amabili pecunia ut abeat et possideat quam diu uiuat . postque suum ab ac uita decessum

liberam abeat potestatem dandi cuicumque placuerit acta est autem hæc donatio anno ab incarnatione christi . DCCCXCVIII. in loco qui dicitur wulfamere . hiis testibus consentientibus quorum nomina infra karaxata esse fidentur

✠ ego ælfred rex saxonum hanc meam donationem signo sancte crucis confirmo.

✠ eadweard rex . hanc regis donationem stabilito

✠ ordlaf dux. ✠ beorhtsige minister. ✠ eadweald minister. ✠ eegferð minister.

✠ sigulf dux. ✠ osferð minister. ✠ æðelstan sacerdos. ✠ eadhelm minister.

✠ wullaf dux. ✠ wulfhere minister. ✠ cuðulf minister.

✠ Ista autem præfata terra hiis terminibus circumcincta esse uidetur.

✠ ærest easte weard ðæt ealde bocland to fearnleage lið ðonne is ðæt suð land gemære ðæs cinges west andlang ðæs fyrhðes oð ðone bradan weg ðe uppan scet to fealnes forða ðonne helt mede wæge ðæt norð land gemære :<sup>3</sup>

\*.\* *Endorsed* :—ælfredus Rex dedit sigilmo terram in farnlege  
 . fearnleg . latine fernleah

<sup>1</sup> Under the year 905 the Saxon Chronicle preserves a circumstantial record of the death of Sighelm aldorman of Kent, who is almost certainly the grantee of this deed; joining with him another Kentish aldorman Sigulf who here appears among the signatories: and with these two is immediately joined the name of 'Eadwald cynges pegn,' whom we may identify, if with less certainty, yet with little doubt, as the same person with the 'Eadweald minister,' who is a signatory, and the Eadweald Sigbrihting, who was a conterminous landlord.

<sup>2</sup> For Sibirhtingne, a strong adjectival accusative of the patronymic.

<sup>3</sup> The bounds are brief but rich in material. Eastward was the old book-land at Farleigh; and this old book-land we take to be East Farleigh, while the estate here conveyed is perhaps West Farleigh, or the germ thereof. And though the southern meer blends somewhat vaguely

with the western, we cannot avoid identifying the singular term 'ðæs fyrhðes' with the 'Fright Wood' in the Ordnance Map, nearly though not quite in the situation corresponding to the description. Perhaps the present Fright Wood is but a remnant of that long stretch of woodland which the terms of the deed require.

Cotton Charter viii. 27.

A.D. 901.

K 330. B. iii. 1.

### Æðered and Æðelfled

joint rulers of the Mercians, grant land to Wenlock abbey, in compensation for other land that had been alienated therefrom for the royal domain. They also give to the same church a golden chalice weighing 30 mancuses.

- ✠ REGNANTE rege reguum qui in tribus . psonis sue .  
 ✠ sçe diuinitatis consistit qui angelos . necnon et .  
 ✠ animas celum terramque . sine materia creauit .  
 ✠ corpora namque de . iiii . id est ex aere et aqua et .  
 ✠ de terra . igneue . p ipsius excelsi regis nutu .  
 ✠ transiet tempus psens et qua . . . . . lis dies fugiunt .  
 ✠ et ut sapiens salomon ait generatio uenit generatio .  
 ✠ recedit . et quos uidi non uideo et quos uideo non .  
 ✠ uidebo et semp omnia ad finem festinant . ideo atra- .  
 ✠ mento litteras chartulis comendamus ut que cupim .  
 ✠ .... possint ad euitandam supuenientium scandalorum .  
 ✠ periculosam contentionem . ne a posteris labentur .  
 ✠ sine memoria priscorum procerum statuta . His .  
 ✠ itaque . pdictis ad memoriam reuocemus . quod .  
 ✠ æðered æ[ðelfled]qu[e] opitulante gratuita di gratia .  
 ✠ monarchiam . merceorum tenentes honorificeque .  
 ✠ gubernantes et defendentes . insup eorum congre- .  
 ✠ gatio wininicensis ecclesie consentiens consentit il . .  
 ✠ rum dominio terram . manentium . viii . in east .  
 ✠ hope . iii . in peatting tune . v . in hereditatem .



.....	..... un.
.....d.	..... oð
wired .	ælfrie .
cuðulf .	wulfsig .
[t]idelm .	aldred .
wigburg .	burgred
æðelswið .	wulfsig .
wulfgýð	
culfre .	
cineburg .	

*At the bottom of the charter are the upper portion of the letters .....*  
ME . CRVOIS . ✠ .

\*.\* *Endorsed, 'east hop.'; and in a hand of the 13th century, 'donum effredi 'regis' de esthop scilicet stowell . patteneia.' B.*

Addit. Chart. 19, 791.

A. D. 904.

B. iii. 2.

### Werfrith

bp. Worcester, grants to Wulfsige his reeve one hide in East tun.

C O R O G R A P H V M

RIXIENDUM on ecnisse ussum drihtne hælende criste seðe all ðing gemetegað ge on heofenum ge on eorðan þæs inflæscnisse ðy gere þe agen wæs deccc wintra 7 iiii winter 7 ðy uii . gebon gere . ic uuerfrid bisco'p' mid mines arweorðan heorodes geða-funcga 7 leafe on weogerna ceastre sylle wulfsige minum gerefan wið his holdum mægene 7 eadmodre hernesne anes hides lond on easttune swa swa herred hit hæfde on ðreora monna dæg 7 all ðæt inn lond beligeð án dic utane 7 þonne ofer ðreora monna dæg agefe monn eft

ðæt lond butan elcon wiðercwide inn to weogerna  
ceastre 7 ðis seondan ðara monna noman ðe ðæt geðā-  
fedon 7 mid cristes rode tacne gefaestnedon ✠ uuerfrið  
biscop ✠ cynehelm aþþ ✠ uuerfrið pŕs ✠ eadmund pŕs  
✠ berhtmund pŕs ✠ tidbald pŕs ✠ hildefrið pŕs ✠ ecfrið  
pŕs ✠ eaduulf pŕs ✠ wiglaf pŕs ✠ oslac diacon ✠ cynað  
diacon ✠ berhthelm ✠ wigheard ✠ monn ✠ earduulf ✠  
uullaf ✠ berhthelm ✠ heahred ✠ cynelaf ✠ uulfred ✠  
cynehelm ✠ uulfrie ✠ cenfrið ✠ hwituc ✠ cynelaf ✠  
ceolhelm ✠ uullaf ✠ ealhmund ✠ earduulf ✠ uulfgar.

\*.\* *Endorsed*, 'uulfsiges lond boc'; and in later hands, 'heast-  
unesboc.' and 'Eadward senior.' B.

Chart. Ant. Cantuar. C. 1282.

About 907.

K 328.

T. p. 169.

S. i. 13.

### Anonymous Memorial

or petition, in form of a letter, addressed to the king, who can be no other than Eadweard the son of Alfred. The petitioner informs the king how he has dealt with five hides of land at Fonthill (Wilts), which became his in the manner described, and he prays the king that what has been done may stand. The result appears on the back<sup>1</sup>.

✠ LEOF ic ðe cyðe hu hit wæs ymb ðæt lond æt  
funtial ða fif hida ðe æðelm higa ymb spycð ða helm-  
stan ða undæde gedyde ðæt he æðeredes belt forstæl .  
ða ongon higa him specan sona on mid oðran onspe-  
cendan 7 wolde him oðflitan ðæt lond ða sohte he me 7  
bæd me ðæt ic him wære forespeca forðon ic his hæfde  
ær onfongen æt biscopes honda ær he ða undæde gedyde .  
ða spæc ic him fore 7 ðingade him to ælfrede cinge

Ða god forgelde his saule Ða lyfde he Ðæt he moste  
 beon ryhtes wyrðe for mire forspæce 7 ryht race wið  
 æðelm ymb Ðæt lond Ða het he hie seman Ða wæs ic  
 Ðara monna sum ðe Ðær to genemned wæran 7 wihtbord  
 7 ælfric wæs Ða hræl ðen 7 byrthhelm 7 wulfhun Ðes  
 blaca æt sumortune 7 strica 7 ubba 7 ma monna Ðonne  
 ic nu genemnan mæge Ða reahte heora ægðer his spell  
 Ða Ðuhte us eallan Ðæt helmstan moste gan forð mid  
 Ðon bocon 7 geagnigean him Ðæt lond Ðæt he hit hæfde  
 swa ælddryð hit osulfe on æht gesealde wið gemedan  
 feo 7 heo cwæð to osulfe Ðæt heo hit ahte him wel to  
 syllanne for Ðon hit wæs hire morgengifu Ða heo æst<sup>2</sup>  
 to aðulfe com 7 helmstan Ðis eal on Ðon aðe befeng 7  
 ælfred cing Ða osulfe his hondsetene sealde Ða he Ðæt  
 lond æt ælddryðe bohte Ðæt hit swa stondan moste 7  
 eadweard his 7 æðelnað his 7 deormod his 7 ælces Ðara  
 monna ðe mon Ða habban wolde Ða we hie æt weardoran  
 nu semdan Ða bær mon Ða boc forð 7 rædde hie Ða stod  
 seo hondseten eal Ðæron Ða Ðuhte us eallan ðe æt Ðære  
 some wæran Ðet helmstan wære aðe Ðæs ðe near Ða næs  
 æðelm na fullice geðafa ær we eodan into cinge 7 rædan  
 eall hu we hit reahtan 7 be hwy we hit reahtan 7 æðelm  
 stod self Ðær inne mid 7 cing stod ðwoh his honda æt  
 weardoran innan Ðon bure Ða he Ðæt gedon hæfde Ða  
 ascade he æðelm hwy hit him ryht ne Ðuhte Ðæt we him  
 gereaht hæfdan cwæð Ðæt he nan ryhtre geðencan ne  
 meahte Ðonne he Ðone að agifan moste gif he meahte  
 Ða cwæð ic Ðæt he wolde cunnigan 7 bæd Ðone cing Ðæt  
 he hit andagade 7 he Ða swa dyde 7 he gelædde Ða to  
 Ðon andagan Ðone að be fullan 7 bæd me Ðæt ic him  
 fultemade 7 cwæð Ðæt him wære leofre Ðæt he [Ðæt land  
 me se] alde Ðonne se að forburste oððe hit æf [re] . . .  
 . . . æde Ða cwæð ic Ðæt ic him wolde fylstan to ryhte



7 næfre to nanan wo on ða gerada ðe he his me uðe 7  
 he me ðæt on wedde gesealde 7 we ridan ða to ðon  
 andagan ic 7 wihtbord rad mid me 7 byrthelm rad ðider  
 mid æðelme 7 we gehyrdan ealle ðæt he ðone að be  
 fulan ageaf ða we cwædan ealle ðæt hit wære geendodu  
 spæc ða se dom wæs gefylled 7 leof hwonne bið engu  
 spæc geendedu gif mon ne mæg nowðer ne mid feo ne  
 mid aða geendigan oððe gif mon ælcne dom wile on-  
 wendan ðe ælfred cing gesette hwonne habbe we ðonne  
 gemotad 7 he me ða boc ða ageaf swa he me on ðon  
 wedde ær geseald hæfde sona swa se að agifen was 7 ic  
 him gehet ðæt he moste ðes londes brucan ða hwile  
 ðe he lifde gif he hine wolde butan bysmore gehealdan  
 ða on ufan ðæt ymb an oðer healf gear nat ic hweðer  
 ðe ymb tua ða forstæl he ða unlædan oxan æt funtial  
 ðe he mid ealle fore forwearð 7 draf to cytlid 7 hine  
 mon ðæræt aparade 7 his speremon ahredde ða spor  
 wreclas ða he fleah ða torypte hine an breber<sup>3</sup> ofer ðæt  
 nebb ða he ætsacan wolde ða sæde him mon ðæt to  
 tacne ða swaf eanulf penearding on wæs gerefa ða genom  
 eal ðæt yrfe him on ðæt he ahte to tyssebyrig<sup>4</sup> ða ascade  
 ic hine hwy he swa dyde ða cwæð he ðæt he wære ðeof  
 7 mon gerehte ðæt yrfe cinge forðon he wæs cinges  
 mon 7 ordlaf feng to his londe forðon hit wæs his læn  
 ðæt he on sæt he ne meahste na his forwyrcean 7 tu hine  
 hete ða flyman ða gesahte he ðines fæder lic 7 brohte  
 insigle to me 7 ic wæs æt cippanhomme mit te ða ageaf  
 ic ðæt insigle ðe 7 ðu him forgeafe his eard 7 ða are  
 ðe he get on gebogen hæfð 7 ic feng to minan londe 7  
 sealde hit ðon biscope ða on ðine gewitnesse 7 ðinra  
 weotena ða fif hida wið ðon londe æt lidgeard wið fif  
 hidan 7 biscop 7 eal hiwan forgeafan me ða feower 7 an  
 was teoðing lond ðonne leof is me micel neodðearf ðæt

hit mote stondan swa hit nu gedon is 7 gefyrn wæs gif hit elleshwæt bið ðonne sceal ic 7 wylle beon gehealden on ðon ðe ðe to ælmessan ryht ðincð.

*In dorso*:—✠ 7 æðelm higa eode of ðam geflite ða cing wæs æt worgemynster · on ordlafes gewitnesse 7 on osferðes 7 on oddan 7 on wihtbordes 7 on ælfstanes ðys blerian 7 on æðelnoðes.

<sup>1</sup> Helmstan being convicted of theft, a claimant to Helmstan's land, named Æðelm Higa, thought it a good time to push his claim. The petitioner had stood godfather to Helmstan at his confirmation, and Helmstan resorted to him in his trouble. So he took up his godson's cause, and spoke for him to the king, who was then Alfred. The king thought it should be referred:—and petitioner was one of the referees. Helmstan produced his title; and at Wardour (Wilts), where the king then was, the referees met to decide. All were agreed that Helmstan might bring his oath, but Æðelm demurred; and so they went before the king. They found the king in his bower washing his hands. They told him what conclusion they had come to, and why:—and Æðelm stood with them in the chamber. When Alfred had done washing, he asked Æðelm why he was not satisfied; adding, that he could not think of anything fairer than that Helmstan should vouch it by oath if he could. The petitioner then spoke, and said that Helmstan would see what he could do:—and so the king named a day. Now it was not an easy matter for Helmstan to muster the requisite number of co-jurors, and so he once more sought the petitioner's aid. This was granted on condition that the reversion of the land should be his. The oath succeeded, and Helmstan was again in quiet possession. But in less than two years he stole oxen, and they were tracked, and he had to run for it; and in his flight he got a great bramble-scratch across the nose, which made part of the evidence against him. The sheriff was down upon him, and seized his land in the king's name: those of whom he held læn-land reentered: and the present king pronounced his banishment. Still Helmstan found means to propitiate the king, acting through petitioner, who was then with the king at Chippenham. He revoked Helmstan's outlawry, allowed him a place to live on, and consented to let the land go in its appointed course. So the petitioner became possessed of the land, and he had since dealt with it, and he hopes the king will allow the arrangement to stand.—A postscript on the back records how Æðelm Higa yielded the dispute (the king being at Warminster) in the presence of witnesses.

<sup>2</sup> = ærest.

<sup>3</sup> = brember.

<sup>4</sup> Tisbury, 3 m. from Fonthill. Wardour is close by.

Chart. Cott. viii. 16.

12 Nov. 931.

K 353.

B. iii. 3.

**Æthelstan,**

premising that the things below are peripsema quisquiliarum, while the things above are ad instar pretiosorum monilium, grants to his trusty thane Wulfgar 9 cassatae aet Hamme (Ham, Wilts) liberaliter ac eternaliter. In the Saxon there are two words, beowa and grendel, that recall the Beowulf. The date is elaborate; and the place is in uilla omnibus notissima quę leowtun nuncupatur.

Appended is grantee's Will, in writing of another type, but apparently coeval. The provisions are calculated (if known) to ensure the good conduct of the relatives during the testator's lifetime. The land at Æscmere is reserved for disposal by a nuncupative Will.

✠ PRÆDICTA siquidem tellus . his terminis . circumcincta clarescit; ærast ón eastewardan . ón lin leage geat . 7 ðonne on lin leage middewearde . 7 ðonon suðrihte wið ðara stan ceastla ., 7 ðonne of ðæm stan ceastlum to pyddes geate . ðonon to oswaldes berghe . ðonon ondlong herpoðes . on burghardes anstigo . ðonne forð to bares anstigon . ðonon ón heardan leage middewearde . ðonne suð ón gerihte . ondlong henna dene . oð hit cimeð to ðære díc . ðonne west ut ðurh henna leah . oð hit cimeð to ðære efese . ðonne á norð be wyrt walan ðæt ón efen ðone greatan æsc; ðonne norð ondlong ðæs 'h'linces . ðæt on bofan hangran; ðonne ondlong hagan . on wifling falod westewardne; ðoñ norð ofer dune . ón meos 'h'linc westewardne; ðonne á dune on ða yfre . on beowan hammes hecgan . on bremeles sceagan eastewardne; ðonne on ða blacan græfan . ðoñ norð be ðem 7 heafdan . to ðære scortan dic . butan anan æcre; ðoñ to fugel mere to ðan wege; ondlong weges . to ottes forða; ðonon to wudu mere; ðoñ to ðære

ruwan hecgan; ðæt on langan hangran; ðoñ on grendles mere; ðonon on dyrnan geat; ðoñ eft on lin leage geat .,

Si autem quod absit . aliquis diabolico inflatus spū . hanc meę cōpositionis ac confirmationis breuiculam . infringere uel elidere temptauerit : sciat se nouissima ac magna examinationis die . stridula clangente archangeli salpice . bustis sponte dehiscantibus . somata iam rediuiua relinquentibus . elementis omnib; pauefactis . cum iuda p̃ditore . qui á satoris pio sato . filius perditionis dicitur . ęterna confusione . Medacibus ineffabilium tormentorum flām̃is periturum ., huius namque á dō dñoque iñu x̃po . inspiratę . atq; inuentę uoluntatis scedula . anno dominicę incarnationis . dcccc<sup>o</sup> . xxx<sup>o</sup>i<sup>o</sup> . regni uero gratis mihi commissi . uii<sup>o</sup> . indictione . iiii<sup>a</sup> . epacta nulla . concurrente . u<sup>o</sup> . ii . idus . nouēbris . luna . xx<sup>a</sup> . uiii<sup>a</sup> . in uilla omnib; notissima . quę leowtun . nuncupatur . episcopis . abbatibus . ducib; . patrīę procuratoribus . regia . dapsilitate ouantib; perscripta est ; cuius etiam inconcusę . firmitatis auctoritas : his testibus roborata constat . quorū nomina subtus . characteribus depicta : annotantur .

R:—Æðelstanus florentis brytanię monarchia p̃dītus rex.

Abp:—Wulfhelmus dorobernensis eclesię Wulfstanus eboracensis eclesię.

Subreg:—Howæl. Iuðwal.

Ep̃sc:—Aelfwine. Eadulf. Cunan. Aelfheah. Sigelm. Cenwald. Beornstan. Oda. Wynsige. Wulfhun. ðeoderd. Cyneferð. Tidelm. Cynsige. Eadward. Aescherht. Wired.

Dux:—Aelfwald. Osferð. Aldred. Uhtred. Aescherht. Aelfstan. Uhterd. Urm. Guðrum. Haward. Gunner. ðurferð. Aelferd. Hadd. Scule.

Atb:—Aelfric. Eadwine. Aeðelnoð. Biorhtsige. Seaxhelm.  
 m:—Odda. Wulfgar. Aeðelstan. Aelfheh. Aeðelferð. Aelf-  
 here. Aeðelwold. Eadric. Aelfwald. Buga. Aelfric.  
 Ealhelm. Aeðelstan. Beorhtulf. Hefa. Aelfric. Aelf-  
 sige. Sigeric. Aeðeric. Aelfheh. Swiðulf. Wullaf.  
 Aetðelm. Eadric. Aeðelweard. Aeðelmund. Ealhhelm.  
 Aeðelnoð. Wulfsige. Wynsige. Aelfhelm. Aelfric.  
 Aelfstan. Wulfric. Aeðelmund. Burherd. Wulfsige.  
 Beorhtric. Aeðelstan. Aeðelm. Wulfnoð. Wulfmær.  
 Wulfbold. Wulfsige. Wihtgar. Aelferd. Wulfric. Ael-  
 fric. Aeðelweard. Eadulf. Aeðelsige. Wiferð. Wulf-  
 helm. Cyred. Aepelstan. Aelfnoð. Aelfsige. Aeðelstan.  
 Aelfsige.

\* \* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand, 'þis is þæs landes boc æt hamme'; in one of the 12th century, 'Donum hamme latine et anglice'; in one of the 13th, 'Adelstani Regis'; and in one of the 16th, 'this is the landes booke of hame in y<sup>e</sup> Saxon Charater' 'Wolstan Rex'. B.*

✠ Ic wulfgar an þæs landes æt collinga burnan ofer minne dæg æffan hiere dæg 7 heo tilige uncer begea sawla pearfe gemænlice ðær on . 7 feormige þrie dagas þa godes þeowas þær min lic reste 'on þone gemynd dæg' 7 selle þam mæssepreoste fif peningas 7 þara oþra ælcum twegen 7 ofer hiere dæg to winte ceastre þam niwan hierede for mine sawle to habbenne 7 to brucenne 7 na of þam mynstre to sellanne . 7 ic an þæs landes æt inge penne ofer minne dæg æffan to brucenne 7 to bewitanne 7 þæt heo hæbbe ælce gere to þam tune ealra gearwæstma þa þrie dælas 7 þone feorþan to cynetan byrig þam godes þeowum for mine sawle 7 for mines fæder 7 for mines ieldran fæder . þonne ofer hiere dæg in to cynetan byrig to þære halgan stowe for wulfhares sawle þe ic hit in selle 7 for wulfrices 7 for wulheres þe hit ærest begeat to habbenne 7 to brucenne 7 næfre ut to sellanne 7 þonne an ic þæs landes æt cræft ofer minne dæg wynsige 7 ælfsige 7 ealles þæs þe ic þær on begite 7 ic an þæs landes æt denforda ofer minne dæg æpelstane 7 cynestane gif hie me oþ 7 on ryht gehierap 7 ic an þæs landes æt buter mere<sup>1</sup> ofer minne

dæg byrhtsige twegea hida 7 ceolstanes sunum anes gif hie me oð ðæt on ryht gehieraþ 7 ic cwepe on wordum be æscmere on minum geongū magum swelce me betst gehieraþ 7

7 ic wille þ æffe feormige of þæm þrim dælum æt inge penne þa godes þeowas æt cynetan byrig þrie dagas on twelf monþum ænne dæg for me oþerne for minne fæder þridan for minne ieldran fæder . 7 ic an þæs landes æt hamme æffan ofer minne dæg 7 heo tilige þær on uncer begea sawla þearfe 7 feormige þrie dagas þa godes þeowas þær min lic reste on easton 7 ofer hiere dæg in to wīnte ceastre to þæm ealdan hierede to sçe trinitate . to hæbbenne 7 to brucenne 7 næfre ut to sellanne 7<sup>2</sup>

\*.\* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand*, 'Her swutelap þ wulfgar geuþe hamme in to ealdan mýnstre æfter æffan dæge hys wifes.' B.

<sup>1</sup> Buttermere, 2 m. S. E. of Ham.

<sup>2</sup> This Will is translated by Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 495.

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Cott. Aug. ii. 31.

A.D. 933.

K 362.

B. iii. 4.

### Æthelstan

sells a charter of immunity to the bishopric of Crediton.

✠ FLEBILIA fortiŕ detestanda totillantís scli piacula diris obscenę horrendęque mortalitatis circumsepta latratibus non nos patria indeptę pacis sec[u]ros sed quasi fetidę corruptelę in uoraginem casuros prouocando ammonent ut ea toto mentis conamine cum casibus suis non solum despiciendo sed etia[m] uelut fastidiosam melancolię nausiam abominando fugiamus tendentes ad illud euangelicum date et dabitur uobis . Qua de re infima . quasi peripsema q[ui]s[ui]liarum abiciens superna ad instar pretiosorum monilium eliens animum sempiternis

in gaudiis fiens ad nanciscendam mellifluę dulcedinis misericordia[m] perfruendamq: infinitę letitię iocunditatem ego æpelstanus per om̃ipatrantis dextam apice totius albionis sublimatus circumqua: basilicas in honore d[i] s̃corumq: eius dedicatas prout potero ab antiquo ritu uectigalium redimam quod sibi mei antecessores usurpatie decreuerunt habere . nunc uero pro d[i] omnipotentis amore et beatę d[i] genetricis marię ueneratione s̃corumq: om̃ium auctoritate necnon pro uenerabilis epi eadulfi placabilis pecunię dation[e] id—. lx . librarum argenti tantam libertatē episcopatui cridiensis ecclesię perdonare diiudicaui . ut sit perpetualiter tutus atq: munitus ab omnibus secularib; seruitutib; fiscis regalib; tributis maiorib; et minorib; atq: expeditionalib; uidelicet taxationib; omniumq: rerum nisi sola expeditione et arcis m[u]nitione . Si quis autem post hōc subdola cauillatione deceptus nostrum non perhorrescat machinari decretum sciat sē nouissima ac magna examinationis die classica archangeli clangente salpice bustis sponte patentib; somata iam rediuiua propellentib; cum iuda proditore infaustog: pecuniarum compilatore suisq: impiissimis fautorib; sub æternę maledictionis anathemate edacib; innumerabilium tormentorum flammis sine defectu perituum . Acta est hæc p̃fatę libertatis munificentia . . dcccc . xxxiii . dominicę incarnationis anno . indictione . vi . his testib; consentientib; signumq: crucis xpi adponentib; quorum nomina infra caraxata esse monstrant<sup>r</sup> .  
✠ Ego æpelstanus gratia d[i] largiente totius brittannie rex p̃fatam libertatem cum sigillo s̃cę crucis confirmaui .

✠ Ego wulfhelm dorobornensis ecclesię archieps eiusdem regis largitatem cum tropheo s̃cę crucis consignauī .

✠ Ego ælfheah wintaniensis ecclesie eþs triumphalem agie crucis tropheum impressi .

✠ Ego þeodred lundoniensis ecclesie eþs consignau

✠ Ego coenwald eþs consensi .

✠ Ego oda eþs confirmaui .

✠ Ego wulfhun eþs roborau .

✠ Ego ælfhere dux

✠ Ego wulfsige minister .

✠ Ego wulfgar dux

✠ Ego wulmær minister .

✠ Ego uhtryð dux

✠ Ego ælsige minister .

✠ Ego odda minist

✠ Ego eadric minister .

✠ Ego eadmund minister . ✠ Ego ealhhelm minister .

\*\*\* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand, 'libertas totius cridiensis æclesie episcopatus .'; in a hand of the 13th century, 'Libertas totius cridianensis episcopatus concessa eaddulfo episcopo ab Adelstano rege pro sexaginta libris pecunie . Anno domini dcccc . 'nongentesimo' tri[cesimo tercio]'; in one of the beginning of the 14th century, 'Carta adelstani Regis ecclesie Creditonensi Anno domini Nongentesimo tricesimo tercio . Bene conseruetur : quia fide digna in perpetuum .'; and in one of the 16th century, 'Ista Carta concessa fuit ante conquestum cxxxij . Antiquitas eius dclxxv . ad hunc annum mdeviij.' B.*

Cott. Aug. ii. 65.

28 May, 934.

K 364.

B. iii. 5.

### Æthelstan

grants to his trusty thane Aelfwald 12 cassatæ near Christ Church, Canterbury; in loco quem solicolæ . æt derantune . uocitant.

✠ PREDICTA siquidem tellus 'h'is terminis circumcincta clarescit; ærast on æscwoldes hlau . ðonne on gemot biorh<sup>1</sup> . ðonne on setl ðorn . ðonne on lytlan biorh . ðonne on gat ham . ðonne on æðelgiðe deno . ðonne on widan leh . ðonan on wulfa biorh . ðonne be-



tweonan twæm biorgum . ðonon on pæbbeles hol . ðonon on mearc biorh . ðonon on pis berh ; 7 ðis synt ða denbæra ðe to ðissum londe mid rihte belimpað . hlos dionu . swana dionu . gehæg holt . prentsan hlaw . ruwan biorg . ecgwealdes cumb . wæter ðorn . eofor sol . ðyrran mere . bioh`h`an dun . wiðig wic . garunga leah . hude-linga scydd . scealces hom . broc hyrst . byring falod . fæstan falod . hæcinga hleah .

Elaborately dated, in ciuitate opinatissima . quæ winte ceaster nuncupatur . tota populi generalitate . sub alis regiæ dapsilitatis ouanti . perscripta est ; cuius etiam . inconcusse firmitatis auctoritas . 'h'is testibus roborata constat . quorum nomina subtus . characteribus depicta : annotantur ;

R:—Aepelstanus singularis priuilegii ierarchia peditus rex.  
Abp:—Wulfhelmus dorobernensis. Wulfstanus eboracensis.  
Subreg:—Howæl. Iuðwal. Teowdor. (and a fourth whose name is illegible.)

Ep:—Aelfwine. Eadulf. Cenwald. Biornstan. Diodred. Wulfhun. Wynsige. Aelfred. Tidhelm. Burhric. Aelfred. Conan. Wulfhelm. Cynsige. Wired. Sæxelm. Aescberht.

Atþ:—Aelfric. Eadwine. Aeðelnoð. Biorhtsige.

Dux:—Aelfwald. Osferð. Aeðelstan. Urm. Inhwær. Halfdene. Osulf. Uhtred. Aescberht. Aelfstan. Scule. Hadd.

ñ:—Ordheh. Aelfgar. Æðelelm. Aeðelwold. Eadstan. Aeðered. Wulfheh. Wullaf. Wulfgar. Wulfmær. Wulfnoð. Odda. Wulfgar. Aeðelstan. Aelfhæh. Wulfsige. Wihtgar. Ælfhere. Eadric. Aeðelwold. Eadwald. Aelfric. Eadmund. Wulfric. Hun. Æðelberht. Wynsige. Aeðelferð. Aelfstan. Æðelmund. Æðelnoð. Eadnoð. Aðulf. Hæðred. Sigered. Eadwald. Sigeferð. Eadweard. Æðelsige. Ælfstan. Wulfric. Ælfsige. Biorhstan. Ælfsige. Biorhtelm. Eadsige. Tiobcon. Wulfsige. Ealhelm. Wulfstan. Berhtric.

<sup>1</sup> gemotbiorh. Kemble thought this might be the meeting-place of

the Shiremoot; and that the mearchbiorh (= markhill) must be the place where the markmen were wont to meet. *Saxons in England*, Book i, c. 2, p. 56.

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Cott. Aug. ii. 23.

A.D. 939.

K 377.

B. iii. 9.

### Æþelstan

grants to his faithful thane Eadulf 12 mansæ at Meapham.

✠ REGNANTE in perpetuum dño nño ihu xpo . omnia de summo cæli apice uisibilia et inuisibilia ordinabiliter gubernante presentisque uitæ semper curriculo cotidie decrescente ac nobis mortalibus temporalia gaza necnon et lucra possessionum inaniter fruentibus facescunt ac defluunt . Quapropter ego . ÆþELSTANUS . diuina mihi adridente gratia rex anglorum et curagulus totius bryttanniæ aliquam partem terrę iuris mei perpetuali donatione libenter concedo . cuidam fideli meo ministro . nomine . eadulfo . XII . mansas in illo loco cui ruricolę apellatiuo usu ludibundisque uocabulis nomen indiderunt . æt meap hám . quatinus ille bene perfruatur ac perpetualiter possideat quamdiu . istius caducis sc̃i uitam tenere presumet . et post sé cuicumque uoluerit ceu corroborauimus perhenniter heredi derelinquat in æternam hereditatē . Sit autem predictum rus liberū ab omni mundiali obstaculo cum omnibus ad sé rite pertinentibus . campis . pascuis . pratis . siluis . exceptis istis tribus expeditione pontis arcisue constructione . Si quis autem quod non optamus hanc nřam difinitionem elationis habitu incedens infringere temptauerit perpessus sit gelidis glaciaram flatibus et pennino exercitu malignorum spirituum . nisi prius inriguis pænitentię gemitibus

tibus et pura emendatione emendauerit . Istis terminibus predicta terra circūgyrata esse uidetur . Þis synt þa land gemæro to meap hām on suþan 7 on westeweard setl þoñ norþ fram setle to netles stede to þære hāne þonan norþ on gerihte andlang hrycgas oþ hredles stede þæt forþ þonan to fearn leage geate þoñ norþ þonan to cobba hammes mearce þonan east on gerihte to heorot felda geate fram þam geate east 7 suþ on hludes beorh of þam beorge forþ be þære mearce oþ þone calewan stoc þonan suþ to blacan meres geate þæt suþ þonan on þone óran foran wiþ eastan ecgulfes setl west be þam oran eft toward setle . þis synt þa den bæra on wealda þe þæto gebyriað be suþan ea stanihtan hýrst . 7 ceolan hýrst 7 be norþan ea gelecan camp 7 gumbrihting hýrst 7 ceorla den

Acta est hæc prefata donatio . Anno ab incarnatione dñi nři ihu xpi . dccccxxxix . Indictione . xii .

✠ Ego æpelstanus rex totius bryttanniæ prefatam donationem cum sigillo sçe crūcis confirmaui .

✠ Ego wulfhelm dorobonensis æcclę archiepiš eiusdem regis donationem cum tropheo agie crūcis consignaui .

✠ Ego ælfheah wintaniensis æcclę eþs triumphalem tropheum agie crūcis inpressi .

✠ Ego þeodred lundoniensis æcclę eþs consignaui .

✠ Ego cenwald eþs predictum donum consensi .

✠ Ego wulfhun eþs consensi .

✠ Ego oda eþs confirmaui .

✠ Ego wulfhelm eþs consignaui .

✠ Ego burhric eþs consensi .

✠ Ego æpelgar eþs roborauui .

✠ ælfhere . dux .

✠ æpelwold . mī .

✠ wulfgar . dux .

✠ ælfred . mī .

✠ æþelstan . dux .	✠ wulfmær . mī .
✠ uhtred . dux .	✠ wulfgar . mī .
✠ odda . miš .	✠ ælsige . mī .
✠ ælfrie . mī .	✠ ordeah . mī .
✠ eadmund . mī .	✠ sigulf . mī .
✠ wulsige . mī .	✠ eadric . mī .
✠ wihtgar . mī .	✠ ealhhelm . mī .
✠ ælsige . mī .	✠ wulfhelm . mī .
✠ æþered . mī .	✠ wullaf . mī .
✠ æþelmund . mī .	✠

\*\*\* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand*, '✠ þis is meap hames land boc þe . æþelstan cing gebocode . ealdulfe his þegne on ece yrfe.'; *and in one of the 12th century*, 'Ethelstanus Rex dedit . xii . mansas apud meapham . ealdulfo ministro suo .' 'latine.' B.

Cott. Aug. ii. 62.

A.D. 940.

K 385. B. iii. 10.

### Eadmund

grants to a 'religious' lady Aethelswip 10 hides at Oswaldington.

✠ REGNANTE inperpetuum dño nño ihu xpo . Dum conditoris nři providentia omnis creatura ualde bona in principio formata formoseque creata atque speciose plasmata est supra et infra cælos tam in anglis quam etiam in hominibus ac in multimodis ac diuersis speciebus iumentorū animalium piscium uolucrū . Sicque ab initio mundi usque ad finem statuta precepta conditoris sui iure custodiunt nisi homo solus qui ad imaginem suū creatus et omnibus prelatus creaturis propter preuaricationem conruens in mortem . Quapropter ego . EADMUNDVS . rex anglorū cælestis patrie exardens cuidam

religiose scē monialis femine uocitate .ÆÐELSWIÐE .X.  
mansas largiendo condonauit illic ubi uulgius prisco  
relatione uocitat .ÆT OSWALDING uillam . Quatinus illa  
bene perfruatur ac perpetualiter possideat dum huius  
labentis eui cursū transeat inlesus atque uitalis sp̃s in  
corruptibili carne inhereat . et post se cuicumque uoluerit  
perenniter heredi derelinquat ceu supra diximus in æter-  
nam hereditatē . Sit autem predictum rus liber ab omni  
mundiali obstaculo cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus .  
campis . pascuis . pratis . siluis . siluarūque nemoribus .  
excepto istis tribus expeditione pontis arcisue cōædifi-  
catione . Si quis h̃ quod non optamus hanc ñam difi-  
nitionem elationis habitu incedens infringere temptauerit  
perpessus sit gelidis glaciariū flatibus et pennino exercitu  
malignorū spirituū . nisi prius inriguis poenitentiae  
gemitibus et pura emendatione emendauerit . Istis ter-  
minibus predicta terra circumgyrata esse uidetur . Þis  
synt þa land gemæro to oswalding tune . ærest ælfgyðe  
mearc on eastan oð teting ford þoñ þonan west oþ done  
þonne þonan oþ eadgife mearce þonne þonan to þæs  
biscopes mearce to cirringe of cirringe norþ þonan to  
emecing mere . to oswalding tune hierþ . hōlen hyrst . 7  
byrht tring den . 7 eoreding den . 7 liccing den . 7 here-  
ferþes lea . 7 dynning den . 7 cyrþring hyrst . 7 trip  
hyrst 7 insnadis into oswalding tune . 7 seo mæd æt  
brunes forda 7 seo mæd æt beo broce hierþ into oswalding  
tune . Acta est hæc prefata donatio . Anno ab incar-  
natione dñi ñri ihu xp̃i . DCCOXL . Indictione XIII .

✠ Ego eadmundus rex anglorum præfatam donationem  
cum sigillo scē crucis confirmaui .

✠ Ego wulfhelm dorobonensis æccle archiep̃s eiusden  
regis donationem cū tropheo agiē crucis consignauit .

✠ Ego eadred eiusdem regis frater consignauit .

- ✠ Ego þeodred lundoniensis æcċte eþs consignauī .  
 ✠ Ego ælfheah wintaniensis æcċte eþs triumphalem  
 tropheū agieꝥ crūcis inpressi .  
 ✠ Ego cenwald eþs predictū donum consensi .  
 ✠ Ego oda eþs confirmaui .  
 ✠ Ego ælfric eþs consignauī .  
 ✠ Ego wulfhūn eþs consensi .  
 ✠ Ego wulfhelm eþs consignauī .  
 ✠ Ego burgric eþs consensi .  
 ✠ Ego æpelgar eþs roborauī .
- |                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| ✠ ælfhere . dux .   | ✠ ordeah . mī .   |
| ✠ wulfgar . dux .   | ✠ eadric . mī .   |
| ✠ æthelstan . dux . | ✠ ealhhelm . mī . |
| ✠ uhtred . dux .    | ✠ ælsige . mī .   |
| ✠ odda . mī .       | ✠ æþered . mī .   |
| ✠ ælfric . mī .     | ✠ æpelmund . mī . |
| ✠ eadmund . mī .    | ✠ wulfhelm . mī . |
| ✠ wulfsige . mī .   | ✠ wulfheah . mī . |
| ✠ wullaf . mī .     | ✠ wulfsige . mī . |
| ✠ wihtgar . mī .    | ✠ wulfnoð . mī .  |
| ✠ æpelwold . mī .   | ✠ æðelstan . mī . |
| ✠ ælfred . mī .     | ✠ æðelsige . mī . |
| ✠ wulfgar . mī .    | ✠ eanulf . mī .   |
| ✠ ælsige . mī .     |                   |

\*\*\* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand, '✠ þis is oswalding tunes boc þe eadmund cing gebocade æpelswiþe [on] ece yrfe', and in a hand of the 12th century, 'Rex edmundus dedit oswalding tun cuidam femine nomine æpelsuiþe . latine.' B.*

Cott. Aug. ii. 63.

A.D. 944.

K 399. B. iii. 11.

**Eadmund**

grants to Aelfric, bishop (probably of Ramsbury) 30 mansæ in illo loco ubi iam dudum solicolę illius regionis n[omen] inposuerunt æt baddan byrig 7 to doddan forda 7 to efer dune (Badby, Dodford, and Everdon, S. of Daventry, Northants). The boundaries are rich in descriptive terms and make mention of Watling Street.

✠ Ðis sint þa land gemæra 7 se embegang þara landa to baddan byrig 7 to doddan forda 7 to efer dune . ðæt is þoñ ærest æt baddan byrg westewardre 7 norðewardre æt þam lýtlan toclofenan beorge . þoñ on gerihte of ðam beorge norð to wearge dune . betweox þa lýtlan twegen beorgas . þæt þær norð 7lang ðære lýtlan díc æt þæs grafes ende oð ða smalan ðornas . ðoñ of ðam þornum úp on ða lýtlan dune middeewardre . þoñ of ðære dune east on fox hýlle eastewardre . þoñ geuðe ic ælfwine 7 beorhtulfe þæs leas 7 þæs hammes be norðan þære lýtlan díc . ðoñ lið ðæt gemære on gerihte of fóx hýlle norðewardre on þone holan weg æt hinde hlýpan . þoñ of hinde hlýpan on þone wýlle æt þam lea ufewardan . of ðam wýlle on ðæt heorot sol . of ðam heorot sole norð on gerihte on ðone beorg . þoñ of ðam beorge on gerihte to ðam lea . þ forð be lea on wiðigwýlles heafud . of ðam wýlle norð on gerihte on ða ðórnehtan dune to emnes þam geate æt þære ealdan byrg . þæt fram ðam geate on gerihte east to mærpýtte . þoñ of ðam pýtte on gerihte to ðam stane æt þam wýlle wið norðan mæres dæl . þoñ suð on gerihte 7lang wæclinga stræt on þone weg to weoduninga gemære . þoñ west 7lang weges on ðone lýtlan beorg . ðær se stoc stod . ðæt þonan suðrihte on

ðone ealdan mýlier þær þa welegas standað . ðæt west  
 7lang burnan oð hit cýmð þær bliðe utscýt . þæt 7lang  
 bliðan oð ða stan bricgge . þ east of ðære bricgge .  
 7lang dic oð ðone hæþenan býrgels . of þam býrgelse  
 forð norð be wýrttruman oð ðæs heges ende be weo-  
 duninga gemære . þ þonan 7lang gemæres on gerihte  
 to ðam stocce on eastewardan þam lea . of ðam stocce  
 suðrihte on þære stræt . 7lang stræt to þære fýrh ðe  
 scýt suðrihte to þære miclan stræt æt þæs wýlles heafde  
 æt snoces cumbes gemære . þ west 7lang stræt on ðone  
 æsc . þæt fram ðam æsce 7lang stræt betweox þa twegen  
 leas on ða ealdan sealt stræt oð ðone steort . fram þam  
 steorte 7lang þæs fulan broces oð bliðan . ðoñ is þ land  
 æt snoces cumbe healf þæs cinges healf 'uncer' bren-  
 tinges . buton me god geunne 7 min hlaford þæt he his  
 me geunnan wille . þoñ gæð sio mearc forð 7lang  
 bliðan west oð ðæt seo lacu utscýt on bliðan wið ufan  
 stan bricgge . þ norð 7lang lace . oð ða díc þoñ 7lang  
 díc oð ðone weg þe scýt to fealuwes lea on þam slade .  
 þæt on fealuwes lea þær ælfric biscep redan het to þære  
 ealdan dic . 7lang dic to ðam wege þe scýt úp to ðam  
 hricgge . 7lang hricgges to þam wege þe scýt fram  
 fealuwes lea to baddan bý ane lýtle hwile . þoñ of ðære  
 apuldre þe stent wið westan þam wege þurh þone lea to  
 þam miclan hæsl wride . of þam hæsl wride adun on þa  
 blacan rixa . of þam rixun on þa lýtlan hecggan æt þam  
 wege þe scýt fram baddan bý to cear wyllun . 7lang  
 wegges oð ðone broc þe scýt to fealuwes lea to þã forða  
 ðæt west æfre 7lang broces oð ðone weg þe scýt to  
 stæfer tune wið suðan þa ealdan burh æt baddan byrg  
 þ west 7lang wegges oð to emnes þære micelan dic oð  
 westewearde þa burh . 7lang ðære dic 7 be þære býrg  
 westeweardre norð oð ðone tobrocenan beorg . ðe þær is



toclofen on norðweardre 7 on westeweardre baddan býrg  
Acta ést hæc præfacta donatio . Anno ab incarnatione  
dñi nři iħu xpi . decccxlīiii . indictione . ii .

R:—Eadmundus rex anglorum. Eadred eiusdem regis frater.  
Eadgifu eiusdem regis mater.

Archieps:—Oda dorobonensis ecclę archieps. Wulfstan  
archieps.

Eps:—Deodred lundoniensis ecclę eps. Aelfheah Winta-  
niensis ecclę eps. Cenwald. Aelfred. Aepelgar. Wulf-  
sie. Wulfhelm.

Dux:—Aepelstan. Aepelwold. Aepelstan. Ealhhelm. Aðel-  
mund.

Mið:—Wulfgar. Eadmund. Aelfsie. Aelfstan. Wulfric. Aelf-  
sie. Aepelgeard. Wulfric. Wihtgar. Aelfred. Aepered.

. \*.\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 12th century, 'Badebi'; and in one  
of the 13th, 'Baddebi.'* B.

Cott. Aug. ii. 73.

A.D. 946.

K407. B. iii. 12.

## Eadmund

grants to Ordhelm and Aelfwold, two brothers, a piece of his  
own inherited land in perpetuity. The notice of a Kentish  
term is interesting.

✠ IN NOMINE SÇÆ TRINITATIS . Imminentibus uite  
caducis terminis qua in nos sceleris licet onere pressi  
nutu diuino statuti . Tamen dominica prosequentes  
monita prout quimus scđm illud euangelii . ubi dicitur .  
date et dabitur uobis : Quapropter ego . EADMUNDVS . rex  
anglorū ceterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium  
gubernator et rector . quibusdam meis hominibus id est  
duobus fratribus . ordhelmo . et alfwoldo . aliquā por-  
tionem hereditatis meę in æternā possessionem concedo .

quod cantigene scđm suam propriā linguam dicunt . an  
ivclæte et insuper . x . segetes . vbi ruricoli appellatio  
usu ludibundisque uocabulis nomen indiderunt . **ÆT**  
**GAMELANWYRÐE** . eatenus ut hoc diebus suis possideant  
tramitibusque uitę suę . et post se cuicumque sibi pla-  
cuerit post hoc tradant hereditario æternaliter ceu præ-  
dixi illis . Maneatque prout iam prædixeram donū istud  
ab omni sclari seruitio exinanitum cum omnibus ad se  
rite pertinentibus campis . pascuis . pratis . siluis . ex-  
cepto istis tribus . expeditione . pontis . arcisue con-  
structione . Si quis autem quod non optamus hanc nřam  
diffinitionē elationis habitu incedens infringere tempta-  
uerit perpressus sit gelidis glaciærum flatibus et pennino  
exercitu malignorū spītuum . Nisi prius inriguis peni-  
tentię genitibus et pura emendatione emendauerit<sup>1</sup> .  
Istis terminibus prædicta terra circumgyrata esse ui-  
detur .

Þis synt þa land gemæro to gamelan wyrþe . sup  
fealcing rip oþ sæ . widan fleot mearc on west hand æt  
þara hina lande to folces stane 7 þonne þæs biscopes  
mearc on norþ healfe 7 on east healfe ut to sæ .

Acta est hæc præfata donatio . Anno ab incarnatione  
dñi nři iħu xpi . dcccclvi . indictione . iiii .

✠ Ego eadmundus rex anglorum præfatam donatio-  
nem cum sigillo scē crūcis confirmaui .

✠ Ego oda dorobonensis æcclę archieþs eiusdem  
regis donationem cum sigillo scē crūcis conclusi .

✠ Ego ælfheah wintaniensis æcclę eþs triumphalem  
tropheum agie crūcis inpressi .

✠ Ego burgric episcopus consensi .

✠ Ego ælfred episcopus confirmaui .

✠ æþelwold dux .

✠ æþelstan dux

- ✠ eadmund miš .
- ✠ wulfrie miš
- ✠ ælsige miš .
- ✠ ælfstan miš .
- ✠ ælfwold miš .
- ✠ ælfgar miš .
- ✠ ælfwold miš .
- ✠ beorhtsige miš .
- ✠ æþelsige miš .
- ✠ ælfrie miš .

\*.\* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand*, '✠ þis is þæs landes boc æt gamelan wyrþe'; and in one of the 12th century, 'Rex edmundus dedit gameling wyrthe . ordelmo et alfwoldo.' 'latine.' B.

<sup>1</sup> 'Si quis . . . emendauerit.' Verbally identical with the corresponding clause in 940 above.

Cott. Aug. ii. 83.

A.D. 947.

K413. B. iii. 13.

### Eadred

grants to Oswig a thane for his devotion, bis denas mansas . quod anglice dicitur . twentig hida . in illo loco ubi iam dudum solicole illius regionis nomen inposuerunt . **ÆT MEARSÆT HAM.** The rhetoric of the Sanction is remarkable.

✠ **ISTIS terminibus præ[dic]ta terra circūgyrata esse uidetur . þis synt þa land gemæro to mearsætham on þone þorn be norþan eadrices stane þonon up to bean stede betwih þam twam hammū . of bean stede swa forþ on þa ruwan apuldre . þonon on esnes ham . of esnes hamme on cusesstede beorh of þā beorge on tunles weorþ eastewardne . þonon þurh þa ige on þone fulan broc . of þā broce 7lang streames on þone blæc pol . of þam pole ut to . þā beorgum þæt þonon on becces ham**

westewear'd'ne þonon forþ to bade woldes hagan westewardne of þā hagan on toðan camp of toðan campe on ceomman treow þonon on scynes weorþ westewardne of scynes weorþe on þone hundes þyfel . of hundes þyfele forþ be wyrtwalan on þone þorn be norðan eadrices stane . þis synt þa den to mearsætham . pedan hrycg 7 æt lace þæt forræpe on þunres feld norþan an hid .

Acta est haec præfata donatio . Anno ab incarnatione dñi nři iħu xpi . dcccclvii . indictione . v .

R :—Eadredus rex anglorum. Eadgifu eiusdem regis mater.

Abp :—Oda dorobernensis æccle archieps. Wulfstanus archons diuine seruitatis officio mancipatus eboracę ciuitatis archieps.

Bp :—Peodred lundoniensis æccle eps. Aelfheah wintaniensis æccle eps. Cenwald. Aelfric. Aepelgar. Aelfred. Wulf-sige.

Dux :—Aepelstan. Eadric. Aepelstan. Wulfgar. Ealhhelm. Aepelmund. Aelfgar. Scule.

Miș :—Eadmund. Aelfstan. Wulfric. Aelfsige. Wulfric. Wulfsige. Aepelgeard. Beorhtsige. Aepelnop.

✠ Certis uero causis et in certis temporibus unicuique precauendum est ut tutelā defensionis preponat antequā machinatores retinacula fraudulenter insidiationis muscipulā illum defraudauerint a fastigio recte et iuste tramitis studio quia iniquitatis adquisitores alienū lucrū sibi usurpatiuę cū ambitione iniquitatis uendicare satagunt. Sed torpentes auaritię omni modo interdico. Ita ut meum donum corroboratū sit cum signaculo scę crūcis . etiam si quis aliū antiquū librū in propatulo protulerit nec sibi nec aliis proficiat. Sed in sempiterno graphio deleatur et cū iustis non scribatur nec audiat.

\* \* \* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand,* '✠ þis is para twentiga hida

hoc æt mearsætham þe eadred cing gebocode oswige his þegne on ece yrfē'; and in one of the 12th century, 'Rex eadredus dedit duas mansas id est duas hidas apud mericham oswic ministro suo . latine.' B.

Chart. Cott. viii. 11.

A.D. 948.

K421. B. iii. 14.

## Eadredus

basileus anglorū ceterarumq: gentiū in circuitu persistentiū gubernator et rector restores to the church in Winchester 100 mansæ in Duntun and Eblesburne which had been granted by Cynewalh in the early days of Christianity (in exordio xpiane religionis) and confirmed by Cynewulf and Ecgbriht, but subsequently reoccupied by later kings. The original deed is defective; but a copy in the Winchester Register helps us to make out the terrier<sup>1</sup>.

[Ðis synd ða land gemere to duntune . erest of crawan crundu]l on wereðan hylle . on fyrdinges lea . on ebles burnan to afene . on pysere . on ða suðan lace . on earnes beorh . on dic . æt beoredes [treowe . on ðone herepað . to headdan grafe . þonne on ðone ha]gan to pytan wyrðe . on dyre broc . on welewe . on ða díc æt hicles wyrðe . þonne ofer ðone feld on hagan ut þurh brember wudu [on ðone stenenan stapul . andlang herepaðes to fobban wylle .] anlang herepaðes to ðæs hagan ende to fæger hylde forða . on ðone hagan on ceorles [hl]æwe . on crawan crundul . ðonne on ða [ýferan gemere on eblesburnan . on stret ford<sup>2</sup> . on hrof]an hric . anlang weges on ða dic to býmera cumbe . 7 ðær ðwyres ofer ðreo crundelas . ofer ða stræt . ðwyres ofer ða dune to wudu [beorch hylle ofer berigan cumb . on ýblesburnan . on beord]une . on ðæs hlincs ænde . on ðone smalan weg . ofer hig cumb . on ðæm smalan wege . on ðæne stan . on ðæt hæð westweard . on ðone

beorh [to ðem rig wege . ðonne east andlang hrig  
weges to brytfor]dingea land sceare . þ̅ suð on stræt-  
ford :—Acta est hæc þ̅fata donaf̅ . anñ ab incarn̅ dñi .  
dccccxlviii . indict̅ . vi<sup>a</sup> .

\*.\* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand*, 'þis is ðæs landes boc æt  
duntune . ðe eadred cyngc ednywon gebocade s̅c̅æ trinitate . and s̅c̅æ  
petre . and paule ing to ealdan mynstre : —'; *in one of the 13th century*,  
'[D]UNTUN' 'confirmatio Regis'; *and in one of the 16th century*,  
'.....Alredus in manerio de Dunton.....in eblesburnam xlv  
mansas.' B.

<sup>1</sup> This copy is printed in full by Mr. Bond, vol. iv, Pref. p. 6. But it  
is not exact to call it a perfect copy of the Cotton Charter; nor has it  
been altogether overlooked by Kemble, who used it in his vol. iii, p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> This is Stratford Tony on the Ebele (here called yblesburne) a  
stream which runs into the Wiltshire Avon. On this stream is Ebbes-  
bourne (our eblesburne), and on the other side of the Avon is Downton.  
The boundaries of this grant touched on those of the Brytfording com-  
munity, for which there is now Britford outside Sarum.

Canterbury Charters, R. 14.

A.D. 949.

Cott. Aug. ii. 57.

K 425.

B. iii. 15 (= Cott.).

S. i. 15 (= Cant.).

## Eadred

grants the monastery of Reculver to Christ Church, Canter-  
bury. Mr. Kemble (C. D. ii. p. viij) called this a 'very im-  
portant charter.' It asserts that it was drawn by the hand  
of Dunstan.

[✱] *MULTIS itaque uitiorum p̅strigiis mentes humanas  
incentor fraudulentus piugulando [deludit.] nunc inquā  
promissis quasi prolixioris uitae studiis decipit? nunc  
rebus migrantibus puicaciter q̅si necessariis inlicit?  
int̅ea etiam stigia inferni supplicia tamq̅m leuia et*

transitoria suggerit? quatinus miserorum corda in cupiditate lasciuique eneruiſſe diſſoluat? ſecumque cabeata ad tartara ducat; Sed ſcī uiri pſago ſpū beſtiales p̄cognoſcentes inſidias ſcuto bonæ uoluntatis coronati quicquid in ſemetiſſis terrenū ſentiunt . indesiſenter atque nauit opib; ſcīs exhauriunt unde diſſcoriatis corā xp̄o ih̄u meritis rutilantes ſimillima titanēi fulgoris luce p̄ſentent<sup>r</sup>; De quorum p̄conio tuba ſcæ ſcripturæ rebohans inter alia teſtimonia p̄penſius intellegenda n̄iſ hæc gemina auribus reſultando pfudit? Beati quorum uestimenta alba ſunt in conſpectu dñi; Et alibi . Iuſti fulgebunt ſicut ſol in regno patris eorū; Huius ergo dñici conſpectus et p̄āni amore regni pfuſus . unde nobis uictus reſtat ſine dubio certus . de quo<sup>1</sup> dñs dixit . beatus qui manducabit panem in regno dī; [Ego EADRED REX diuina gratia totius albionis] monarchus et primicerius . xp̄o regi meo in throno regni p̄ennis p̄petualiter ſubthronizato? e conſeſſis mihi ab eodem labilium gaziſ rerum [accepti tirocinii quarto mei terreſtris regni] anno ad templū ſue inconp̄henſibili dedicatum n̄mi . in urbe dorobernia . ODONE archiepiſcopo metropolitanam cathedram p̄ſidente et regni cēleſtis ſup arua brittannica [c]laues [p̄por]tante? monaſtium raculfenſe biſ deniſ ſeniſque eſtimatum caſſatiſ . in̄tiſ ex̄triſq; [cum] omnib; ad hoc rebus rite p̄tinentib; . ſiue litorum ſiue camporum agrorum ſaltuumue . ſicut inferiſ territoria p̄mulgantur . humillime atque deuotiſſime ſincero corde in p̄petuum ius quamdiu xp̄ianitas uigeat p̄ meiſ abluendiſ exceſſib; indeterminabiliter inpendo; Si quiſ autem q̄ abſit tirrannica fretuſ poteſtate . regaliſ . epiſcopaliſ . ſiue homo alicuiuſ dignitatiſ . hoc decretum a dō mihi conlatum infringere temptauerit? ſiue huiuſcē donationiſ a p̄fata ececleſia uel paſſum pediſ ſegregauerit .

ni prius hoc inorme scelus poenitendo detererit? se sacrile[giu] culpam [incurrisse et a dñō] ihu xpo in ppetuum sine ullo subtractionis refocilatu dampnaturum pſentiat; [Haec enim singrapha] anni . dñicæ incarnationis . dccccxlix? orthodoxor[um] scripta ÷ una]nimo consensu uirorum quorum inferius nñia litteraria qualitate distingui uidentur .

[Ego e]adred rex . diuina protegente gratia albionis summam pſidens agiæ crucis hanc cartulam notamine pstrinxi . ✠

Ego odo archiepisc . metropolitana pſidens gubernamina hoc donum regia concessum munificentiae signo crucis fixi . ✠

Ego wulfstan archiepisc. metropolitici honoris fastigio eboracensi ciuitate suffultus huic largitati crucem ascripsi . ✠

Ego ælfheah episc. uuintaniensis ecclesie hoc donum signo crucis confirmaui . ✠

Ego æthelgar cridienensis ecclesiae pſul hanc largitatem corroborauit . ✠

Ego ælfric episc. huius donationis constipulator signū crucis depinxi . ✠

Ego wulfsige episc. huius largiflui muneris donum signo salubri adnotauit . ✠

Ego theodred episc. pdigam hanc inpensionē patibuli confirmatu addidi . ✠

Ego ælfred episc. hoc dō instigante donū crucis xpi constipulatu muniui . ✠

Ego beorhtsige episc. huiusce donationis corroboracionem contuli . ✠

Ego cennuald episc. consensū adibui . ✠

Ego cynesige episc. unamitatem pſbui . ✠



Ego uulfhelm episc. permissionē pfudi . ✠

Ego eadhelm abbas deuotus in hoc p̃stiti . ✠

Ego osulf dux consensi et humiliter asstiti . ✠

Ego eadmund dux libens consilio aderam . ✠

Ego æðelstan dux prompto animo consensi

Ego eadgifu regis genetrix p̃fati animo hanc p̃fatam letabundo in x̃po largitionem ob optabilem remunerationē concessam signi corroboratione salutiferi humillime consignauī . ✠

Ego dunstan indignus abbas rege eadredo impante hanc domino meo hereditariam kartulam [dictitando] composui. et propriis digitorum articulis p̃scripsi<sup>2</sup> . ✠

✠ His inquam limitibus hec telluris particula circumgirari uidetur . Ærest on norð healfe 7 on wesðan of yfinga ho ut on sæ . [æðelferðes londe]<sup>3</sup> swa forð be sande oð norð muðan from norð muðan to macan broce þonan to ærne wege . Of ærne wege to eanflæde muðan of eanflæde muðan on mearc fleotes muðan of mearc fleotes muðan eft on eanflæde muðan . Þonne on east healfe to mylen fleotes muðan oð suð tun of Suð tune andlang broces to haðe mæringe ðonne on suð healfe of haðe mæringe to stoccum of stoccum andlong stræte oð sçe agustines mearc [frō sçe agustines mearce] oð bróc andlang broces oð stan brycg suð from stan brycg oð wifeling to criste[s c]iricean gemære frō c[ristes cirican gemære] oð ealdan hege . on west healfe of ealdan hege . to feaxum . ðonne west from feaxū to celdan to cinges gemære . from cinges gemære oð gata gehægge wesðeward . þanon on yfinga ho . 7 swa ut on sæ .<sup>4</sup> Þonne siendan feower sulung<sup>5</sup> binnan ea ðæs landes þe gebyrð inn to raculfe on t̃net . iiii . sulung ond an lās on waru ðe gebyrð into raculfe . ðonne is ealles þæs landes

xxv . sulunga 7 an sulung on c[eolul]fing tune suð be  
wealda þære cirican to bote .

\*.\* *Endorsed*, 'Rex eadredus dedit monasterium de reculf ad ecclesiam Christi.' ' . latine . '

<sup>1</sup> *Instead of de quo, Cott. has defuictoq;—which becomes intelligible when we find that Cant. has s. uictu written over de quo as a gloss. Mr. Bond inferred that Cant. is the original from which Cott. was copied, but the other divergencies do not fully bear this out. It seems, however, that Cant. does in the main represent that original, and it has been used here (as it was by K.) for the basis of the text; the deficiencies being supplied from the better preserved Cotton.*

Those who study emendation of manuscripts will find this an interesting case. The ignorant scribe has shewn the fidelity of his craft; in his 'defuictoq' he has altered some letters, but he has not lost a single one. It should be remembered that the Saxon s has much in common with the Saxon f.

<sup>2</sup> These words, which in Cott. and Cant. are inserted here, are in Cant. also written in Gothic Capitals round the margin of the document.

<sup>3</sup> *Here Cant. has not the words æðelferðes londe; or if it ever had them, they have disappeared in the damaged margin. The same remark applies to the words frō Sçe agustines mearce, below.*

<sup>4</sup> *In Cant. the words down to sœ are written above the line, and this seems the intended place of insertion.*

<sup>5</sup> *swlung Cott., and so in every recurrence of the word.*

Cott. Aug. ii. 44.

A.D. 949.

K427. B. iii. 16.

## Eadred

grants to his intimate friend Wulfic 18 mansæ at Welford (Berks) in exchange for other land in Cornwall.

✠ IN ÆTERNITATE PERENNI cosmi sother oñma iura  
regnorū ab alto celi culmine gubernans ac disponens  
qui quidem scientiæ dona monstrando indeficienter con-  
spicitur celum ac terrā camposque liquentes lucentem-  
que globū lunę titaniaque astra<sup>1</sup> sua ineffabili gratia  
retinens ac custodiens . Quapropter EGO EADREDVS . di-  
uina indulgente clementia rex anglorum . cuidam mihi

intimo præcordialis affectu amoris fideli . immo et priuilegio dilectionis in omnibus mihi caro uocitato nomine . VVVLFRICO . XVIII . mansas dedi . in illo loco ubi iamdudū solicole illius regionis nomen inposuerunt . ÆT WELIGFORDA . pro commutatione alterius terrę quę sita ẽ in cornubio narratur . ubi ruricole illius pagi barbarico nomine appellant . PENDYFIG . quatenus habeat ac possideat quamdiu uiuat . et post se cuicumque sibi libuerit superstiti derelinquat in æternam hereditatem . Sit autem prædictū rus liber ab omni mundiali obstaculo cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus . campis . pascuis . pratis . siluis . excepto communi labore expeditione . pontis . arcisue coedificatione . Si quis uero hominum hanc meam donationem cum stultitię temeritate iactitando infringere certauerit . sit ipse grauibus per colla depressus catenis inter flāmiuomas tetrorum demonum cateruas . nisi prius hic ad satisfactionem uenire maluerit .

Istis terminibus prædicta terra circumgyrata esse uidetur . Þis synt þa land gemæro to weligforda . ærest of wines treowe 7lang dene þæt up on þone weg þonon on bradan leage norþewearðre on anne ham 7 þõn þurh ut þone lea on anne ham supewearðne on þa ealdan hege ræwe in on wopig hangran of þā hangran on scilling hangran þonon on bradan ham westewearðne on þā hamme on cardan hlæw on þā hlæwe on lāmburnan þonon up on deoran treowe of þā treowe on þone elebeam styb þonon on ceolbaldes wylle of þā wylle on cyta sihtes ford of þā forða to wulfrices gemære þonon to hord hlince ufewearðum of þā hlince on sihtre mæde norþewearðre swa forþ on cenelmes stān of þā stane on þone grenan weg on þā wege to rige hamme þonon ut on þa lām pyttas on þane crundel of ðā crundele on þone

æsc þonon forþ ofer burnan 7lang mylen papes on þa prie þornas 7 swa forþ 7lang hlinceas on cardan ham of þam hamme ut þurh þone lea on grenan beorh of þā beorge on ecgunes treow of þā treowe on mearc weg þonon on þa dene 7 swa forþ to þam þrim gemærum of þam gemærum eft on wines treow .

Acta est hæc præfata donatio . Anno ab incarnatione dñi nři iſu xpi . dcccclix . Indictione . vii .

✠ Ego eadredus rex anglorum præfatam donationē sub sigillo sčę crūcis indeclinabiliter consensi atque roborauī .

✠ Ego eadgifu eiusdem 'regis' mater cum sigillo sčę crūcis confirmaui .

✠ Ego oda dorobornensis æcclę archieps eiusdem regis principatum et beniuolentiā sub sigillo sčę crūcis conclusi .

✠ Ego wulfstanus archons diuinę seruitutis officio mancipatus eboracę ciuitatis archieps sigillum sčę crūcis impressi .

✠ Ego þeodred lundoniensis æcclę eps corroboraui

✠ Ego ælfheah wintaniensis æcclę eps testudinem sčę crūcis subscripsi et confirmaui .

✠ Ego wulfsige episcopus consensum præbui figens crūcem .

✠ Ego ælfric episcopus donum regis confirmaui .

✠ Ego æþelgar episcopus crūcis uexillo corroboraui .

✠ Ego ælfred episcopus crūcis modum depinxi .

✠ eadmund dux .

✠ ælfric mīs .

✠ ealhhelm dux .

✠ æþelsige mīs .

✠ æþelmund dux .

✠ æþelgeard . mīs .

✠ ælfgar dux .

✠ ælfheah . mīs .

✠ wulfric mīs .

✠ æþeric . mīs .

✠ ælfsige mīs .

✠ ælfred . mīs .

✠ wulfric mīs .

✠ osferþ . mīs .

\* \* *Endorsed by a contemporary hand, '✠ þis is þara .xviii. hida boc æt welig forða þe eadred cing gebocode wulfrike his þegne on ece yrfe . wip þæs landes gewrixle þe on wealtū is æt pendiȝig .'; by one of the 12th century, 'carta de Weliford .'; by one of the 13th, 'prima .'; and by one of the 15th, 'Iste Rex concessit istam terram cuidam amico suo carissimo.' B.*

<sup>1</sup> *Æneid vi. 724, 725.*

Cott. Aug. ii. 43.

A.D. 956.

K 453. B. iii. 19.

### Eadwig

rex et primicerius totius Albionis grants to a thane Brihtric  
5 cassati in loco qui dicitur Tademær tun in hereditatem per-  
petuam.

Ðis sýndon ða land gemæro æt tademærtune ðara .v.  
hida . ærest of eadwardes mýlne þ̅ on ða ealdan dic  
of ðære dic on mærbroc of mærbroce on þ̅ eastre sic of  
ðam sice on mæran stan of mæran stane on ðane ealdan  
garan of ðan garan a be heafdan a be heafdan þ̅ on ðone  
broc of ðam broce ongean stream þ̅ on þ̅ risched of ðam  
rischedde þ̅ on ðone weg þ̅ suð 7lang weges þ̅ on þ̅  
slæd þ̅ of ðan slæde up on þa ecge þ̅ 7lang ecge on  
heort wýllan of heort wýllan on ða ealdan stýge þ̅ 7lang  
stýge on ðone mæran pýt of ðam pýtte on wilbaldes ecge  
of wilbaldes ecge þ̅ eft on eadwardes mýlne .

Acta est autem hæc donatio anno ab incarnatione  
dñica .dcccclvi. indicť .xiiii. regni autem mei primo anno;

R:—Eadwig rex Anglorum. Eadgar frater eiusdem regis.

Abp:—Oda.

Bp:—Ælfsige. Osulf. Brihtelm. Wulfsige. Daniel.

Dux :—Æðelstan. Æðelsige. Ælfhere. Eadmund. Æðelwold. Æðelmund.

Mt :—Ælfgar. Byrhtferð. Ælfheah. Æðelgeard. Ælfryd. Æðylmær.

\* \* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand, 'ðis 'is' ðara .v. hida boc æt tademær tune ðe eadwig cýning gebocaþ brihtrice on ece ýrfe.'; and in one of the 12th century, 'carta de tademertona.' 'III.' B.*

Cott. Aug. ii. 45.

A.D. 956.

K 445. B. iii. 20.

## Eadwig

egregius Angulsaxonum basileus cæterarumque plebium hinc inde habitantium grants to Eadmund one of his nobles 16 cassati with all rights and legal immunities.

þis sint þa land gemæro to anninga d[u]ne ærest on þa deopan riþe be eastan bremre swa west ofer bremre to cumb hæma gemæro swa be cumb hæma gemæra to den tunninga gemære of den tunninga gemære swa to suntinga gemære swa be suntinga gemære to bidelinga gemære swa þ[on]ne forþ east be bidelinga gemære ofer to . . . bremre . þis sint þa den stowa broc hyrst 7 beadan syla 7 æt fyrnþan 7 hliþ wic 7 strod wic.

R :—Eadwig grā ði totius brittannicę telluris rex. Eadgar eiusdem regis fr̃.

Abp :—Oda dorouernensis æccłæ archiþsul.

[Bp] :—Oscytel. Osulf. Byrhtelm. Apulf.

Dux :—Æpelstan. Byrhtferð. Æpelstan. Æpelsige.

Mis :—Ælsige. Wulfric. Æpelgeard. Ælfheah. Ælfgar. Byrhtferð. Apelwold. Wulfgar. Alfwold. Ælsige.

\* \* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand, '✠ þis is þara .xvi hida bōc æt anninga dune þe eadwig cing gebocode eadmund ealdormen on ece ýrfe.'; and in one of the 14th century, 'Concessit istam terram cuidam optimati suo.' B.*

Chart. Cott. viii. 12.

A.D. 956.

K450. B. iii. 21.

**Eadwig**

grants to Wulfric (princeps) 7 cassati in perpetuity with all legal immunities.

✠ ANNO herdicę incarnationis dcccclvi . indictione .xiiii. Eadwig numine cælesti gentis geuuisorū<sup>1</sup> orientaliūq: nec non occidentaliū simul etiā aquilonaliū saxonū archons cuidā meorū principū quē nonnulli uocitant noto uocamine . wulfric .vii. cassatos perpetualiter trado . illic ubi uulgariter dicitur . æt melebroce . quandiu hīc corpus animatū habere uidebitur nři doni priuilegiū sibi uendicet et postero denique suo quemcūque elegerit perenniter impertiat cū campis . pascuis . pratis . siluis . Hęc tellus a cuncto sit immunis seruitu nisi pontis . et arcis . ac expeditionis iuuamine . Si quis autē infringere temptauerit quod absit . sciat sé rationē redditurū corā dō et angelis eius . nisi prius hīc digna satisfactione emendare satagerit .

Istis terminis ambitꝝ prædicta tellus . þis synt þa land gemæro to melebroce . ærest of hreodbrycge 7lang st'ræte on fearninga broce 7lang mearce on melebroces ford east 7lang mearce on þunres lea norþewearðne þonon 7lang weges on cinges dīc þonon 7lang mearce on holan weg of þā wege on þa ea oþ midne stream 7lang streames on hreodbrycge . 7 se haga an ham tune þe þærto gebýret .

✠ Ego eadwig rex anglorū indeclinabiliter concessi

✠ Ego eadgar eiusdem regis fř consensi

✠ Ego oda archiep̃s cū signo scē crucis<sup>+</sup> roborauī

✠ Ego ælfsinus presul sigillū agie<sup>+</sup> crucis impressi .

- ✠ Ego oscytel eþs consignauī
- ✠ Ego osulf eþs adqueiui
- ✠ Ego wulfsige eþs subscripsi
- ✠ Ego byrthelm eþs conclusi

- ✠ ælfsige mīs .
- ✠ wulfrie mīs .
- ✠ æþelgeard mīs .
- ✠ ælfheah mīs .
- ✠ ælfgar mīs .
- ✠ byrhtferþ mīs .
- ✠ ælfred mīs .

- ✠ æþelstan dux
- ✠ eadmund dux
- ✠ byrhtferþ dux
- ✠ ælfhere dux

\*.\* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand*, '✠ þis is þara .vii. hida bōc æt melebroce þe eadwig cīng gebrode wulfrice his þegne on ece yrfe'; *and in one of late 15th century*, 'vii hyda in mylbrooke. saxon.' B.

<sup>1</sup> The antiquated name of Gewissi is strange, as Mr. Freeman has observed, N. C. i. 602; but the strangeness is eclipsed by other parts of the title which are still more unusual. If we had found these affectations in a Chartulary, we should have been mistrustful, but the writing is coeval.

Cott. Aug. ii. 40.

A.D. 960.

K 481. B. iii. 22.

### Eadgar

restores to his thane Wulfrie certain lands which for some offence had been 'interdicted.' The said thane gave the king 120 mancuses of the purest gold.

¶ Quamuis enim regalium dignitatum decreta et saluberrima regnorum consilia manente īmunitatis singrafa iugiter fixa firmaque perseuerent. adtamen quia non umquā tempestates et mundi turbines fragilem uite cursum humane pulsantes contra diuina supernæ affirmationis ac legitima iura illidunt. Idcirco ordine littera-



rum ac cartarum seedulis sunt roboranda ne fortuitu casu successorum progenies posterorum ignorato precedentium patrum cirographo inextricabilem horrendorum harathrorum uoraginem incurrat . Quapropter ego . EADGAR . totius brittanniæ gubernator et rector cuidam ministro qui a peritis . WULFRIC . appella[tu]r uocabulo rura que ei ob cuiusdã offensaculi causa interdicta fuerant perpetualiter restituo æternam libertatem concedens quatinus ipse quandiu in hoc mortali deguerit sec[u]llo sine alicuius honeris grauitate liberali[ter] possideat et post sue uite obitum quibuscumq[ue] sibi placuerit heredibus incontaminata derelinquat . hec etenim sunt terrarum illarum nomina que rex prefatus wulfrico æternali[ter] liberauit . æscesburuh . 7 deniceswyrð . garanford . eifanlea . stanmere . ceadelanwyrð . boxoran . bennanham . wyrtingas . ticceburnan . steddanhham . tullingtun . pæccingas . puningas . nitimbre . Si quis denique quod non optamus hanc n[ost]ram libertatem cupiditatis liuore depressi uiolare satagerint agminib[us] tetrę caliginis lapsi uocem audiant examinationis die arbitris sibi dicentis . discedite a me maledicti in ignem æternum ubi cum demonibus ferreis sartaginib[us] crudeli torqueantur in poena si non ante mortem digna hoc emendauerint poenitentia . Dedit enim predictus minister regi prefato centũ .xx. mancusas auri probatissimi causa huius libertatis . Scri[p]ta .ē . namq[ue] huius libertatis cartula anno dominicæ incarnationis .dcccc.lx. his testibus consentientibus quorum inferiorius nomina secundum uniuscuiusque dignitatem carax[antu]r .

- |   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| ✠ Ego eadgar rex hanc libertatem concessi | ✠ Ego osweard m̃ |
| ✠ Ego dunstan archieps c̃firmaui          | ✠ Ego osulf m̃   |
|   | ✠ Ego uulfgar m̃ |

✠ Ego oscytel archieþs roborau	✠ Ego osulf m̃
✠ Ego osulf eþs čsolidau	✠ Ego uulfgar m̃
✠ Ego byrthelm eþs corroboraui	✠ Ego wulfhere m̃
✠ Ego aþulf eþs concessi	✠ Ego æþelsige m̃
✠ Ego alfwold eþs consensi	✠ Ego ælsige m̃
✠ Ego aþelwold abþ depinxi	✠ Ego wulfhelm m̃
✠ Ego ælfhere dux	✠ Ego æþelsige m̃
✠ Ego ælfheah dux	✠ Ego ælfred m̃
✠ Ego æpelstan dux	✠ Ego ealdred m̃
✠ Ego aþelwold dux	✠ Ego æþelsige m̃
✠ Ego byrhtnoð dux	✠ Ego ælfheah m̃
✠ Ego eadmund dux	✠ Ego ælfwine m̃
✠ Ego æpelmund dux	✠ Ego æpelwine m̃
✠ Ego ælfgar m̃s	✠ Ego ealdred m̃
✠ Ego ælfwine m̃	✠ Ego leuineg m̃
✠ Ego byrhtferð m̃	✠ Ego ælfwig m̃
✠ Ego æþelsige m̃	✠ Ego ælfwine m̃
✠ Ego eadric m̃	✠ Ego æpelweard m̃
✠ Ego osweard m̃	✠ Ego æþelferð m̃

\* \* \* *Endorsed by the same hand*, '✠ pis is ealra þara landa freols þe eadgar cyning geedfreolsade wulfrice his þegene on ece yrfe'; *and in a hand of the 15th century*, 'Concessit istas terras 'infrascriptas' cuidam seculari.' B.

Cott. Aug. ii. 39.

A.D. 961.

K487. B. iii. 23.

## Eadgar

totius Britanniæ gubernator et rector, grants 22 cassati, loco qui celebri Rimecudā<sup>1</sup> nuncupatur onomate, to the Church at Abingdon.

His metis þfatū rus hinc inde girat<sup>r</sup>. Ðis synd þa land gemæra to rimecudā . of þære br . . . . . éa 7lang éa on biccan pol of þam pole on dyrnan ford þonne is

seo mæd gemæne of þam forda on lucan beorh of þam beorge on pisteles æc of þam acum on broclea ford of þam forda on þa stigele of þære stigele on cuttes mæd of þære mæde on afene up on wudeburge hline of þam hline on lind ford of þam forda on þone sê troh of þam troge on þone hæþenan byrgels of þam byrgelse up to wind geate of wind geate on spon ford of þam forda on þone fulan ford of þam forda on mules cumb of mules cumbe on þone herepað 7 lang herepapes on þiofa cumb of þam cumbe on hlype burnan of þam burnan on leofan mearce on þa díc of þære díc on þa brembel þyrnan of þære þyrnan on burhryding ford on þa mæd lace of þære lace on þone haran wiðig . þonne is seo mæd gemæne of þam wiþige on afene up on sandford of þam forda on aðelwoldes mearce of his mearce on undernbeorh of þam beorge on þone haran wiþig of þam wiþige eft on þa bricege . 7 þisses landes is ealles xxii hida

Anno dominicæ incarnationis .dcccclxi. scripta est hæc carta his testibus consentientibus quorum inferius nomina caraxantur .

R:—Eadgar britanniæ anglorum monarchus.

Abp:—Dunstan dorobernensis æclesiæ archiep̃us. Oscytel æboracensis basilicæ priamas inegnis.

Bp:—Osulf presul. Byrhtelm blebi ði famulus. Apulf pontifex. Ælfstan antistes. Oswold legis ði catascopus.

Abb:—Æpelwold.

Dux:—Ælfhere. Ælfheah. Æpelstan. Æpelwold. Byrhnoð. Eadmund. Æpelmund.

ñ:—Ælfgar. Ælfwine. Byrhtferð. Æpelsige. Æpelwine. Osweard. Æpelsige. Osulf. Ulfgar. Æpelsige. Ælf-sige. Wulfhelm. Ælsige. Ælfred. Ealdred. Alfwold.

\* \* \* *Endorsed in hands of the 12th and 13th centuries, 'Carta regis*

eadgari de Rimecuda,' *the later of the two inscriptions being followed by 'id est le Rye,' in another hand.* B.

<sup>1</sup> Rimecuda according to K. is in Berks: but B. says Wilts: where also K. put the Rimucwudu of K 436.

Harley Charter 43, c. 21.

A.D. 961.

K 488. B. iv. 11.

### Eadgar

đi omnipotentis nutu réx totius albionis insule, grants to Cenulf for his service and fidelity 4 mansæ, ubi anglica apellatione dicitur . æt Wipiglea.

Hæc sunt confinia supradictę terre .

✱ þis sýnt þa land gemæro to wipilea . ærest on ucing ford . of þam forða on gerihte to þam smalan wege . forð on þone weg to poddan beorge . of þam beorge to wipig slæde . of þam slæde on gerihte to broce-nan beorge . of þam beorge to wudu forða . of þam forða on gerihte to lullas beorge . of þam beorge forð 7lang herpopes to cýnulfes treowe . of þā treowe on gerihte to mægen stanes.dene . of þære dene on þone weg to wipilea gate . of þā gate forð be þære díc eft to ucing forða .

Hæc cartula scripta ÷ anno đnice ĩcař . deccc . lxi . indiċ . iiii .

R:—Eadgar rex anglorum.

Abp:—Dunstan archieps.

Bp:—Byrhtelm. Osulf. Alfwold. Byrhtelm. Ælfstan.

Dux:—Ælfhere. Ælfheah. Æpestan. Apelwold. Ead-mund. Apelmund. Byrhtnoð.

ġ:—Ælfgar. Byrhferð. Oswerd. Osulf. Eadwig. Ælfwine. Alfwold. Æpelsige. Æpelwine. Ælfhelm. Ælftric. Byrhtic.

\*.\* *Endorsed in the same hand, 'þis is þæra feower hyda land boc*

æt wipiglea þe eadgar cing hæfð gebocod cenulfe on éce yrfe.;' *in a hand of the 12th cent., 'wipiglea', above which has been written in a hand of the 16th cent., 'Donum Edgari regis factum Cenulf de terris vocatis—;'* and *in another hand of the 16th cent., '961 Carta Edgari Regis de Phiphide continente quatuor Mansas cum omnibus pratis silvis pascuis campisque, sit ab omni regali servicio libera, exceptis tribus rebus arcis munitione, pontis constructione, et hepidicione.'* B.

*Translation:—* These are the landmeers to Withiglea: First at Ucingford, from the ford straight to the small way, along on the way to Pod's hill, from that hill to withy slade, from the slade straight to broken hill [? landslip], from the hill to Woodford, from the ford straight to Lull's hill, from that hill forth along the highway to Cynulf's tree, from the tree straight to Mainstone hollow, from the hollow along the way to Withilea gate, from the gate along by the dyke and so back to Ucingford.

Harley Charter 43, c. 3.

A.D. 962.

K 490. B. iii. 25.

### Eadgar

totius britanniæ gubernator et rector uni matrone cui uocabulum certa astipulatione pferit æþelflæd, grants 7 mansæ, illo in loco ubi a ruricolis uulgariter CEORLESWYRÐE. prolatum est cum omnibus, &c.<sup>1</sup>

His metis rus hoc giratur .

Ðis syndon þa land gemæro to ceorles wyrðe . Of caforda 7lang cwyrnburnan þ hit cymð to mannan mearce þonne þanon 7lang wealc hyrste forð be ánan burnan þ hit cymð eft on mannan mearce 7 on asan þonne þanon 7lang heges þ hit cymð to anre dene þonne swa forð þ hit cymð on þone burnan þe scyt to culan fenne þonne swa forð 7lang þæs burnan þ hit cymð to óswiðes mearce 7 eadwoldes . þonne forð 7lang heges þe scyt of þam burnan þ hit cymð to stræte swa forð 7lang strete þ hit cymð inn on mearcellan . þonne forð 7lang mearcellan þ hit cymð þær cwyrnburna 7

mearcella sceotað togædere þonne forð 7lang cwyrn-burnan þ hit cymð eft in on cáford.

Anno dominicae incarnationis dcccclxii. scripta est hæc carta his testibus consentientibus quorū inferius nomina notant<sup>r</sup>.

R:—Eadgar rex anglorum.

Abp:—Dunstan archieps. Oscytel archieps.

Bp:—Osulf. Byrhtelm.

Aðb:—Apelwold.

Dux:—Ælfhere. Ælfheah. Æpelstan. Apelwold.

ñ:—Ælfgar. Ælfwine. Byrhtferð. Wulfhelm. Æpelwine.

\* \* *Endorsed in a hand of the early 12th century, 'Carta Ædgari regis de cherlesworde cuidam Æfleade.' continued in a later hand, 'que per istam et per propriam cartam reddidit manerium sancto ædmando'; and in one of the 15th century, 'Carta Edgar de Chlesworde.' B.*

<sup>1</sup> Below, under 991, we shall see this property the subject of bequest in the Will of Æpelflæd.

Archæological Journal, 1857.

After 962.

## Eadgar

was king when the lands at Send and Sundbury were bought by Dunstan in the manner related.

SE fruma waes ðæt mon forstæl ænne wimman æt Icceslea Ælfsige Byrhsiges suna: Ðurwíf hatte se wimman. Ðá befeng Ælfsige ðone mann æt Wulfstáne Wulfgáres fader. Ðá týmde Wulfstán hine tó Æðelstáne æt Sunnanbyrg. Ðá cende he tém. let ðone forberstan. forbéh ðone andagen. Æfter ðám bæd Ælfsige ægiftes his mannes. and he hine ágif<sup>1</sup> and forgeald him mid twám pundum. Ðá bæd Byrhferð eald-

ormann Æpelstán hys wer for ðám témbyrste. Ðá cwæð Æpelstán ðæt he næfde him tó syllane. Ðá cleopode Eádweard Æpelstánes bróðor, and cwæð, ic hæbbe Sunnanburges bók ðe uncre yldran me læfdon, læt me ðæt land tó handa ic ágife þinne wer þám cynge. Ðá cwæð Æðelstán ðæt him leófre wære ðæt hit tó fyre oððe flóde gewurde. ðonne he hit æfre gebíde: ðá cwæð Eádweard hit is wyrse ðæt uncer náðor hit næbbe: ðá wæs ðá swá, and forbeád Byrherð ðæt land Æðelstáne. and he offerde and gebéh under Wulfgáre æt Norð healum. Binnan ðám wéndun gewyrda. and gewát Eádred cyng: and feng Eádwig tó rice. and wende Æðelstán hine eft intó Sunnanbyrg. ungebetra þinga. Ðá geáhsode ðæt Eádwig cyng and gesealde ðæt land Byrnrice. and he feng tó and wearf Æðelstán ut. gemang ðám getídde ðæt Myrce gecuran Eádgá tó cynge. and him ánweald gesealdan ealra cyneriht. ðá gesóhte Æðelstán Eádgá cyng and bæd dómes. ðá ætdémdon him Myrena witan land buton he his wer agulde ðám cynge swá he óðrum ær sceólde. ðá næfde he hwanon. ne he hit Eádwearde his bréðer geðafian nólde. ðá gesealde se cyng. and gebécte ðæt land Æðelstáne ealdormenn. tó hæbbenne, and tó syllanne for life and for legere ðám him leofost wære. æfter ðám getídde ðæt Ecgferð gebóhte bók and land æt Æðelstáne ealdormenn. on cynges gewitnesse and his witenas swá his gemedo wæron. hæfde and breác oð his ende. ðá betæhte Ecgferð on hálre tungan. land and bók on cynges gewitnesse Dúnstáne arcebisceope tó mundgenne his láfe and his bearne. Ðá he geendod wæs ðá rád se bisceop tó ðám cynge. myngude ðære munde and his gewitnesse. ðá cwæð se cyng him tó andsware. míne witan habbað ætreeð<sup>1</sup> Ecgferðe ealle

his áre. þurh ðæt swyrd ðe him on hýpe hangode ða he ádranc. nam ðá se cyng ða áre ðe he áhte. xx. hýda æt Sendan. x. æt Sunnanbyrg. and forgef Ælfhége earldormenn. Ðá beád se bisceop his wer ðám cynge. ðá cwæð se cyng. ðæt mihte beón geboden him wið clánum legere. ac ic hæbbe ealle ða spæce tó Ælfhége læten. ðæs on syxtan gere gebóhte se arcebisceop æt Ælfhége ealdormenn. ðæt land æt Sendan. mid xc. pundum. and æt Sunnanbyrg mid cc. mancussan goldes unbecwedene. and unforbodene. wið ælcne mann tó ðære ðægtíde and he him swá ða land geágnian derr<sup>1</sup>. swá him se sealde ðe tó syllene áhte. and hí ðám se cyng sealde. swá hé<sup>2</sup> him his witan gerehton.

<sup>1</sup> sic K.<sup>2</sup> hi *legendum*.

\*.\* This document appeared in the *Archæological Journal* for 1857, as a contribution from Mr. Kemble. But he died before the proofs were revised, and I have been unable to trace the source. I have enquired at Westminster without success. Under these circumstances I simply append his preface and translation.

‘The very remarkable document which I here print with a translation, is one of the title deeds of Westminster. It relates how certain lands at Send and Sunbury, in Middlesex, came into the hands of Archbishop Dúnstán, and by what series of events their ancient owners became divested of their property. The light which it incidentally throws upon the Anglo-Saxon forms of law, and the state of society, is very great; and it may be considered one of the most instructive monuments which we possess. As it is written in a rather barbarous way, though not by any means a confused one, our readers may possibly like to see a compendious account of the transactions described. It appears that a female serf, named Thurwif, was stolen from Ælfsige: he detected his property in the hands of Wulfsige, who teamed it over to Æðelstán, in Sudbury, i. e., vouched him as the person from whom he acquired it. It was now Æðelstán’s business to produce his voucher, which he undertook to do; but when the term came, he did not hold it, and consequently admitted the wrongful possession. Ælfsige now claimed, and got back his property, and two pounds damages. But there was a public consideration besides the private one; the sheriff in the king’s name demanded Æðelstán’s wergýld, which he had forfeited



to the king by not vouching his warranty as he undertook to do. Æðelstán having no means, his brother, Eádweard, who possessed the charter of Sunbury, although Æðelstán held the land, proposed to pay the fine for him, if he would give up the land to him. This Æðelstán refused, and consequently both lost it. The sheriff turned Æðelstán out of it, and seized it no doubt to the king's hand, the old proprior taking refuge as a tenant upon Wulfgár's land. But Eadred dying, Æðelstán took advantage, probably of a change of sheriff, to return to his land, "ungebétra pinga," *without having mended matters*,—without having made amends. But Eádwig learning this, granted the land to Beornric, who turned Æðelstán out and took possession. In the mean while the revolution in Mercia took place, and Eádgár was elected king in the countries north of the Thames. Æðelstán now seems to have had some hope that he might find some favour with the new king, and brought his case before him. But the law was clear enough; Eádgár's witan decided as Eádwig's had done, and Æðelstán was condemned to pay his wergýld for the Teámbyrst, or forfeit his land. On this occasion, as before, he had not wherewithal to pay, and obstinately refused to let his brother do it, and consequently again *both* lost it. The king now granted it to Æðelstán, one of his ealdormen, and gave him a book or charter, on which occasion it is certain that the old charter, in Eádwárd's possession, was annulled. From this time, the old owners, Æðelstán and Eádweard, vanish altogether, the property is in Æðelstán the ealdorman, and his devisees. It now appears that one Ecgferð bought the land of him in full and entire property, and enjoyed it till his death. He made it over in trust to Archbishop Dúnstán, as it appears, to the use of his widow and child. This act he is described to have executed "*háltre tungan*," *with a whole tongue*, i.e. with a sound, unimpeached right to bequeath; but after this he appears to have died under circumstances of suspicion, and the witan believing him to have been *felo de se*, confiscated all his property, and delivered it as an escheat to the king. He gave it now to Ælfheáh, the ealdorman. And when Dúnstán, on behalf of the widow and child, claimed the land of Eádgár, he received for answer, that the man was a suicide, and that the estates were escheated. Dúnstán now offered to redeem the escheat by payment of Ecgferð's wergýld; but the king rejoined, that if he paid that, Ecgferð might perhaps be allowed to lie *in a clean grave*, i.e., in consecrated ground, but, for the rest, that the whole matter was handed over to Ælfheáh. Under these circumstances the Archbishop made up his mind to pay a large sum for the two estates, amounting in all to thirty hides, or nearly 1000 acres, and Ælfheáh made him a clear title, upon the warranty of the king's grant, and the authorisation of the witan thereto. I may mention, that in addition to several interesting examples of what may be called the *symbolism* of the Anglo-Saxon law, this charter contains the only evidence we have of escheat for suicide, in the Anglo-Saxon period.'

'The beginning was that some one stole away a woman at Icceslea from Ælfsig, Byrhtsige's son: the woman's name was Thurwif. Then Ælfsige detected the person in the possession of Wulfstán, Wulfgar's father. And Wulfstán *teamed* her to Æðelstán at Sunbury. Then he gave notice of *Teám*, but let it go by default, and did not appear at the term. After that Ælfsige claimed his property, and he gave it up, and paid him damages with two pounds. Then Byrhtferð the ealdorman sued Æðelstán for his wergýld, for making default of *teám*. Then said Æðelstán that he had no means to pay with. Then called out Eádweard, Æðelstán's brother, and said: "I have the charter of Sunbury, which my ancestors<sup>1</sup> left me; give me the possession of the land into my hand, and I will pay the king your wergýld." Then said Æðelstán that he would rather it should all sink in fire or flood, than that he should ever abide that. Then said Eádweard, "It would be worse, that neither of us should have it." Then was it so, and Byrhtferð forbade Æðelstán the land, and he decamped, and took service under Wulfgar at Northhale. Meanwhile fortune changed, and king Eáðred died, and Eáðwig succeeded to his kingdom, and Æðelstán returned to Sunbury, without having mended the matter. Then Eáðwig the king discovered that, and gave the land to Beornric, and he took possession and cast Æðelstán out. Meanwhile it happened that the Mercians elected Eáðgar king, and gave him the power to exercise all the rights of royalty. Then Æðelstán sought king Eáðgar, and demanded judgment: and the witan of Mercia condemned him to forfeit the land, unless he paid his wergýld to the king, as he should have done to the other, before. Then had he no means, nor would he allow his brother Eádweard to do it. Then the king gave and booked the land to Æðelstán the ealdorman, to have and to give, in life and in death, to whom he best pleased. After that it befell that Ecgferð bought the charter and land from Æðelstán the ealdorman, by witness of the king and his witan, as his covenants were, he had and enjoyed it to his end. Then did Ecgferð *with a whole tongue* bequeath land and book to Archbishop Dúnstán, by witness of the king, in trust for his widow and child. And when he was dead, the bishop rode to the king and put him in mind of the trust and of his testimony; then did the king give him this answer, "My witan have deprived Ecgferð of all his estate, by the sword that hung on his hip when he was drowned." Then the king took all the estate he had, twenty hides at Send, ten at Sunbury, and gave them to Ælfheáh the ealdorman. Then did the bishop tender his wergýld to the king; then said the king, that that might be offered him, in consideration of a grave in consecrated ground: but he had given over the whole discussion to Ælfheáh. In the sixth year after this, the archbishop bought the land at Send of Ælfheáh the ealdorman, for ninety pounds, and that at Sunbury for two hundred mancusses of gold, unclaimed and unforbid, against every man soever up to that date, and he warranted him the land[s] as his property, even as he had

given it him that had it to give, and as the king had granted them to him, even as his witan had adjudged [them].'

<sup>1</sup> our parents, yours and mine.

Addit. Chart. 19, 793.

A.D. 969.

B. iii. 29.

### Eadgar

grants 15 cassati at Æpslea to his faithful thane Alfwold <sup>1</sup>.

His metis præfatum . rús hinc inde giratur ; Ðis sýnt þa land gemæra to æpslea . of hýsse burnan on wendles dune eastewearde of wendles dune on flitanhýll þanon on þone hwitan mor . 7 siþþan be fenne on þone heafod æcer of þone lýtlan hlaw þonon to þære apuldre þær þa þreo land gemæru togædere gáp . wóburninga 7 wafanduninga . 7 æpsleainga . fram þam déorǵete ofer þone hæp to þam cúmbe þonon ýmbe westlea . of þam lea on þone heafod æcer se is on æpsleainga gemære 7 on wáfanduninga . þonon . 7lang þære ealdan stráte on dunnes hlaw . þonon on þone eálda'n' ford on þæs fennes heafod andlang fennes up on þære dúne to þære blacan þýrnan to þam ealdan stapole . of þam stapole eall on-bútan fótes eige of fótes eige in on þone blundan ford 7lang streames . of þam streame on crangfeldinga dic . of þære dic on þone ealdan coll pytt þær þa þreo gemæru togædere gáp . crangfeldinga . 7 mercstuninga . 7 hola-cotan . of þam þreom gemæron on þone ealdan mapuldre . of þam mapuldre . on þone sídan healh . of þam sídan heale á be þam héh hýlte in on þone lángran þórne . of þam þórne eft in on hýsseburnan . of hýsseburnan . eft in easteweardere wændles dúne ; Anno ab incarnatione dñi nři ihu xpi . deccc . lxiiii . Scripta est . huius dona-

tionis singrapha his testibus consentientibus quorū inferius nomina caraxantur.

R :—Eadgar rex anglorum.

Abp :—Dunstan archieps dorouernensis ecclesie xpi. Oscytel archieps.

Bp :—Ælfstan. Æpelwold. Osulf. Wynsige. Oswold. Wulfric.

aðb :—Æscwig. Osgar. Ælfstan. Æpelgar. Ælfric. Cyneweard.

dux :—Ælfere. Ælfeh. Ordgar. Æpelstan. Byrhtnōp.

ñ : Byrhtferp. Ælfwine. Wulfstan. Æpelweard. Eanulf. Osulf. Wulfstan. Leofwine. Ælfweard. Æpelmund. Osweard. Leofwine.

*\*\* Endorsed, '✠ Dis is para .xv. hida land boc .æt æPSLRA . þe EADGAR cýning . gebócade ælfwolde his leofan . getreowan þegne á on éce yrfe'; and 'Eadgar rex.'*

<sup>1</sup> Kemble has only an imperfect copy of this deed, namely, K 1267: for which the assigned sources are, Cott. Vitell. C. ix. 126: and Heming's Chartulary by Hearne, p. 559.

Addit. Chart. 19, 794.

A.D. 984.

B. iii. 32.

### Oswold

Abp. York, leases 2½ mansæ æt Caldingcotan for three lives with reversion to the bishop of Worcester.

C Y R O G R A V V M.

✠ Anno dominicę incarnationis .ðcccclxxxiiii. Ego OSUOLD . superni rectoris fultus iuuamine archipresul cum licentia ÆPELBEDI . regis anglorum ác ÆLFRICE . ducis merciorum cuidam ministro meo qui a gnosticis nota . CYNELM . nuncupatur uocabulo ob eius fidele ob-

sequium quandam ruris particulam . ii et dimidium uide-  
licet mansas quod solito uocitat<sup>r</sup> nomine æt caldinecotan .  
cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus liberaliter con-  
cessi ut ipse uita comite fideliter perfruatur et post uite  
suę terminum duobus quibus uoluerit cleronomis dere-  
linquat . quibus etiam ex hac uita migratis rus predictum  
cum omnibus utensilibus ad usum primatis ecclesię dī in  
weogerne ceastre restituatur immunis . þonne is þæs  
londes þridde half hid þe oswold arcebisceop selð cýnelme  
his þegne to bóc londe swa he hit him ær hæfde tofor-  
læten to læn londe æghær ge on earð londe ge on hom  
londe .

✠ Ego óswold archiepiš

✠ Ego wýnsige prbt

✠ Ego æþelstan prbt

✠ Ego ælfsige prbt

✠ Ego eadgar prbt

✠ Ego wistan prbt

✠ Ego eadward prbt

✠ Ego æþelsige prbt

✠ Ego wulfward diač

✠ Ego æþric diač

✠ Ego godinge diač

✠ Ego leofstan diač

✠ Ego wulfhún ct

✠ Ego cýneþegn ct

✠ Ego wulfgar ct

✠ Ego leofwine ct

✠ Ego ufuc ct

✠ Ego ælfnod ct

✠ Ego æþelwold ct

✠ Ego wulfnod ct

\*\*\* *Endorsed*, '✠ þis sýndon þa lond gemæru into caldinge cotan þ  
is ærest on ruhwaellan of ruhwaellan 7long sices on þone weg of þam  
wege anbutan þone garan eft on þone weg of þam wege a be þam  
heafod londe þ eft in þ oþer heafod lond ane hwile þenne in þa furh þ  
andlong fyrh anbutan þ heafod lond þ swa on cýne burge lond gemære  
þ andlong gemæres on þ heafod lond of þam heafod londe eft on þone  
weg of þam wege on hlýdan andlong hlýdan on þone heafod weg of þam  
wege on þone hýll of þam hýlle on þa díc æt crawan þorne of þære díc  
on cærent þ andlong cærent on þa mýlen díc on þære díc on þa dene þ  
andlong dene on þone grenan weg of þam wege on þa furh of þære fyrh  
a be þam heafdan to breoduninga gemære to þære fyrh þæs bisceopes  
at londes þ andlong fyrh to þam heafdon of þam heafdon to þam  
heafod londe swa anbutan þ heafod lond þ innan þa furh þ andlong

fýrh on suð bróc þæt andlong broces þæt eft in rugan wællan.;' *and in later hands, 'Æpelredi regis.' and 'caldicoto: ii . hidæ et dimidium.'* B.

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Chart. Cott. viii. 14.

A.D. 987.

K 657. B. iii. 33.

### Æðelred

grants 10 ploughlands at Bromley to his thane Æðelsige. The same estate appears A.D. 862 to have been conveyed by king Æthelberht to his thane Dryhtweald: K 287; B. ii. 39.

✠ Altithrono in æternum regnante . uniuersis sophiæ studiũ itento m̃tis conamine sedulo rimantib; liquido patescit . quod huius uitæ periculis nimio ingruentib; terrore recidiui terminus cosmi appropinquare dinoscuntur . ut ueridica x̃pi promulgat sententia qua dicit . surget gens contra gentem et regnum aduersus regnum et reliqua . Quapropter ego æðelrædus fauente sup̃no numine basileos industrius anglorũ ceterarũque gentium in circuitu persistentium quandã telluris particulã id est . x . aratrorũ illo in loco ubi a ruricolis . bromleg dicit̃ . cuidam mihi oppido fideli ministro qui á notis ñoto æðelsige nuncupatur onomate in perpetuã possessionẽ donando donauit . ut habeat et possideat quãdiu uiuat in æternã . hereditatẽ . et post s̃e cuicumq; sibi placuerit heredi immunẽ derelinquat . Sit autẽ predictum r̃us liberũ ab omni mundiali obstaculo cum om̃ib; ad se r̃ite pertinentib; cãpis . pascuis . pratis . siluis . excepto istis tribus expeditione uidelicet . pontis . arcisue munitione . Si quis igit̃ hanc ñram donationẽ in aliud quam constituimus transferre uoluerit priuat̃ consortio sc̃æ ði eccl̃æ æternis barathri incendiis lugubris iugiter cum iuda x̃pi proditore eiusq; complicib; puniat̃ si non satisfactione emendauerit congrua quod contra ñrũ deliquit decretũ .

Istis terminib; p̃dicta terra circumcincta clarescit. ærest an norðan fram ceddān leage to langan leage bromleaginga mearc 7 leofsnhæma . þanne fram langan leage to ðam wón stocce . þanne fram ðam wón stocce be modinga hæma mearce to cinta stigole þanne fram cintan stigole be modinga hæma mearce to earnes béame . ðanne fram earnes beame cræg sætena haga on east-healfe sced hit to leowsan déne ðanne fram leowsan dene to swelgende . ðanne fram swelgende cræg setena haga to siox slihtre . ðanne fram seox slihtre to fearn beorhginga mearce fearn beorgingā mearc hit sced to cýstaninga mearce cýstaninga mearc hit sced suðan to weard setle . ðanne fram weard setle cýstaninga meárc to wichæma mearce . ðanne seo west mearc be wichæma mearce ut to bipple stýde . þonne fram bipple stýde to acustýde to beohhæma mearce . fram acustedę to ceddān-leage . ðonne belimpað þær to ðam lande . fíf denn . an on ut wealda broccesh[a]m ðæs dennes nama . 7 þæs oðres dennes nama sænget hryc . billan óra is þæs þrid-dan nama . þonne twa denn an glæppan felda . Anno ab incarnatione dñi nři . dcccclxxxvii . indictione . xv . his testib; consentientib; quorum nomina infra scripta sunt scripta est autē hæc cartula . 7

✠ ego æðelræd rex anglorum huius donationis libertatem regni totius fastigiū tenens libenter concessi .

✠ ego dunstan archieps doruernensis ecclesiæ cum signo scē crucis confirmaui .

✠ ego oswold eboracę ciuitatis archipresul crucis taumate adnotaui .

✠ ego ælfstan eps consensi .

✠ ego ælfheah eps acquieui .

✠ ego æpelsige eps consolidaui .

✠ ego æþelgar eþs non rennui .	
✠ ego æscwig eþs impressi .	
✠ ego sigeric eþs consignauī .	
✠ ego sigegar eþs subscripsi	
✠ ego aðulf eþs conclusi .	
✠ ego æðelwine dux	✠ ego wulfric māt
✠ ego býrhtnoð dux	✠ ego leofric māt
✠ ego æþelwerd dux	✠ ego ordulf māt
✠ ego ælfric dux	✠ ego æðelmær māt
✠ ego ordbryht abba	✠ oswerd māt
✠ ego leofric abba	✠ wulfgeat māt
✠ ego æluere abba	✠ leofric māt
✠ ego leofric abba	✠ wulfsige māt
✠ ego ælfsige māt	✠ æðelric māt
✠ ego ælfgar māt	✠ leofstan māt
✠ ego wulfsige māt	✠ godwine māt
✠ ego æðelsige māt	✠ leofwine māt
✠ ego ælfric māt	✠ leofsige māt
✠ ego leofric māt	✠ æðelnoð māt .

\*.\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 13th century, 'Bromleg Edelredus Rex dedit sancto Andree et Ethelsitho Episcopo.'* B.

Cott. Chart. viii. 20.

Before A.D. 988.

Harl. 311 f. 22.

Text. Roff 147.

K 1288. T. p. 271.

B. iii. 34.

### Abstract of Title

how the land at Wouldham came to Rochester. A family romance.

✠ Þus wæron ða seox sulung æt wulda ham sçe andrea geseald into hrofes ceastre. æðelbryht cinc hit



gebocode þā aþte on ece yrfe . 7 betæhte hit ðā biscope eardulfe to bewitenne . 7 his æftergæncan . Ða betweonan þam wearð hit ute . 7 hæfdon hit cýnegas oð eadmund cinc . Ða gebohte hit ælfstan heahstaninc æt ðæm cince mid hund twelftigan mancesan goldes . 7 ðrittigan pundan . 7 ðæt him sealde mæst eal ælfh his sunu . æfter eadmund einge Ða gebocode hit eadred cinc ælfstane on ece yrfe . þa æfter ælfstanes dæge wæs ælfh his sunu his yrfe wærd 7 þ he beleac<sup>1</sup> on halre tungon . 7 ofteah ælfrice his breðer landes 7 æhta butan he hwæt æt him geearnode . Ða for ðære broðor sibbe geuðe he him . earhiðes . 7 crægan . 7 ænes fordes . 7 wulda hames his dæg . Ða oferbad ælfh ðæne broðor 7 feng to his læne . þa hæfde ælfric suna eadric hatte 7 ælfh nænne . Ða geuðe ælfh þā eadrice . earhiðes . 7 crægan . 7 wulda hames . 7 hæfde him sylf ænes ford . þa gewat eadric ær ælfh cwideleas . 7 ælfh feng to his læne . Ða hæfde eadric lafe 7 nan bearn . þa geuþe ælfh hire hire morgen gife . æt crægan . 7 stod earhið . 7 wulda hā . 7 lýtlan bróc on his læne . Ða hī eft geðuhte Ða nā he his feorme on wulda hā . 7 on ðam oþran wolde ac hine geýflade . 7 he Ða sænde to ðam arcebiscope dunstane . 7 he cō to scýlfe to him . 7 he cwæþ his cwide beforan him . 7 he sette ænne cwide to cristes cýrican . 7 oðerne to sçe andrea . 7 Ðaþ ðriddan sealde his lafe . Ða bræc sýððan leofsunu ðurh þ wif ðe he nā eadrices lafe ðæne cwide . 7 herewade þæs arcebiscopes gewitnesse . rad Ða innon Ða land mid þam wife butan witenan dome . þa man þ ðā biscope cýðde . Ða gelædde se biscop ahnunga ealles ælfhes cwides to earhiðe on gewitnesse ælfstanes biscopes on lundene . 7 ealles þæs hires 7 ðæs æt cristes cýrican . 7 ðæs biscopes ælfstanes an hrofes ceastre . 7 wulfsies præostes þæs scirig mannes . 7 brýht-

waldes on mære weorðe . 7 ealra east cantwarena . 7 west cantwarena 7 hit wæs gecnæwe on suþ seaxan . 7 on west seaxan . 7 on middel seaxan . 7 on east seaxan . ꝥ se arcebiscope mid his selfes aðe geahnode gode . 7 sçe andrea mid þā bocan on cristes rode ða land þe leofsunu hī toteah 7 ðæne aþ nā wulfsige se scirig man ðá hé nólde to ðæs cinges handa . 7 þær wæs god eaca ten hundan mannan ðe þane að sealdan .

\*.\* *Endorsed in contemporary hands, 'uldeam.' 'sal sapientiæ.' B.*

<sup>1</sup> leac *K. and T.* They seem not to have used the Cotton Charter.

IDEM LATINE<sup>1</sup>.

Isto tali ordine fuerunt illæ vi. sulingæ, quæ vocantur Uldeham, primum venditæ ecclesiæ Sancti Andree apostoli de Hrofecestra, et postea extractæ, et iterum emptæ ipsi ecclesiæ, ac tandem, per beatum Dunstanum archiepiscopum, juramento mille virorum eidem ecclesiæ acquisitæ, et jure hereditario in æternum relictæ.

✠ Rex Æthelberhtus primum hereditaverat de Uldeham apostolum Sanctum Andream, et ecclesiam suam in Hrofecestra æterno jure, et commisit illud manerium Eardulfo episcopo Hrofensi ad custodiendum, et ejus successoribus. Igitur in manibus successorum ablatum est iterum apostolo et ecclesiæ suæ in manibus regum, ita quod plures reges, unus post alterum habuerunt illud postea, usque ad tempus regis Eadmundi. Tunc quidam probus homo nomine Ælfstanus Heahstaninc emit illud a rege Eadmundo, et dedit ei pro illo centum duodecim mancas auri, et xxx. libras denariorum. Hujus pecuniæ majorem partem dedit postea ipsi regi Ælfegus filius ipsius Ælfstani. Postea, mortuo rege Eadmundo, Eadredus rex hereditavit inde prædictum Ælfstanum in æternam hereditatem. Itaque post mortem hujus Ælfstani, præfatus Ælfegus, qui regi Eadmundo dederat majorem partem pecuniæ pro patre suo propter Uldeham, successit huic Ælfstano in hereditatem. Qui statim conclusit, et omnino confirmavit totum quod pater suus in vita sua fecerat. Hic autem fratri suo Ælfrico et terras atque pecunias patris sui ita plene subtraxit, quod ipse Ælfricus nichil omnino inde poterat habere nisi servitio illud ab eo promeruisset, quem-admodum quilibet extraneus. Tamen præcogitatus tandem Ælfegus, propter consanguinitatis fraternitatem, concessit illi Earhetham, et Cræiam, et Æinesfordam, et Uldeham, in diebus vitæ suæ tantum in

<sup>1</sup> The Latin is evidently of much later date than the Saxon, but of which it is a useful paraphrase, elucidating some passages where the Saxon seems obscure. T.

præstito solummodo. Itaque mortuo Ælfrico Ælfegus statim omnia præstita sua, quæ fratri suo viventi præstiterat [resumpsit]. Ælfricus autem habuit filium nomine Eadricum, Ælfegus vero non habuit. Et ideo Ælfegus concessit illi Eadrico Earhetham, et Cræiam, et Uldeham, et retinuit in manu sua Æinesford. Mortuus autem ipse Eadricus absque commendatione vel distributione rerum suarum, tunc iterum Ælfegus accepit præstita sua omnia. Habebat etiam ipse Eadricus uxorem, et non liberos. Hac de causa concessit Ælfegus illi viduæ donum dotis suæ tantum quod ei dederat Eadricus, quando eam primum accepit uxorem in Cræia. Et tunc remansit Litelbroc et Uldeham in præstito suo. Postea, quando ei visum placitum fuit, accepit firmam suam in Uldeham, et in aliis volebat similiter facere; sed iterum infirmatus est. Et quia infirmatus valde, misit ilico ad archiepiscopum Dunstanum ut veniret ad eum, et locutus est ei in loco illo qui vocatur Scelfa. Ibi coram archiepiscopo fecit Ælfegus commendationem sive distributionem omnium rerum suarum, et constituit unam partem ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, et alteram partem ecclesiæ Andreæ, et terciam partem uxori suæ. Postea fuit quidam Leofsunu, qui uxorem Eadrici nepotis Ælfegi relictam accepit sibi in uxorem; et per ipsam mulierem incepit frangere constitutiones Ælfegi, quas fecerat coram archiepiscopo, et vituperare archiepiscopum, et testimonium ejus irritum facere. Tandem, multa stimulatus cupidine, cum illa muliere sua, quasi quadam securitate illius uxoris suæ inductus, intravit in terras illas, absque consilio et judicio sapientum virorum. Quod ubi archiepiscopus audivit, sine omni mora induxit statim calumniam proprietatis in omnem distributionem Ælfegi, cui ipsemet affuit, et quæ per eum facta fuerat. Diem ergo placiti hujus rei constituit archiepiscopus apud Erhetham, per testimonium Ælfstani episcopi Lundoniæ, et Ælfstani episcopi Hrofecestræ, et totius conventus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, et omnium orientalium et occidentalium Cantiae, et Wulfsii presbyteri, qui tunc vocatus *scirman*, id est, judex comitatus, et Brihtuualdi de Mære wurtha. Ad ultimum ita notificatum in Suthseaxa, et in Westseaxa, et in Middelseaxa, et in Eastseaxa, quod archiepiscopus Dunstanus, cum libris ecclesiastici juris, et signo crucis Christi, quam suis manibus tenebat, sui solius juramento, acquisivit æternam hereditatem Deo et Sancto Andreæ apostolo omnes terras illas, quas Leofsunu sibi usurpabat. Ipsum vero juramentum archiepiscopi accepit Uulfsi scirman, id est, judex provinciæ ad opus regis, quandoquidem ipse Leofsunu illud suscipere nolebat. Insuper ad hoc perficiendum fuit hoc quoque maximum adjumentum, temporibusque futuris maximum securitatis probamentum, quod decies centum viri electissimi ex omnibus illis supradictis comitatibus juraverunt post archiepiscopum in ipsa cruce Christi ratum, et æternæ memoriæ stabile fore sacramentum quod archiepiscopus juraverat.

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Canterbury Charters, B. 2.

A.D. 997.

K 699. T. p. 516<sup>1</sup>.

S. i. 16.

**Ætheric**

his Will. First his lord's heriot, then he leaves all to his wife Leofwyn for her day. After her day, the land at Bocking (Essex) is to go to Christ Church, Canterbury:—all but one hide, which is to go to the priest of the village church. Among other dispositions of remainder, is a bequest to Ælfstan (bp. Elmham) who is named as guardian to the widow as well as ultimate executor, should he survive. The date 997 is taken from a late endorsement; it corresponds to the episcopate of bp. Ælfstan (995–1001), and Mr. Thorpe's date 970 seems obscure.

✠ Her cyð æþeric on þissum gewrite hwam he geann ofor his dæg þæra æhta þe him god alæned hæfð . þæt is ærest sona minum hlaforde . syxti mancusa goldes . 7 mines swyrdes mid fetele . 7 þar to twa hors . 7 twa torgan . 7 twegen francan. and ic geann leofwynne minan wife ealles þæs þe ic læfe hire dæg . 7 ofor hire dæg gange þæt land on boccinge into cristes circean þam hirede for uncera saule 7 for mines fæder þe hit ær begeat eall buton anre hide ic gean into þære cyrcean þam preoste þe þar gode þeowaþ. and ic geann þæs landes æt rægene be westan . into sanct paule þam bisceope to to geleohtenne . 7 þar on godes folce cristendom to dælenne. 7 ic geann þar to twegra hida þe eadric gafelaþ ælce geare mid healfum punde . 7 mid anre garan . and ic geann be eastan stræte æigþer ge wudas ge feldas ælfstane bisceope into coppanforde . 7 þæs heges on glæsne . and ic geann þæs landes æt norð ho . healf into sanct gregorie on suþ byrig. 7 healf into sanct eadmund on bederices wyrþe. Nu bidde ic þone bisceop ælfstan . þæt he amundige mine lafe 7 þa þincg þe ic

hyre læfe. 7 gif him god lifes geunne lencg þonne unc  
þe he gefultumige ꝥ ælc þara þinga stande þe ic  
gecweden hæbbe :

*\*\*\* Endorsed in a hand of the 12th century 'to boccinge;' and in  
a hand of 13th century, 'Eaþeric dedit bockinge ecclesiæ christi . Anno  
dccccº. xcviio'.*

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe adds also a later version from B. P. Cant. Ff. 2. 33 :—

✠ Her kiðeð Aðeric on þis write hwam he an ouer his day þe ahte  
þe him God alent haued. þat is sone erst . mine louerd syxti markes  
goldes 7 mine suerdes mid fetele . 7 þerto tueye hors 7 tueye targe 7 tue  
frangen. And ic an Lefwine mine wife al þat ic leue hire day . and  
ouer hire day go þat lond at Bocking into Cristes kirke þen hirde for  
unker boðere soule . 7 for mine fader þe it her begat . al buten an hide  
ic an into þe kirke þe prest þe þer God þeweð . 7 ic an þat lond at  
Regene be westen strete into Seynte Paule . þe bisscop to lihten . and  
peron Godes folke cristendom to delen. And ic an þerto þe tueye hide  
þe Edric gauelið ilke iher mid half pund 7 mid acre garen. And ic an  
be esten strete . buðe wudes 7 feldes Alfstane bisscop into Coppingforde.  
7 þe heges on Glesene. And ic an þat lond at Norðhoo half into Seynte  
Gregorie on Subyř . and half into Seynt Eadmund on Bidricheswrð.  
Nu bidde ic þene bisscop Alfstan þat he amunigie mine laue . 7 þat  
þing þat ic her leue . and gif him God liues unne leng þan unc . þat  
he fultume þat alle þinge stonde þe ic queðen habbe.

Canterbury Charters, B. 1.

A.D. 997.

K704. T. p. 539.

S. i. 17.

### Æthelred

allows the Will of Ætheric æt Bocking to stand. The widow was in danger of losing her estate, because of an old charge of connivance with the invader, which had been brought long ago against her husband, and was never quitted. When she came to the king at Cookham with the heriot, the question was revived. Her advocates were Abp. Ælfric and Æðelmær; and the king allowed the Will to stand, under condition that she gave her Morning-gift to Christ-church, Canterbury, for the king and all his people. This is a Cyrographum (see Introduction): and the halvings of

that word both above and below this gewrit, show that this copy was the middle one of three, confirming the statement at the close. It is endorsed with the date 997; in a late hand, it is true; but this date suits the names. The deed cannot be later than 999, for in that year Lyfing, who here signs as Abbot (of Chertsey), became bishop of Wells. It could not have been before 995, when Ælfric became archbishop, and Godwine bishop.

✠ Her swutelað on þison gewrite hu æðelred kyning geuðe þæt æperices cwyde æt boccinge standan moste . hit wæs manegon earon ær æðeric forðferde þæt ðam kincge wæs gesæd þæt he wære on þam unræde þæt man sceolde on east sexon swegen underfon ða he ærest þyder mid flotan com . 7 se cincg hit on mycele gewitnysse sigerice arcebisceope cyðde þe his forespeca þa wæs for ðæs landes þingon æt boccinge ðe he into cristes cyrcean becweden hæfde . þa wæs he þisse spæce ægþer ge on life . ge æfter ungeladod ge ungebett oð his laf his hergeatu þam cincge to cocham brohte þær he his witan widan gesomnod hæfde . þa wolde se cing ða spæce beforan eallon his witan up hebban . 7 cwæð þæt leofsig ealdorman . 7 mænige men þære spæce gecnæwe wæron . þa bæd seo wuduwe ælfric arcebisceop ðe hire forespeca wæs . 7 æðelmær þæt hig þone cincg bædon þæt heo moste gesyllan hire morgengyfe into cristes cyrcean for ðone cincg . 7 ealne his leodscype wið ðam ðe se cing ða egeslican on spæce alete . 7 his cwyde standan moste þæt is swa hit her beforan cwyð . þæt land æt boccinge into cristes cyrcean . 7 his oðre land are into oðran halgan stowan swa his cwyde swutelað . þa god forgylde þam cincge getiðode he ðæs for cristes lufan . 7 sancta marian . 7 sancte dunstanes . 7 ealra þæra haligra ðe æt cristes cyrcean restað . þæs costes ðe heo þis gelæste . 7 his cwyde fæste stode . þeos swutelung wæs þærrihte gewriten .

7 beforan þam cinge 7 þam witon gerædd; þis syndon  
 ðæra manna naman ðe ðises to gewittnesse wæron . ælfric  
 arcebisceop . 7 ælfheh bisceop on wintaceastre . 7 wulfsige  
 bisceop on dorsæton . 7 godwine bisceop on hrofeceastre .  
 7 leofsige ealdorman . 7 leofwine ealdorman . 7 ælsige  
 abbod . 7 wulfgar abbod . 7 byrhtelm abbod . 7 lyfincg  
 abbod . 7 alfwold abbod . 7 æðelmær . 7 ordulf . 7 wulfget .  
 7 fræna . 7 wulfric wulfrune sunu : 7 ealle ða ðegnas ðe  
 þær widan gegæderode wæron ægðer . ge of west sexan .  
 ge of myrcean . ge of denon . ge of englon<sup>1</sup>. þissa gewrita  
 syndon ðreo . an is æt crystes cyrcean . oðer æt þæs  
 cinges haligdome . ðridde hæfð seo wuduwe.

\* \* *Endorsed in an 11th century hand, 'Eðelred cing uðe æðerices  
 qðe 7 his lafe ito xps circe . ðet his bocciġ. Tæp Æluric aſ eþi .  
 scriþ;'* in a hand of the 12th century, 'anglice;'<sup>1</sup> and in a hand of the  
 13th century, 'Eðelred' rex cōfirmauit testamētū Edrici qui noð legauit  
 Bockinge Anno dccc° xcvi°.

<sup>1</sup> ægðer ge of West Sexan ge of &c.

This gives an excellent view of the chief political divisions of the  
 country, which Cnut afterwards more definitely organized and formed  
 into four distinct governments. Freeman, N. C. i. 448.

Reg. de Burton (penes W. Paget).

A.D. 1002.

K1298. T. p. 543.

### Will of Wulfric

The founder of Burton Abbey<sup>1</sup>.

✠ IN nomine domini! Hēr swutelað Wulfríc his  
 leófan hláforde his cwide and eallon his freóndon. Ðæt  
 is ðæt ic geann mínum hláforde twá hund mancessa  
 goldes, and twá seolfor hilted sweord, and feówer hors  
 twá gesadelod and twá ungesadelode, and ða wæpna ða  
 ðærtô gebyriað; and ic geann ælcum bisceope .v. man-

cessa goldes ; and ðām twām arcebisceopan heora ægðron  
 tyn mancusas goldes ; and ic geann intó ælcum munuc-  
 regole .i. pund ; and ælcon abbode and ælcon<sup>2</sup> abba-  
 tissan .v. mancusas goldes ; and ic geann Ælfríce arce-  
 bisceope ðæs landes æt Dumeltan forð mid ðon óðran  
 for míne sáwle, wið ðon ðe he freónd and fultum ðe  
 betere sý intó ðære stowe ðe ic geworht hæbbe ; and ic  
 geann Ælfhelme and Wulfage ðára landa betwux  
 Ribbel and Mærse<sup>3</sup> and on Wirhalum, ðæt heó hig dælan  
 him betweonan swá hig efnost magon, bútan heora  
 ægðer his ágen habben wille, on ðæt gerád, ðonne  
 sceaddgeunge sý, ðæt heora ægðer sylle .iii. þúsend  
 sceadda intó ðære stowe æt Byrtúne ; and ic geann  
 Ælfhelm Rolfestún and Heorelfestún ; and ic geann  
 Wulfage ðæs landes æt Beorelfestúne and æt Merchám-  
 túne ; and ic geann Ælfhelme ðæs landes æt Cunuges-  
 burh wið ðon ðe he dó ðæt ða munucas habben ælce  
 geare þridan dæl ðæs fises and he ða twá dæl ; and ic  
 gean Wulfage ðæs landes æt Alewaldestúne ; and ic  
 gean Ufegeate ðæs landes æt Norðtúne on ðæt gerád  
 ðæt he freónd and fultum ðe betere sý intó ðære stowe ;  
 and ic gean mínre earman déhter ðæs landes æt Elle-  
 forde and ðæs æt Acleá mid eallon ðām ðe ðær nú  
 tóhýrð ða hwíle ðe hire dæg bið, and ofer hire dæg gá  
 ðæt land intó ðære stowe æt Byrtúne ; and heó hit nage  
 mid nānon þinge tó forwyrceenne, ac hæbbe heó ðone  
 bryce ða hwíle ðe heó hit geearnian cann, and gá hit  
 sýððan intó ðære stowe æt Byrtúne forðon ðe hit wæs  
 mínes godfæder gyfu ; and ic wile ðæt Ælfhelm<sup>4</sup> sý hire  
 mund and ðæs landes ; and ðæt æt Tomwurðin híre tó  
 nānon þeowdóme né nānon geborenan men, bútan ðæt  
 heó ðone ealdordóm hebbe ; and ic geann Wulfgáre  
 mínan cníhte ðæs landes æt Baltryðeleáge ealswá his



fæder hit him begeat; and ic becweðe Mórcare ðæt land æt Waleshó, and ðæt æt ðeogendeðorpe, and ðæt æt Hwítewille, and ðæt æt Clune, and ðæt æt Barleburh, and ðæt æt Ducemannestúne, and ðæt æt Móresburh, and ðæt æt Eccingtúne, and ðæt æt Bectúne, and ðæt æt Donecestre and æt Mórlichtúne; and ic geann his wífe Aldulfestreo ealswá hit nú stont mid mete and mid mannum; and ic geann Ælfhelme mīnan meáge ðæs landes on Paltertúne and ðæs ðe Sægð me becweð; and ic geann Æðelríce ðæt land æt Wibbetofte, and ðæt æt Twongan, his dæg, and ofer his dæg gá ðæt land<sup>5</sup> for mīne sáwle and for his móder and for his intó Byrtone; and ðis sind ða land ðe ic geann intó Byrtone, ðæt is érest Byrtón<sup>6</sup> ðe ðæt mynstre on stent, and Stræton, and Brómleáge, and Bedintún, and Gageleáge, and Witestún, and Laganford, and Styrleáge, and Niwantún æt ðære wíc, and Wædedún, and ðæt little land ðe ic áh on óðer Niwantúne, and Wyneshylle, and Súttún, and Ticenheale, and æt Scenctúne, and æt Wicgestáne, and æt Halen, and æt Remesleáge, and ðæt æt Scipleá, and ðæt æt Súðtúne, and ðæt æt Actúne twégra manna dæg, ealswá ða foreword sprécað, and Deorláfestún, and ðæt ðærtó hereð, ðæt is Rudegard, and mīn litle land on Cotewaltúne, and Lége mid eallon ðám ðæt ðærtó hereð, Acofre mid ðám ðe ðærtó hæreð, ðæt is Hilum, and Celfdum, and Cætesðurne, and ðæt heregeatland æt Súttúne, and Mórlége, and Brægeshale, Mórtún and eal seó sócna ðe ðærtó hereð, and ðæt land ðiderinn æt Wyllesleáge, and Oggodestún, and Winnefeld, and Snodeswíc intó Mórtúne, and ðæt æt Taðawyllan, and ðæt land æt Æppelby ðe ic gebóhte mid mīnum feó, and æt Westúne, and Burhtún, and seó híd æt Searnforda intó Wiggestáne, and ðæt æt Hereburge byrig, and Ealdes-

wurðe, and Ælfredingtūne, and Eccleshale, and æt Wād-dūne, and ān hīda æt Sceon; and ic geann ðon hirede in Tamwurdin ðæt land æt Langandūne ealswā hī hit me ær tólēton, and habban hī ðone bryce healfne and healfne ða munecas intō Byrtūne ge on mete, ge on mannon, ge on yrfe, ge on ælcon þingon; and se bisceop fō tō his lande æt Bubandūne; and fōn ða munucas intō Byrtūne tō ðān ðe on ðām land is, ge on mannon, ge on eallon þingon, and ðæt land ðām bisceope æt ðære syle. And ic wille ðæt se cyng beó hláford ðæs mynstres ðe ic getimbrede and ðæra landāra ðe ic ðyderinn becweden hæbbe, Gode tō lofe and tō wurdmynte, for mīnan hláforde and for mīnre sáwlan; and Ælfríc arcebisceop and Ælfhelm mīn bróðor ðæt hīg bēn mund and freond<sup>7</sup> and forespreocan intō ðære stowe wið ælcne geborene man, heom tō nānre āgenre æhta būtan intō sanctus Benedictus regole; and ic geann mīnre god-dóhtor Mórcares and Ealdgyðe<sup>8</sup> ðæt land æt Strættūne and ðone bule ðe wæs hire ealdermóder; and intō ðān mynstre æt Byrtūne ān hundred<sup>9</sup> wildra horsa and .xvi. tame hencgestas and ðærtō eall ðæt ic hæbbe on libbandan and on licgendan, būtan ðān ðe ic becweden hæbbe. And God ælmihtig hine áwende of eallum Godes dreāme and of ealre cristenra gemānan se ðe ðis áwende, būtan hit mīn āne cynehláford sý; and ic hopige tō him swā gōdan and swā mildheortan ðæt he hit nylle sylf dōn ne eác nānum óðrum geðafian. Ualete in Christo.

*Rubric.* Ðis is seó freólsbóc tō ðān mynstre æt Byrtūne ðe Æðelred cyng æfre écelíce gefreode Gode tō lofe and eallon his hálgan tō weorðunge, swā swā hit Wulfríc gestaðelode for hine and for his yldrena sáwle, and hit mid munecon gesette ðæt ðær æfre inne ðæs hádes

menn under heora abbude Gode þeówian æfter sanctus Benedictus tæcinge.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Coote has cited this Will in proof of the vast estates of the Saxon aristocracy. 'A king's thegn devises eighty estates—whole townships lying in the counties of Gloucester, Lancaster, Worcester, York, Warwick, Kent, Surrey, Derby.' *The Romans of Britain*, p. 467. He might have added Cheshire. Peculiarly interesting is the notice of wild and tame horses. See *Freeman*, vol. i. p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> æalcon K. The transcript from which K printed is late, and a few errors have been corrected; specimens only are recorded.

<sup>3</sup> This is the ancient name for the district now the County of Lancaster. 'Of the Northumbrian kingdom, Yorkshire is the only one of the existing subdivisions which dates as a shire before the Conquest; Lancashire is a modern denomination for the country between Ribble and Mersey, which in Domesday is reckoned to the West Riding.' Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i. 109. In the following 'on Wirhalum' we see Wirrall in Cheshire.

<sup>4</sup> Ælfhelme K.

<sup>5</sup> lande K.

<sup>6</sup> æreste Byrtone K.

<sup>7</sup> freónt K.

<sup>8</sup> to my god daughter [the daughter] of Morcar and Ealdgyth. T.

<sup>9</sup> hundra K.

Cott. Claudius B. vi. 103. C. ix. 125. A.D. 1006.  
K 716. T. p. 549.

### The Will of Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury<sup>1</sup>

✠ HER sutelað hū Ælfric arcebisceop his cwyde gedihte. Ðæt is ærest him tó sáulsceate he becwæð intó Xþes cyrcan ðæt land æt Wyllan, and æt Burnan, and Risenbeorgas; and he becwað his láford his bestescip, and ða segelgeræda ðártó, and .lx. healma, and .lx. beornena; and he wilnode gif hit his láfordes willa wære ðæt he gefæstnode intó sancte Albane ðæt land æt Cyngesbyrig, and fenge sylf wið ðám eft tó Eáduflingtúne; and he becwæð ðæt land æt Dumeltún intó

Abbandúne, and Ælfnóðe ðárof .III. hída his dæg and siððan tó ðán óðaran tó Abbandúne; and .x. oxan and .II. men he him becwæð and filgan hí ðám láfordscype ðe ðæt land tó hýre; and he cwæð ðæt land æt Wealingaforda ðe he gebohte Celewærde; and hofer his dæg intó Ceólesige; and he becwæð intó sancte Albane ðæt land æt Tiwan<sup>2</sup>, and standan ða forword betweenan ðán abbode and Ceólríce ðe éar wið ðæne arcebisceop geforwyrd wáran, ðæt is ðæt Ceólríc habbe ðæne dæl ðæs landes ðe he hæfð his dæg, and eác ðæne dæl ðe se arcebisceop for his sceatte him tólet, ðæt wæs ehtoðe healf hid wið .v. púndun and .I. mancusum goldes, and gá hit ofer his dæg eall tógædere intó sancte Albæne; and heóra forewyrd wáron ðæt Osanig æfter Ceólríces dæge gange eác þyder in; and ðæt land on Lundene, ðe he mid his feo gebohte, he becwæð intó sancte Albæne and his béc ealle he cwæð eác þyder in and his geteld. And he becwæð ðæt man fenge on ðe feoh ðe man hæfde and érest ælcne borh águlde, and siððan tilode tó his hergeatwæn ðæs ðe man habban sceólde. And ánes scipes he geúðe ðám folce tó Cent and óðres tó Wiltúnescíre and elles on óðrum þingum gif ðæs hwæt wære, he bæd ðæt Uulfstán bisceop, and Leófríc abbud dihton swá heom best þúhte. And ðe land be westan æt Fittingtúne and æt Niwantúne he becwæð his sweostrun and heora beornun; and Ælfheáges land Ešnes suna gá á on his cyn; and he becwæð Uulfstáne ærcebisceope áne sweor róde, and áne ring, and áne psaltere; and Ælfheáge bisceope áne<sup>3</sup> róde. And he forgeaf on Godes est Centingan ðæne borh ðe hý him sceóldan, and Middel-Sexon and Súðrion ðæt feoh ðæt heom fore sceát. And he wyle ðæt man freoge æfter his dæge ælcne wítefastne man ðe on his tíman forgylt wære.

Gif hwá ðis áwende, hæbbe him wið God gemæne.  
Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Ælfrie died on the 16th of November 1006, and was buried at Abingdon. That monastery was remembered in his will, and the will is found in the Abingdon Register. It is translated in Dean Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. i. p. 452: where an interesting note of explanation is appended. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i. 116. Of peculiar interest are his bequests of ships. He gives the king his best ship, with rigging, and military equipments. But a still more remarkable and valuable record is that of the ships bequeathed to two shires. It appears that inland shires as well as those on the sea-board had to provide ships for the navy. This proves the high antiquity of ship-money. See Sax. Chron. 1018 and my note there; also Freeman, *Norm. Conq.* i. 370.

<sup>2</sup> Ripan K. 'at Tewin' T. tr.: but ? Great Tew.

<sup>3</sup> ænne K. T.

Canterbury Charters.

A.D. 1015.

K722. T. p. 557.

S.i. 18.

### Æðelstan æðeling

his Will. He was one<sup>1</sup> of the six sons of King Æthelred by his first wife Ælflæd. Another of the six was Eadmund the famous Ironside who is mentioned in this Will. The Will is rich in terms descriptive of horses, and armour, and articles of English workmanship.

✠ ON godes ælmihtiges naman . Ic æpestan æpeling  
gesutelige on þysan gewrite . hu ic mine are and mine  
æhta . geunnen hæbbe . gode to lofe and to minre sawle  
alysednesse . and mines fæder æpelredes cynges þe ic hit  
æt geearnode . þæt is ærest þæt ic geann þæt man ge-  
freoge ælcne wite fæstne man þe ic on spæce ahte . and  
ic geann in mid me þær ic me reste Criste and Sancte  
petre þæs landes æt eadburgebyrig . þe ic gebohte æt  
minan fæder mid twam hund mancusan goldes be ge-  
wihte . and mid fif pundan seolfres . and þæt land æt

merelafan þe ic gebohte æt minan fæder mid þridde healf hund mancusan goldes . and þæt land æt mordune þe min fæder me tolet ic geann into þære stowe for uncra begra sawle . and ic hine þæs bidde for godes lufan and for sancta marian and for sancte petres . þæt hit standan mote . and þæs swyrdes mid þam seolfrenan hiltan þe wulfric worhte . and þone gyldenana fetels . and þone beh þe wulfric worhte . and þone drenc horn þe ic ær æt þam hirede bohte æt ealdan mynstre . and ic wille þæt man nime þæt feoh þe æpelwoldes laf me ah to gyldanne þe ic for hire are gescoten hæbbe and betæce ælfsige bisceope into ealdan mynstre for mine sawle þæt synd .XII. pund be getale . and ic geann into Cristes cyrican on cantwara-byrig þæs landes æt holungaburnan and þæs þe þerto hyrð butan þære anre sulunge þe ic sifyrðe geunnen hæbbe . and þæs landes æt garwaldingtune . and ic ge[ann] þæs landes æt hryðerafelda into nunnena mynstre sancta marian þances . and ænne seolfrenne mele on .V. pundan . and into niwan mynstre ænne seolfrenne hwer on fif pundan . On þære halgan þrynnesse naman þe seo stow ys forehalig and ic geann to scæftenesbyrig to þære halgan rode and to sancte eadwearde þara .VI. punda þe ic eadmundes minan breðer gewissod hæbbe . and ic geann minan fæder æpelræde cynges þæs landes æt cealc-tune butan þam ehta hidan þe ic ælsmære minan cnihte geunnen hæbbe . and þæs landes æt norþtune . and þæs landes æt mollintune . and þæs seolferhiltan swyrdes ðe ulfcytel ahte . and þære byrnan þe mid morcere ys . and þæs horses ðe þurbrand me geaf . and þæs hwitan horses þe leowine me geaf . and ic geann eadmundes minan breðer þæs swyrdes þe offa cyng ahte . and þæs swyrdes mid þam pyttedan hiltan . and anes brandes . and anes seolforhammenes blæd hornes . and þara landa þe ic

ahte on east englan . and þæs landes æt peacesdele . and  
 ic wylle þæt man gelæste ælce geare ane dægfeorme þam  
 hirede into elig of þysse are on sancte æpeldryðe mæs-  
 sedæg . and gesylle þær to mynstre an hund penega .  
 and gefede þær on þæne dæg an hund þearfena . and sy  
 æfre seo ælmesse gelæst gear hwamlice age land se þe  
 age . þa hwile þe cristendom stande . and gif þa nellað  
 þas ælmessan geforðian þe ða land habbaþ gange seo ar  
 into sancte æpeldryðe . and hic geann eadwige minan  
 breþer anes sylfer hiltes swyrdes . and ic geann ælfsige  
 bisceope þære gylden an rode þe is mid eadrice wynflæde  
 suna . and anes blacan steda . and ic geann ælmære  
 þæs landes æt hamelan dene þe he ær ahte . and ic bidde  
 minne fæder for godes ælmihtiges lufan and for minan,  
 þæt he þæs geunne þe ic him geunnen hæbbe . and ic  
 geann godwine wulfnoðes suna þæs landes æt cumtune þe  
 his fæder ær ahte . and ic geann ælfswyþe minre fostor  
 medor for hire miclan earnungan þæs landes æt westtune  
 þe ic gebohte æt minan fæder mid þridde helf hund  
 mancusa goldes be gewihte . and ic geann ælfwine minan  
 mæssepreoste þæs landes æt heorulfestune . and þæs  
 malswyrdes þe wiðar ahte . and mines horses mid minan  
 gerædan . and ic geann ælmære minan disc þene þara  
 ehta hida æt catringatune and anes fagan steda . and  
 mines targa . and þæs sceardan swyrdes . and ic geann  
 sifyrðe þæs landes æt hogganclife . and anes swyrdes  
 and anes horses . and mines bohscyldes . and ic geann  
 æpelwerde stamera and lyfinge þæs landes æt tywingan .  
 and ic gean leofstane leowines breðer cwattes þære lan-  
 dare þe ic ær of his breðer nam . and ic geann leom-  
 mære æt bigrafan þæs landes þe ic him ær of nam . and  
 ic geann godwine drefelan þara þreora hida æt lutegares  
 heale . and ic geann eadrice wynflæde suna þæs swyrdes

þe seo hand ys on gemearcod . and ic geann ægelwine minan cnihte þæs swyrdes þe he me ær sealde . and ic gean ælfnocðe minan swyrðhwitan þæs sceardan mal-swyrdes . and minan headeor huntan þæs stodes þe is on colungahrycge . and gehealde man of minan golde ælfric æt bertune and godwine drefelan æt swa micelan swa eadmund min broðor wat þe ic heom mid rihte to gyldanne ah. Nu þancige ic minan fæder mid ealre eadmodnesse on godes ælmihtiges naman þære andsware þe he me sende on frige dæg æfter middan sumeres mæsse dæge be alfgare æffan suna . þæt wæs þæt he me cydde mines fæder worde þæt ic moste be godes leafe and be his geunnan minre are and minra æhta swa me mæst ræd þuhte ægþer ge for gode ge for worulde . and þysse andsware is to gewitnesse eadmund min broðor and ælfsige bisceop . and byrhtmær abbod . and ælmær ælfrices sunu. Nu bidde ic ealle þa witan þe minne cwide gehyron rædan ægþer ge gehadode ge læwede þæt hi beon on fultume þæt min cwide standan mote swa mines fæder leaf ys and on minan cwide stent. Nu cyððe ic þæt ealle þa ðincg þe ic to gode into godes cyrican and godes þeowan geunnen hæbbe . þæt sy gedon for mines leofan fæder sawle ægelredes cynges and for mine . and for ælfþryðe minre ealde modor þe me afedde . and for ealra þara þe me to þysan godan gefylstan . and se þe ðysne cwide þurh ænig þincg awende . habbe him wið god ælmihtigne gemæne . and wið sancta marian . and wið sancte peter . and wið ealle þa þe godes naman heriaþ ;

\*.\* *Endorsed*, 'Testamentum Æðelstani qui fuit filius Æðelredi regis. Hic dedit holingeburne ecclesiæ christi . anglice . Anno m<sup>o</sup> . xv . Scriptum . xv.'

<sup>1</sup> Florence and Brompton rank Æðelstan third; but Mr. Freeman (Norm. Conq. i. 409) thinks he was the eldest, because the order of



their signing in several documents is as follows:—Æðelstan, Ecgbriht, Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig, Eadgar. There is also a deed (K. 1304) in which Æðelstan signs for himself and brothers.

The Canterbury text here printed is superior to that of the Winton Register, which K. followed. I have adopted the date in the endorsement though written in the 13th century, because it is quite in keeping.

Arc. C. C. Cantuar.

A. D. 1016-1020.

K 732. T. p. 312.

## Godwine

his marriage contract, made with Byrhtic, whose daughter he 'wooed'. This Godwine appears to be a Kentish thane, of whom nothing farther is known. Mr. Thorpe took it to be a record of the second marriage of the famous Earl Godwine; a notion which Mr. Freeman corrected in Norm. Conq. i. 467.

✠ HER swutelað on ðysan gewrite ða foreward ðe Godwine worhte wið Byrhtic ða he his dohter áwogode. Ðæt is ærest ðæt he gæf hire ánes pundes gewihta goldes, wið ðon<sup>1</sup> ðe heó his spæce underfenge, and he geuðe hire ðæs landes æt Stræte mid eallan ðon ðe ðærtó hérð, and on Búrwaramersce oðer healf hund æcera, and ðærtó þrittig oxna and twentig cūna, and tyn hors, and tyn þeówmn. Ðis wæs gespecen æt Cincgestūne beforan Cnute cinge on Lyfinges arcebiscepes gewitnesse, and on ðæs hiredes æt Cristes circean, and Ælfmères abbodes and ðæs hiredes æt sancte Augustine, and Æðelwines scīre gerēfan and Siredes ealdan, and Godwines Wulfeāges sunu, and Ælfsige cild, and Eādmēr æt Búrhām and Godwine Wulfstānes sunu, and Kar[1] ðæs cinges cniht. And ða man ðæt mædan fette æt Byrhtlingan, ða eode ðyses ealles on borh<sup>2</sup> Ælf-gār Syredes sunu, and Frerð preóst on Folcestāne, and

of Doferan Leófwine preóst, and Wulfsige preóst, and Eádræd Eádelmes sunu, and Leófwine Wærelmes sunu, and Cenwold Rust, and Leófwine Godwines sunu æt Hortúne, and Leófwine se reáde, and Godwine Eádgeofe sunu, and Leófsunu his bróðer. And swá hwæðer heora læng libbe fô tó eallan æ[h]tan ge on ðám lande ðe ic heom gæf, ge o[n] ælcon þingan. Ðyssa þinga is ge-  
cnæwe ælc dohtig man on Kænt and on Súd-Sexan, on þegenan and on ceorlan; and ðyssa gewrita synd þreó, *án* is æt Cristes cyrcan, óðer æt sancte Augustine, and þridde hæfð Byrhtíc self.

<sup>1</sup> ðone K. and T.

<sup>2</sup> *on borh.* Eleven names are given as security for the fulfilment of the contract, making, with their principal, the normal tale of twelve.

Gospel Book at York.

A.D. 1020.

## Cnut

his manifesto of polity in England.

CNUT cyning gret his arceþ. 7 his leodbiscopas, 7 þurcyl eorl, 7 ealle his eorlas, 7 ealne his leodscype, twelfhynde 7 twyhynde, gehadode 7 læwede, on Engla-  
lande freondlice; 7 Ic cyðe eow þ̅ ic wylle beon hold hlaford 7 unswicende to Godes gerihtum 7 to rihtre worold lage; Ic nam me to gemynde þa gewritu 7 þa word þe se arceþ. Lyfing me fram þam papan brohte of Rome, þ̅ ic scolde æghwær Godes lof upp aræran, 7 unriht alecgan, 7 full frið wyrcean, be ðære mihte þe me God syllan wolde; Nu ne wandode ic na minum sceattum þa hwile þe eow unfrið on handa stod; Nu ic mid Godes fultume þ̅ to twæmde mid minum scat-

tum, þa cydde man me þ̅ us mara hearm to fundode þoñ us wel licode, 7 þa for ic me sylf mid þam mannum þe me mid foron into Denmearcon þe eow mæst hearm of com, 7 þ̅ hæbbe mid Godes fultume forene forfangen, þ̅ eow næfre heononforð þanon nan unfrið to ne cymð þa hwile þe ge mé rihtlice healdað 7 min lif byð; Nu ðancige ic Gode Ælmihtigum his fultumes, 7 his mildheortnesse, þ̅ ic þa myclan hearmas þe us to fundedon swa gelogod hæbbe, þ̅ we ne þurfon þanon nenes hearms us asittan; ac us to fullan fultume 7 to ahreddingge gyf us neod byð. Nu wylle ic þ̅ we ealle eadmodlice Gode Ælmihtigum þancian þære mildheortnesse þe he us to fultume gedon hæfð; Nu bidde ic mine arceb. 7 ealle mine leodþ. þ̅ hy ealle neodfulle beon ymbe Godes gerihta ælc on his ende þe heom betæht is; 7 eac minum ealdormannum ic beode þ̅ hy fylstan þam biscopum to Godes gerihtum 7 to minum kynescype, 7 to ealles folces þearfe; Gif hwa swa dystig sy, gehadod oððe læwede, Denisc oððe Englisc, þ̅ ongearn Godes lage ga, 7 ongearn minne cynescype, oððe ongearn worold riht, 7 nelle betan 7 geswican æfter minra ð̅ tæcinge, þoñ bidde ic þurcyl eorl 7 eac beode þ̅ he ð̅æne unrihtwisan to rihte gebige gyf he mæge; Gyf he ne mæge, þoñ wille ic mid uncer begra cræfte þ̅ he hine on earde adwæsce, oððe ut of earde adræfe, sy he betera sy he wyrsa; 7 eac ic beode eallum minum gerefum be minum freondscype, 7 be eallum þam þe hi agon, 7 be heora agenum life, þ̅ hy æghwær min folc rihtlice healdan, 7 rihte domas deman be ð̅ære scira ð̅ gewitnesse, 7 swylce mildheortnesse þæron don swylce þære scire ð̅ riht þince, 7 se man acuman mæge 7 gyf hwa þeof friðige oððe forena forlicge sy he emscyldig wið me þa

ðe þeof scolde, buton he hine mid fulre lade wið me  
geclænsian mæge; 7 ic wylle þ̅ eal þeodscype, gehadode  
7 læwede, fæstlice Eadgares lage healde, þe ealle men  
habbað gecoren, 7 to gesworen on Oxenaforda, for ðam  
þe ealle þ̅ secgað þ̅ hit swyþe deop [sy] wið God  
to betanne, þ̅ man aðas, oððe wedd tobrece, 7 eac hy  
us furðor lærað þ̅ we sceolon eallan magene 7 eallon  
myhton þone ecan mildan God inlice secan lufian 7  
weorðian, 7 ælc unriht ascunian; ðæt synd mægslagan,  
7 morðslagan, 7 mansworan, 7 wiccean, 7 wælcyrrian, 7  
æbrecean, 7 syblegeru, 7 eac ðe beodað on Godes Æl-  
mihtiges naman, 7 on ealra his haligra, þ̅ nan man  
swa dyrstig ne sy, þ̅ on gehadodre nunnan oððe on  
mynecenan gewifige, 7 gyf hit hwa gedon hæbbe, beo  
he utlah wið God 7 amansumod fram eallum Cristen-  
dome, 7 wið þone cyning scyldig ealles þæs þe he age,  
buton he ðe raðor geswice, 7 þe deopplicor gebete wið  
God; 7 gyt we furðor maniað, þ̅ man sunnan dæges  
freols mid eallum mægene healde 7 weorðige, fram  
Sæternes dæges none oð Monan dæges lyhtinge, 7 nan  
man swa dyrstig ne sy, þ̅ he aðor oððe cypinge  
wyrce, oððe ænig mot gesece, þā halgan dæge; 7  
ealle men, earne 7 eadige, heora cyrcan secean 7 for  
heora synnum þingian, 7 ælc beboden fæstan geornlice  
healdan, 7 þa halgan georne weorðian, þe us mæsse  
preostas beodan sceolan, þ̅ we magan 7 moton ealle  
samod þurh þæs ecean Godes mildheortnesse, 7 his hal-  
gena þingrædene to heofena rices myrhðe becuman; 7  
mid him wunian, þe leofað 7 rihxað a butan ende:  
Amen.

\*.\* This interesting document has not yet appeared in any collection, but it was printed some years ago on a separate sheet by Professor Stubbs 'in usum amicorum.' He also gave a translation of it in his

'Select Charters,' p. 75. To him I am indebted for a copy of the text, and to Canon Raine for a minute collation.

The date is almost limited by internal evidence to 1020, the year in which Cnut returned from Denmark. It must be after 1018, the year in which the two races agreed in Oxford to live together under Edgar's law (Sax. Chron. 1018). On the other hand, Thureyl, who is here addressed, was outlawed in 1021.

Mac Durnan Gospels, Lambeth.

A.D. 1020.

### Wulfstan

abp. York, notifies Cnut the king and Ælfgifu the lady, of the consecration of Æthelnoth; and asks on his behalf that he may be worthy of the possessions which had been enjoyed by his predecessors.

✠ Wulfstan arceþ gret cnut cyning his hlaford . 7 ælfife þa hlæfdian eadmodlice . 7 ic cyþe inc leof þ̅ we habbað gedon swa swa us swuteling fram eow com æt þā þ̅ æþelnoþe . þ̅ we habbað hine nu gebletsod . nu bidde ic for godes lufon . 7 for eallan godes halgan þ̅ ge witan on gode þa mæpe 7 on þam halgan hade . þ̅ he mote beon þære þinga wyrþe þe oþre beforan wæron. Dunstan þe god wæs 7 mænig oþer þ̅ þes mote beon eall swa rihta 7 gerysna wyrðe . þ̅ inc byð bam þearflic for gode . 7 eac gerysenlic for worolde.

Mac Durnan Gospels, Lambeth.

A.D. 1020.

Arch. Journal, 1857.

### Cnut

his Writ, to ensure Æthelnoth a peaceable entry into the temporalities of the archbishopric<sup>1</sup>. The text is followed by Mr. Kemble's translation and note.

✠ Cnut cyneg gret ealle mine þ̅ 7 mine eorlas, 7 mine gerefan on ælcere scire, þe Æþelnoð arceþ 7 se hired æt

Cristes cyrcean land inne habbað freondlice . 7 ic cyðe eow þ̅ ic hæbbe ge unnen hī þ̅ he beo his saca 7 socne wyrðe . 7 grið bryces 7 hā socne 7 forstealles 7 infangenes þeofes, 7 flymena fyrmðe ofer his agene menn binnan byrig 7 butan 7 ofer Cristes cyrcean 7 ofer swa feala þegna swa ic hī tolætan hæbbe . 7 ic nelle þ̅ ænig mann aht þær on teo buton he 7 his wicneras for þā ic hæbbe Criste þas gerihta forgyfen minre sawle to ecere alysendnesse 7 ic nelle þ̅ æfre ænig mann þis abrece be minum freondscipe.

*Translation.*—‘✠ I, Canute, the king, greet all my bishops, and my earls, and my reeves, in each shire, in which Archbishop Æthelnoth and the brotherhood at Christchurch have land, friendly. And I do you to know that I have granted him his privilege of Sac and Sócn, and Grithbryce and Hámsócn, and Forstall, and Infangthief, and Flymenafirmth, in town and out of town, and over Christchurch, and as many thanes as I have allowed him. And I will not that any man shall meddle in aught therein, save himself and his stewards: seeing that I have granted these rights unto Christ, for the eternal salvation of my soul; and it is my will that no man break this,—on my friendship: (i.e. on pain of losing it).’

\*\*\* ‘The foregoing writ of Cnut is probably the earliest we possess, of this form. It is possible that they were in use at all periods of the Anglo-Saxon rule, but till the time of Cnut, we have no instance of them. Under Eadweard the Confessor they became common. I look upon these instruments as the natural consequence of, and as the public announcement of the investiture in the temporalities of the see. Upon the election of a prelate and confirmation by the crown, he no doubt made suit for all the seignorial and other privileges attached to his barony, and this I presume is the *patent* by which his jurisdictions, &c., are secured to him. It is addressed to the usual administrative officers, and it removes their jurisdiction from all the bishop’s lands and tenelements. He is to have his own Sac and Sócn, i.e., right to hold plea, and his infangenne þeóf, or thief taken on his manors, i.e., the criminal jurisdiction. As Æðelnoð became Archbishop in A.D. 1020, and these letters patent must have been issued very shortly after the event, we have a tolerable certainty as to the date of the document. The formulary continued to be repeated in the charters of the Norman kings long after its meaning was entirely forgotten.’

<sup>1</sup> This Writ was prepared by Mr. Kemble for the Archæological

halgan weres S[ōs E]gwines . þe hit into þā mýnstre  
 beget . 7 gange ægðer ge cýricsceat ge teoðunge into  
 þā halgan mýnstre swa he mýcele þearfe ah . þ̅ hi don .  
 7 toll 7 team sý agifen into þā mýnstre butan he hit  
 gecearnian mæge to þā ðe þæn̅ ah mýnstres geweald .  
 7 æft̅ þreora manna dæge gange þ̅ land in mid .i. men .  
 7 mid .vi. oxan . 7 mid .xx. sceapū . 7 mid .xx. æcerū  
 gesawenes cornes .

7 þýssa gewrita sýnd .iii. an lið on wigra cestre æt  
 Sēa marian mýnstre . 7 oðer lið on eofes hāme . 7  
 þridde hæfð æðelmer . Se þe þis gehealde gehealde  
 hine god . 7 se ðe hit awende oððe gelytliche . gelytliche  
 god his mede on þā toweardū life . butan he hit ær his  
 ende þe deoppor gebete . 7 þis wæs gedon be þýssa  
 witena gewýtnessæ þe herwið nýðan awritene standað .  
 þ̅ is ærest ælfgeofu seo hlæfdie þe þæs mýnstres walt .  
 7 wulfstan arcebiscop .

7 leofsige biscop .	7 hacun eorl .
7 býrhtwold biscop .	7 eglaf eorl .
7 ælfsige abb̅ .	7 leofwine ealdorman .
7 ælfwerd abb̅ .	7 leofric . 7 eadwine .
7 leofsige abb̅ .	7 býrhtteg munuc .
7 afa abb̅ .	7 býrhtwine . 7 ælfsige m̅'

Hickes Diss. Ep. p. 11.

A.D. 1020-1026.

K 803.

T. 373.

### Godwine

had fully exculpated himself from a charge which Bishop  
 Leofgar had brought against him ; and it was done at Lich-  
 field.

Her swutelað an [ðissum gewrite] ðæt Godwine Ear-

wiges sunu hæfð gelæd fulle lade æt ðán unrihtwífe ðe Leófgár bisceop hyne tiht; and ðæt wæs læd æt Licitfelda.

\*.\* Kemble dated this memorandum 'before 1056' because he thought of Leofgar, for a brief space bishop of Hereford, as related in Sax. Chron. C. 1056. It seems more in accordance with the text to connect the transaction with a bishop of Lichfield of the same name. Hickes says the original is in the famous Book of the Gospels known as the Gospels of St. Chad at Lichfield.

Cott. Tib. B. iv. 86 b.

A.D. 1035.

K 1323.

### Cnut

by his Writ protects Abp. Æðelnoð from the Sheriff's attempt to reassess the archiepiscopal estates.

✠ Cnut cyngc grét Eádsige bisceop, and Ælfstán abbod, and Ægelric, and ealle míne þegnas on Cent freóndlice; and ic cýðe eow ðæt ic wylle ðæt Æðelnóð arcebisceop werige his landáre intó his bisceopríce nú ealswá he dyde ár Ægelric wære geréfa, and siððan he geréfa wæs forð oð ðis. And ic nelle ná geðafian ðæt man ðám bisceope ænige unlage beóde, beó geréfa se ðe beó.

Cott. Tib. B. iv. 86.

A.D. 1035.

K 1325.

### Cnut

his Writ for restoring to the archbishop an estate that had been wrongly alienated.

✠ Cnut cyngc grét Eádsige bisceop, and Ælfstán abbot, and Ægelric, and ealle míne þegenas on Cent freóndlice; and ic cýðe eow ðæt ic hæbbe geunnen



Æðelnôðe arcebiscope ealre ðære landære ðe Ælfmær hæfde and mid rihte intó Cristes cyricean gebyrað, binnan birig and bútan, on wuda and on felda, swá full and swá forð swá Ælfríc arcebisceop hyre weóld oððe áenig his forgengena.

<sup>1</sup> If the Ælmær here dispossessed is that Ælmær Dyrling whose name is coupled A.D. 1016 in the Abingdon Chronicle with that of the traitor Eadric, as aiding the invaders, it might follow that Cnut was not restrained from doing justice by his sense of obligation to disloyal aid.

Addit. Chart. 19,797.

A.D. 1033-1038.

B. iv. 19.

### Byrhteh

bp. Worcester, grants to Wulmær two hides of land in Easton for three lives, and then to revert to S. Mary's at Worcester.

### C Y R O G R A P H V M

✠ In nomine dñi . Ic býrhteh . ð . mid godes ge-ðeahthe 7 þæs arwýrðan hiredes on wigerna ceastre . 7 on ealra þæra ðegena gewitnysse into glæawe ceastre scire ic cýpe þ ic gean wulmære minum cnihte twegra hida landes in east tune for his godra gearnunge swa ful 7 swa forð swa he hit hæfde under leofsige . ð . 7 under me syðþan hæbbe he 7 wel bruce þreora manna dæg to rihtere geýrsumnysse . into ðære halgan stowe to wigerna ceastre butan he hit forwýrce . Ðæs is to gewitnysse se hired on wigraceastre 7 on glæawe-ceastre . 7 on eofeshom . 7 on presc oran .

Addit. Chart. 19,798.

A.D. 1038.

B. iv. 22.

## Lyfing

bp. Worcester, grants two cassati in loco qui ab incolis noto TAPEN HALAN uocitatur appellamine, to his faithful EARCYTEL, for three lives; after which the land with all its stock is to revert to the bishop of Worcester.

Ðis sýnd þa land gemæro into tápen halan . þ is ærest of brada forða east in ða hégrea we . æfter þære hégrea we þ cýmð innan ða éaldan díc . æft þære díc þ to ðam hólان wege . ofer þone weg west riht to þære ealdan díc . æfter þære díc to þære bradan stræt . of þære bradan stræt be þam gráfe innan ða port stræt . æfter stræte innan dillameres díc . of þære díc ende . innan þa wællan . of þære wællan . in þa sándihte stræt . æfter stræte norð on bísceopes scírlett . ofer . b . scírlett in lín áceran wege þá innmæstan . of lín áceran innan ðone hége . æft þam hege on brócc holes weg . of brócc hóles wége innan þone croft . of þá crofte be þá gearde innan léofesunes cróft . of þam crofte . innan sálewearpan . æfter sálewearpan in oter burnan . æfter óter burnan . þ cýmð eft in salewearpan . 7 twégen hagan binnan porte :—Hii sunt testes et consentientes huius donationis :—

✠ Ego lyfingus eþs xþi largitione caracterem saluificaee crucis inpressi :—

✠ Ego ælfweard<sup>9</sup> . eþs . confirmaui .

✠ Ego æþelstanus . eþs . consolidaui .

✠ Ego leofric dux .

✠ Ego æþelwine prb .

✠ Ego ælfstan diác .

✠ Ego wistan prb .

✠ Ego odda miþ .

✠ Ego þurkel cþ .

✠ Ego eadwine miþ .

✠ Ego eatstan . prb .

- |                         |                       |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| ✠ Ego earni .           | ✠ Ego wilstan . prþ . |
| ✠ Ego earnwi cþ .       | ✠ Ego wulstan . prþ . |
| ✠ Ego leofric ministf . | ✠ Ego berhtmær cþ :—  |
| ✠ Ego berhtwine prþ :—  |                       |
| ✠ Ego wulfward prþ :—   |                       |
| ✠ Ego eadwig diacon :—  |                       |

C Y R O G R A P H V M :—

\*\* *Endorsed in contemporary hands, "earkýteles bōc to tapan halan :—" and "Harold senior." B.*

Cott. Aug. ii. 85.

A. D. (?) 1038.

B. iv. 21.

K 759.

T. p. 567.

### Bishop Ælfric

his Will.

✠ HER swytelað on þissū gewrite hu ælfric þ wille his are betéon þe he under gode geérnode 7 under cnute kyncege his leofue laforde 7 siþþan hæfð rihtlice gehealdan under haralde cyncege ; þ is þonne ærest þ ic gean þ land et wilrincga werþa into sçe eadmunde for mira saule 7 for minas lafordas . swa ful 7 swa forð swa he hit me to handa let . 7 ic gean þ land æt hunstanes tune be æstan bróke 7 mid þan lande et holme into sçe eadmunde . 7 ic wille þ þa munecas on byrig sellan syxtig punde for þan lande et tices welle 7 et doccyncege 7 ic gean 7 þ þerto gehéarað . 7 ic gean leofistane dæcane þæt þ mylne land et grimas tune swa ful 7 swa forð swa ic hit ahte . 7 ic gean minę cyne laforde haralde . ii. marc gol . 7 ic gean mire blefdigen an marc gol . 7 gelæste man

ægelrice .iiii. pund mire fat fylre . 7 sela man mina  
 cnihtas þa mina stiwardas witan .xxxx. punda 7 fif  
 pund into elig . 7 fif pund into holm . and fif pund  
 wulfwarde muneke minne mæge . 7 fif pund ælffæh'e'  
 min sæmestre<sup>1</sup> . 7 ic wille þ̅ man sella þ̅ land et wal-  
 singa ham swa man derast mæge . 7 gelesta <sup>a</sup> mid <sup>man</sup> þan <sup>feoh</sup> feo  
 swa ic gewissod hæbbe . 7 ic wille þ̅ man selle þ̅ land  
 et fersa feld swa man derast mæge . 7 recna man iunga<sup>ere</sup>  
 brun an marc gol . 7 mid þan laue scytte man mina  
 borgas . 7 ic gean ælfwine minan preoste et walsinga  
 ham .xxx. akera et egge me'e'ra . 7 uui prouast habba  
 þone ofar æcan . 7 'ic gean' ædwine muneke þa mylne  
 et gæysæte þe ringware ahte . 7 ic gean ælfwig preoste .  
 þ̅ land et ryge dune þe ic bohte to leofwenne . 7 ic  
 gean þ̅ myln þe wulnoð ahte into sçe eadmunde . 7 ic  
 gean sibriht þ̅ land þe ic gebohte on mulan tune . 7  
 ic gean þ̅ fen þe þurlac me sealde into ælm ham þa  
 preostas to foddan; 7 ic gean into hoxne . þa preostas .  
 an þusend werð fen . 7 ic gean þ̅ fen þe ælfric me  
 sealde into holme . 7 ic gean þon hage binnon norð  
 wic for mire saule 7 for ealra þe hit me geuðon into sçe  
 eadmunde . 7 ic gean þan hage into sçe petre binnon  
 lunden . 7 ic gean iungre brun þ̅ healfe þusend fen .

\*\*\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 12th cent.*, 'Ælfricus episcopus  
 Walinguorda . Hunstanestun . Grimestun . 'Westle' . Molendinum  
 Wulnothi . Masuram apud Northwicum.' B.

\*\*\* The scene is in East Anglia, and the bishop is probably one of  
 the two Ælfrics who successively filled the See of Elmham, and of  
 whom only one date is known, namely, 1038, the year in which the first  
 died and the second succeeded. Stubbs, 'Registrum Sacrum Angli-  
 canum,' p. 169. The language has a tinge of the Anglian dialect.

<sup>1</sup> *Originally written sesæmestre.*

Addit. Chart. 19,799.

A.D. 1042.

B. iv. 23.

## Lyfing

bp. Worcester, with permission of King Harthacnut, grants to Ægelric, two hydes of land, with all legal freedom, for three lives.

✠ IN ures drihtnes naman hælendes cristes ic LEOFINC bisceop mid þafunge 7 leafe HEARDACNUTES cýnges 7 þæs arwurþan hiredes æt wigornaceastre ge iunges ge ealdes gebocige sumne dæl landes minan holdan 7 getreowan þegene þam is ÆGELRIC nama . ii. 'hida' æt EADMUNDDDES cōtan hæbbe he 7 wel bruce<sup>1</sup>. for his eadmodre geher-sumnysse 7 for his licwurðan sceatte . þæt is þæt he hit hæbbe 7 well bruce his dæg . 7 æfter his dæge twam erfewardum þan ðe him leofest sý . 7 him betst to geearnian wylle . 7 he hit hæbbe to freon ælces þinges butan wall geweorce 7 bryge geweorce 7 ferd soene . God ælmihtig þone gehealde . þe þas ure sýlena 7 ure gerædnýssa healdan wylle on ælce healfe . gif ænig þonne sý uppahofen 7 inblawen on þa ofer hýða þære geættredan deofles lare . 7 wylle þas ure sýlena gewemman oððe gewonian on ænigum þingum . wite he hine amansumadne mid annaniam 7 saphíram on ece forwýrd . butan he hit her ár wurðlice gebete gode 7 mannum . Ðis wæs gedon þý geare þe wæs agan fram cristes gebýrtide an þusend wintra 7 twa 7 xlii. wintra . Ðis is seo gewitnes . þ is hearþacnut cýng 7 ælfgeofu his modor . 7 LÝFING . þ . 7 eall se hired on wigraceastre . 7 ælfward . þ . 7 se hired on eofeshomme . 7 godwine abbod 7 se hired on wincelcumbe . 7 leofric . eorl . 7 ealle þa þegenas on wigraceastre scire . ge englisce ge denisce .

C Y R O G R A P H V M

*\*\* Endorsed in a contemporary hand, 'To þam .ii. hidan . æt EADMUNDES COTAN.' B.*

<sup>1</sup> wel bruce. A benedictory phrase which is repeated. Compare Beowulf, 1046, 1217, 2163, 2813.

Cott. Aug. ii. 70.

A.D. 1044.

K 773. T. p. 354.

B. iv. 27.

### Ægelric

his agreement with Abp. Eadsige about land at Chart, county Kent.

C Y R O G R A P H V M .

✠ HER swutelað on þisum gewrite embe þa forewýrd þe ægelric worhte wið eadsige arcebisceop æt þam lande æt cert . þe ceolnoð arcebisceop gebohte æt hæleþan þā þegene mid his agenan sceatte . 7 aþelulf cing hit gebocode ceolnoþe arcebisceope on ece ýrfe . þis sýnd þænne þa forewýrd þ ægelric hæbbe þ land æt cert his dæg . 7 æfter his dæge ga þænne þ land þam arcebisceope eadsige on hand . swa gegodod swa heom bam gerisan mage . 7 sýððan heora begra dæg agan si . ægelrices 7 þæs arcebisceopes eadsiges . þænne ga þis foresprecene land into xþes cýricean mid mete 7 mid mannan eal swa hit stande . for ægelrices sawle . 7 for eadsiges arcebisceopes . þam godes þeowan to fostre . 7 to scrude . þe þærinne godes lof dreogan sceolan dæges 7 nihtes . 7 ægelric gifð þa land boc þe þæрто gebýreð on his life criste . 7 þam hired hī to ecere ælmessan . 7 bruce ægelric . 7 esbearn his sunu þara oðra landa heora twegra dæg to þā ilcan forewýrdan þe ægelnoð arcebisceop 7 ægelric ær geworhtan . þ is stuting . 7

melentun . 7 se haga binnan port þe ægelric him sylfan  
 getimbrod hæfde . 7 æfter heora twegra dæge fo se  
 arcebisceop eadsige þærto . gýf he leng libbe þænne hi .  
 oððe loc hwa his æfter genega þænne beo . butan sum  
 heora freonda þa land furþor on þæs arcebisceopes ge-  
 mede ofgan mage . to rihtan gafole . oððe to oþran  
 forewýrdan . swa hit man þænne findan mage wið þone  
 arcebisceop þe þanne libbe . 7 þises is to gewitnesse  
 eadweard cýncg . 7 ælfgyfu seo hlæfdige . 7 ælfwine b .  
 7 stigand b . 7 godwine b : 7 godric decanus . 7 eal se  
 hired æt cristes cýricean . 7 wulfric abbud . 7 eal se  
 hired æt sçe augustine . 7 ælfwine abbud . 7 siweard  
 abbud . 7 wulfnoð abb . 7 godwine eorl . 7 leofric eorl .  
 7 atsur roda . 7 ælfstan steallære . 7 eadmær æt burh-  
 ham . 7 godric æt burnan . 7 ælfwine se reada . 7  
 mænig man þærto eacan ge gehadude ge læwede . bin-  
 nan burgan 7 butan . 7 gif ænig man on uferan dagan  
 gehadud oððe læwede þisne cwýde wille awendan .  
 awende hine god ælmihtig hrædlice of þisan lænan life  
 into helle wite . 7 þær a wunige mid eallan þā deoflan  
 þe seo laðlice wunung betæht is . buton he þe deoppor  
 hit gebete ær his ende . wið crist sylfne 7 wið þone  
 hired . Nu sýnd þissa gewrita þreo . an is innan cristes  
 cýricean . 7 oþer æt sçe augustine . 7 þ þridde hæfð  
 ægelric mid him sylfan .

## C Y R O G R A P H V M .

\*\*\* *Endorsed in hands of the 12th cent.*, 'Eielric big . Tempore  
 eduardi regis et eadsi archiepiscopi de cert . de stuting et meletun .';  
 'Eilric bigge dedit cert et stuting et meletun . tempore eadwardi regis  
 et eadsi archiepiscopi et ecclesie Christi fratribus ad uictum et uesti-  
 tum .'; 'Anglice:' *and in hands of the 13th cent.*, 'xvii'; 'Anno . m<sup>o</sup> .  
 xliiij . scripta .' B .

To this document both K. and T. have added a later transcript or

version, which K. calls 'an English translation made in the 13th century,' and T. calls 'a later copy of the above in the Kentish Dialect.' The manuscript reference is Reg. C. C. Cantuar. C. v. 11. I print from Thorpe.

DONATIO ETHELRIC BIGGE DE MANERIO DE CHERT, STUTING, ET MELETUNE. ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO QUADRAGESIMO QUARTO.

Hyer soutelet on pisen ywrite embe þo uorewarde ðe Eðelrich wrogte wið Edsige archebiscop at ðan londe at Chert ðe Chelnoð archebiscop bogte at Heleðen þan þeyne mid his ogene sheatte. 7 Eðeluf king hit ybokode Ceolnoð archebiscop on eche yruē. Ðis sind þanne þe uorewerde. Ðet Eðelrich habbe ðet land at Chert his dey- and æfter his dage go þet land ðan archebiscop Eadsige an hand. suo ygoded suo hem bam yrisen mage. and siððen hire beyre day agon sy. Eðelrices and ðas archebiscopes Edsiges- þanne go þis uorespekene land into Cristes chereche- mid mete and mid mannen al suo hit stondet- uor Eðelriches saule- and for Edsiges archebiscopes- ðan Godes þeuwen to uostre and to shrude- þe ðerinne Godes lof þrengen shulle dages and nigtes. And Eðelrich geft ðo landboc ðe ðerto yberð on his liue Criste and ðan hirde him to echðes elmesse. And bruke Eðelrich and Esbarn his sune ðare oðre land here tueyre dey to þan yleke uorewerde þe Eðelnoð archebiscop and Eðelric er ywrogtē. Ðat is Stutinge and Meletune. 7 se hage binne port ðe Eðelrich him self ytimbred hauede- and efter hire tueyre dage uo se archebiscop Edsige ðerto- gef he leng libbe þanne hy- oðer hwo his eftergengle ðanne by- bute sum of hyre frende ðet lond furðer on þas archebiscopes ymede ofgon mage to rigten gauelle- oðre to oðre uorewarde suo hit man ðanne uinden mage wið ðane archebiscop ðet þan libbe. And ðisses is to ywitnesse Edward king- and Elfgiue sy leuedi- and Elfwine biscop- and Stigand biscop- and Godwine biscop- 7 Godrich decan- and al se hired at Cristes cherche- and Wolfrið abot- and al se hired at Seynt Austines- [7 manie abbottes and hierles-] 7 manie oðre men yhodede and lewede- binne burg and bute. And gef eny man on ure dagen- yhodet oðer lewed- ðisne quyde wille awende- awende hine God almihti raðlice of ðis [lene] liue into helle wite- and ðer a wonie mid alle ðan deulen ðe se lodliche woninge his bitagt- bute he þe diepper hit ybete er his ende wið Crist selfne- and wið þan hird. Nu send ðis ywrite ðrie. On is at Cristes chereche- oðer at Seynt Austine- and ðat þridde hauet Eðelrich mid him selue.



Cott. Ch. viii. 9.

A.D. 1045.

K781.

B. iv. 31.

## Eadweard

king of the English and of all Albion grants 7 cassati at Melebroc to Ælfwine<sup>1</sup>, bp. Winchester, with all legal immunity. The boundaries and date are as follows.

ISTIS namque terminis? ambitur predicta tellus; Dis  
synd þa landgemæra to mýle broce ærest of hreo[d  
bric]ge on tærstan stream . andlang streames on hnut  
scýllinga mearce . 7 swá andlang mearce on þone holan  
weg . of þan holan wege 7lang mearce on fearninga  
broc . and swá 7lang mearce on mýle broces ford . 7  
swá east andlang [m]earce on þunres leá norðewearðne .  
þānan 7lang weges on cýnges dic . and swá 7lang  
mearce on þone oðerne holan weg . of þam wege on ða  
eá 7 se wer stede be suðan hreod bricege út þurh þone  
stream on þæs cýnges stæð and swa 7lang streames eft  
on hreod bricege 7 se haga on hámtune þe þærto ge-  
býrað . Anno dominicæ incarnationis . mill . quadra-  
gessimo quinto . in[d]ictione .xiii . et nullis epactis  
atq; uno concurrente rotantibus? haec regalis concessio  
atque donatio facta est . sub astipulatione primatum  
quorum nomina hic caraxata sunt.

*Translation* :—These are the bounds at Milbrook. First from Reed-bridge to Tærstan stream, along the stream to the border of the Nutshalling folk, and so along the border to the hollow way, from the hollow way along the border to the brook of the Fearning folk; and so along the border to Milbrook ford, and so east along the border to Thunor's leigh at its north end, thence along the way to king's dyke, and so along the border to the other hollow way, from that way on to the water, (and the weir-stead to the south of Reed-bridge) out through the stream to the king's stathe, and so along the stream back again to Reed-bridge.—And the residence in Hamton that thereto pertaineth.

<sup>1</sup> Codex Wintoniensis fol. 76 b, has this deed with the name of Earl Godwine for bishop Ælfwine. K.

Cott. Aug. ii. 35.

A. D. 1044-1048.

K789.

B. iv. 28.

**Godric æt Burnan**

his declaration; how he became possessed of the land at Offaham.

✠ HÆR swutelað on þisū gewrite hu godric æt burnan begeat þ̅ land at offa ham þ̅ is ðonne þ̅ he sealde eadgýuan his sweostor an marc goldes 7 xiii. þd . 7 lxiii. peñ . on geceapodne ceap to gýfanne 7 to syl-lanne on dæge 7 æfter dæge þam þe him leofust sy . þes ceap wæs geceapod on wii æt foran ealra scýre . þises is to gewitnesse eadsige arceb̅ . 7 siward b̅ . 7 godric decanus . 7 eall se hired æt cristes cýricean . 7 wulfrie abb̅ 7 se hired æt s̅ce augustine . 7 ægelric býgga . 7 þurgar ælfgares sunu . 7 eadric ælfrices sunu . 7 osweard æt hergeardes ham . 7 leofwine preost 7 godric port gerefa . 7 wulfsige þæs cýnges gerefa . 7 manig god mann þarto . Nu sýnd þissa gewrita þreo an is æt cristes cýricean . 7 oþer æt s̅ce augustine . 7 þridde hæfð godric mid him .

C Y R O G R A P H V M :

\*\*\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 12th cent.*, 'Quomodo Godricus emit terram de offeham . anglice.' B.

Addit. Chart. 19,801.

A.D. 1058.

B. iv. 38.

**Ealdred**

bp. Worcester, grants land at Norð tun to Dodda for his life.

C Y R O G R A U U M

✠ ANNO dñice ab incarnatione dñi nři iħu xpi . Millessimo lviii . S̅c̅e uuigornensis aecclesi̅e .

EGO EALDREDUS EFS . cum licentia ac consensu famili̅e

monasterialis quandam ruris particulam <sup>duos</sup> ii. quoq: man-  
sas . et unam p̃ticam . qui a gnotis uocitatur nomine  
NORÐ TUN . quadam meo ministro qui nuncupatur  
Dodda . Cum omnibus ad se rite p̃tinentibus . Campis .  
pascuis . pratis . siluis . liberaliter concedo ut ipse  
habeat et possideat quamdiu uiuat . et post uitam suam  
ad episcopalem sedem . sine contradictione restituatur .  
Sit auť terra ista libera preter pontis arcisue restaura-  
tione . et communi expeditione necnon et aecclesiastice  
census . Dis is ðære twegra hida boc 7 anre gýrde æt  
norð tune 7 ða feower æceras ðærto of ðære styfycunge  
into ðam twam hidan 7 ða mæde . 7 ðone graf ðe þærto  
mid rihte toligeð . 7 ða ðrý æceras mæde on afan  
hamme . þe sçe oswold geaf bercstane into ðam lande .  
7 ðiss sýnd þa land gemæro into ðam grafe . ærost of  
ðære dune andlang þære rode oð hit cýmð beneoðan  
stancnolle þanon on gerihte to cwenn hofoton . of  
cwenn hofoton . be norðon þam mere þanon on gerihte  
eft up on ða dune .

✠ Ego EADUEARD rex anglorum hanc prefatam do-  
nationem concessi .

✠ Ego EALDREDUS ẽps	Donauī .
✠ Ego Ægelwig ab̃b	Ego brihtric miñ .
✠ Ego Godric ab̃b	Ego ægelric miñ
✠ Ego Eadmund ab̃b	Ego godric miñ
✠ Ego wulstan sač	Ego ceolmær miñ
✠ Ego wulfwig sač	Ego atser miñ
✠ Ego wylstan sač	Ego æstan miñ
✠ Ego ælfstan sač	Ego eadric miñ
✠ Ego godric sač	Ego brihtwine miñ
✠ Ego godric diač	Ego norðman miñ
✠ Ego godwine diač	Ego arngeat miñ .

\*.\* *Endorsed in contemporary hands, 'to norð tune'; and 'Ead-wardi iunioris.'* B.

## II. GENUINE RECORDS UNDATED.

MS. Bodl. Auct. D. 2. 16. f. 1.

Codex Exoniensis.

Harl. 258. f. 125.

K 940.

T. p. 428.

### Leofric

the first bishop of Exeter; his benefactions to his new cathedral.

✠ Her swutelað on ðissere xþes bec hwæt Leofric . ð . hæfð ge don inn to Sçe Petres minstre on exan-ceastre . þær his bisceop stol is . þ̅ is þ̅ he hæfð ge innod þ̅ ær ge utod wæs þurh Godes fultū 7 þurh his fore spræce . 7 þurh his gærsuma . þ̅ is ærost þ̅ land æt culmstoke . 7 þ̅ land æt brances cumbe . 7 æt sealt cumbe . 7 þ̅ land æt sçe maria circean . 7 þ̅ land æt stofordtune. 7 æt spearcan wille . 7 þ̅ land æt morces hille . 7 sidefullan hiwisc . 7 þ̅ land æt brihtrices stane . 7 þ̅ land æt toppeshāme þeah þe harold hit mid unlage utnam' . 7 þ̅ land æt stoce . 7 þ̅ land æt syðebirig . 7 þ̅ land æt niwan tune . 7 æt norðtune . 7 þ̅ land æt clist þe wid hæfde.' Ðonne ys þis se eaca on landū þe he hæfð of his agenū þ̅ mýnster mid gegodod . for his hlaforda sawlum 7 for his agenre . þā Godes þeowū to bigleofan þe for heora sawlum

þingian sceolon . ƿ ȳs ærost ƿ land æt bem tune . 7  
 æt est tune . 7 æt ceommenige . 7 ƿ land æt doflisc . 7  
 æt holacumbe . 7 æt sup wuda . 7 he ne funde þa he to  
 þā mýnstre feng nan mare landes þe ðider ȳnn ge wýlde  
 wære . þonne twa hida landes æt ide . 7 þær on næs  
 orf kynnes nan mare buton .vii. hruðeru. Ðonne ȳs  
 þis seo oncnawennis þe he hæfð god mid ge cnawen 7  
 sēm petrum in to þam halgan mýnstre . on circlicū  
 madmum . ƿ is ƿ he hæfð þider ȳnn gedon . ii. . ð  
 roda . 7 .ii. mýcele gebonede roda . butan oðrū 'litlū'  
 silfrenū swur rodū . 7 .ii. mýcele xþes bec ge bonede<sup>1</sup> .  
 7 .iii. ge bonede scrin . 7 .i. ge boned altare . 7 .v. silfrene  
 caliceas . 7 .iiii. corporales . 7 .i. silfren pipe . 7 .v. fulle  
 mæssereaf . 7 .ii. dalmatica . 7 .iii. pistel roccas . 7 .iiii.  
 subd'iacones hand lin . 7 .iii. canter kæppa . 7 .iii. canter  
 stafas . 7 v. pællene weofod sceatas . 7 vii. ðf brædelsas .  
 7 .ii. tæppedu . 7 .iii. berascin' . 7 vii. setl hrægel . 7 iii.  
 ricg rægel . 7 .ii. wahreft . 7 .vi. mæsene sceala . 7 .ii. ge  
 bonede hnæppas . 7 .iiii. hornas . 7 .ii. mýcele ge bonede  
 candel sticcan . 7 .vi. læssan candel sticcan ge bonede .  
 7 .i. silfren stor cýlle mid silfrenū stor sticcan . 7 .viii.  
 læflas . 7 .ii. guðfana . 7 .i. merc . 7 .vi. midreca . 7 .i. fird  
 wæn . 7 .i. cýste . 7 þær næron ær buton .vii. upp hangene  
 bella . 7 nu þær sind . xvi. upp hangene . 7 xii. hand  
 bella . 7 .ii. fulle mæsse bec<sup>2</sup> . 7 .i. collectaneū . 7 .ii.  
 pistel bec . 7 .ii. fulle sang bec . 7 .i. niht sang . 7 .i. ad  
 te leuau . 7 .i. trope . 7 .ii. salteras . 7 se þrida<sup>3</sup> saltere  
 swa man singð on rome . 7 .ii. ȳmneras . 7 .i. deorwýrðe  
 bletsing boc . 7 .iii. oðre . 7 .i. englisc xþes boc .  
 7 ii. sumer ræding bec . 7 .i. winter ræding boc . 7 regula  
 canonicorū . 7 martýrlogium<sup>4</sup> . 7 .i. canon on leden . 7  
 .i. scrift boc on englisc<sup>5</sup> . 7 .i. full spell boc wintres 7  
 sumres<sup>6</sup> . 7 boeties boc on englisc . 7 .i. mýcel englisc

boc be ge hwilcum þingum on leoð wisan ge worht<sup>7</sup> . 7 he ne funde on þam mýnstre þa he to feng boca na ma buton ane capitularie . 7 .i. for ealdodne niht sang . 7 .i. pistel boc . 7 .ii. for ealdode ræding bec swiðe wake . 7 .i. wac mæssereaf .

7 þus fela leden boca he beget inn to þam mýnstre . liber pastoralis . 7 liber dialogorū . 7 libri .iiii. pphetarū . 7 liber boetii de consolatione . 7 isagoge porphirii [de dialectica<sup>8</sup> .] 7 .i. passionalis . 7 liber pspi . 7 liber prudentii psicomachie . 7 liber prudentii ymnorum . 7 liber prudentii de martýrib: 7 lið ezechielis pphetę . 7 cantica canticorum . 7 lið isaie ppñę on sundron . 7 liber isidori ethimologiarum . 7 passiones apłoz . 7 expositio bede sup euuangleiū luce . 7 expositio bede sup apocalipsin . 7 expositio bede super vii. epłas canonicas . 7 lið isidori de nouo & ueteri testaġto . 7 lið isidori de miraculis xpī . 7 lið oserii , 7 lið machabeorū . 7 lið psii . 7 sedulies boc . 7 liber aratoris . 7 diadema monacho . 7 glose statii . 7 lið officialis amalarii .

7 ofer his dæg he ann his capellā þider binnan forð mid him silfū on eallū þam ðingū þe he silf dide mid godes ðeninge . on þ̅ gerad þ̅ þa godes þeowas þe þær binnan beoð æfre his sawle ge munon mid heora ge bedū . 7 mæsse sangum to xpe . 7 to sçe petre . 7 to eallū þam halgū þe þ̅ halige minster is fore ge halgod . þ̅ his sawle beo gode þe an fengre . 7 se þe ðas gýfu 7 þisne unnan wille gode 7 sçe petre æt bredan . si him heofena rice æt broden . 7 si he ecelice ge niðe-rod in to helle wíte.

\*.\* Remarkable not only for the catalogue of estates, but more for the inventory of ritual ornaments and furniture, and most of all for the list of books. There are about sixty books, of which the English half is cata-

logued first; and among these the translation (presumably Alfred's) of Boetius de Consolatione, and the famous volume of Anglo-Saxon poems which to this day remains still unremoved from the sacred place. A memorandum of this sort might be made either before or after the death of the benefactor: it would probably be not at any wide interval on either side of that event, which happened in 1072. Among the Exeter deeds is one by William A.D. 1069 granting to Leofric most of the lands named in this memorandum as Leofric's own benefaction. The text is that of the Oxford Codex, which being a Gospel Book given by Leofric to Exeter probably contains what was considered as the original document. On fol. 6 verso of the MS. is this entry:—

'Hunc textum dedit leofricus eþs eecclę sęi petri aþfi in exonia ad utilitatem successorū suorū. Si quis illum abstulerit . ętne subiaceat maledictioni . fiat . fiat . fiat.'

'Ðas cristes boc gef leofric ƿ sęo petro . 7 eallum his æftergengum into exancestre gode mid to þenienne . 7 gif hig ænig man utabrede . hæbbe he godes curs . 7 wræððe ealra halgena.'

From Mr. Thorpe's preface to his edition of the Codex Exoniensis it appears that there is a triplicate of this document in another Leofric MS. preserved at C.C.C., Cambridge.

<sup>1</sup> The very book from which this document is now printed is not impossibly one of these 'mickle Gospel Books.'

<sup>2</sup> .II. fulle mæsse bec.] One of these may be the well-known Leofric Missal, now Bodl. 579, from which some Manumissions are given below.

<sup>3</sup> þriddan MSS.

<sup>4</sup> martyrlogium.] [?] now at C.C.C., Cambridge; *vide* Nasmith's Catalogue of the Parker MSS., No. 196.

<sup>5</sup> scrift boc on englisc.] Proved by the inscription to be No. 190 of the same catalogue. The same number contains 'capitula de canonibus,' which may be the preceding 'canon on leden.' Though this may also be No. 191, Canones Lat<sup>e</sup> et Sax<sup>e</sup> olim Exon. eccl. peculium.

<sup>6</sup> .i. full spell boc wintres and sumres.] Wanley, p. 240<sup>b</sup>, identified this with the Martyrologium, No. 196 in Nasmith's Catalogue. But it seems more natural to identify the latter with the 'Martyrologium' of Leofric's list; and to understand this 'spell boc' (with Thorpe) as a yearly cycle of Homilies.

<sup>7</sup> The book which is known as the Codex Exoniensis.

<sup>8</sup> These words are in the Cod. Exon. in a somewhat later hand; but not in the Oxford Codex, which presents an erasure that has been left blank.

MS. Bodl. 579 (collated).

Fol. 1 a.

### Entries

in the Leofric Missal, in the Bodleian Library. In Mr. Warren's complete edition of this Missal (1883) these texts are given with translations.

Hunc missalem LEOFRICUS eþs dat ęcclę scē petri  
apli in exonia ad utilitatem successorū suorū. Siquis  
illū inde abstulerit . ętne subiaceat maledictioni .  
FIAT . FIAT. Confirma hoc dš qđ opatus es in nob'.

Đas boc leofric bisceop gef scō petro . 7 eallū his  
æftergengum into exancestre . gode mid to þenienne .  
7 gif 'hig' ænig man ut abrede . hæbbe he godes curs  
and wræððe ealra halgena.

(5) Halwun hocce on excestre freode hægelfæde hire  
wīman þi hy bocte 7 tilde for hire sawuale . crist 7 scē  
peter 7 ialle cristes halga hī wurðe wræð þe hi hæfre ge  
þywie . aṁ<sup>1</sup>.

(4) Her kyð on þisse bec þ æilgyuu gode alysyde hig 7  
dunna 7 heora ofspring . æt mangode to .XIII. mancson .  
7 æignulf port gerefa . and Godric gupa namon þ toll .  
on manlefes gewitnisse . 7 on leowerdes healta . 7 on  
leowines his broðor . 7 on ælfrices map happes . 7 on  
sweignis scyldwirhta . 7 hæbbe he godes curs . þe þis  
æfre un do . ā on ecnyse . Amen .

Fol. 1 b.

(1) Her kyð on ðyssere bec þ godwine blaca bohte  
hine sylfne 7 his wyf 7 his ofspring æt willēlme hosethe  
mid .xv. sciſt . on edmæres ġwittniš þ . 7 on ælwies 7  
on dunnings 7 on sāmæres 7 on ælmæres 7 on ealles  
þæs hundredes on cuic lande . 7 ælfric hasl nā þæt toll  
for þæs kynges hand 7 hæbbe he godes curs þe hit æfre  
un do . aṁ .



(3) Her kyð on ðysse bec þ̅ edwy beorneges sunu lysde hyne and his wif and his cyld on edwerdes dæge cynges æt hunewine hega suna ut of toppeshañ lande . akynstanes ge wittnisse p̅r: and a leofsuna ge wittnisse a wunforda 7 an ælfrices hwita 7 on wycinges batswegenes 7 on sæwines lufa sunu 7 on leofsies 7 on ælsies .

(2) Her kyð on þissere bec þ̅ ediuuu sæugeles laf bohte gladu æt colewine wyð healfe punde to cepe 7 to tolle . 7 ælword port ge refa nã þ̅ toll . 7 þær to was ge witniss leowine leowordes broðor 7 ælwi blaca 7 ælwine se cyng 7 land byriht 7 Alca . 7 Sæwerd . 7 hæbbe he godes curs þe þis æfre un do on ecnisse . Añ.

<sup>1</sup> This Entry has been slipped in at a comparatively late time between the benefactor's Title, and the Entry which had taken possession of the foot of the Title-page. It occupies this place simply because it was the only remaining blank. The following Entry, that which occupies the foot of Title-page, came to be there by a similar necessity. For not until the back of the leaf was full did any one intrude private business on the page of the benefactor. Both the private Entries on fol. 1 a are later than all those on fol. 1 b. And further, if we examine the three on fol. 1 b, we quickly see the order in which they have been entered. The first spot taken up was the top of fol. 1 b, the next was the foot of the same page: the third took the space between the former two. When fol. 1 b was full, then the foot of fol. 1 a was occupied, and last of all that which now stands first and crowds up close to Leofric's sanction. I have indicated the order by figures.

#### Fol. 8 a.

. . . freode huna æt ocmund tune on mides sumeres messe æuen for þon . . . 7 for þa . . . on feower wegas on brunes gewitnesse 'messe' preostes 7 on ealra þara preosta.

✠ birhtric freode hroda æt curi tune on sunnã dæge ofer pentecostenes messe daig on . . . þ̅ . . . . . preosta . . . . . ealra þara hyred preosta 7 on . . . þ̅

## Fol. 8 b.

The contents of this remarkable page were long overlooked ; and these Manumissions have never yet been included in any collection. The oversight was discovered by James B. Davidson, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, and these entries were first printed by him in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association (1876), vol. viii. p. 417.

✠ þys sint þara manna naman ðe man freode for ord'gar<sup>1</sup> æt bradan stane ða he læg on adle. þ̅ ys cynsie fram liwtune 7 godcild of lamburnan 7 leofric of swuran tune dola wines sunu' 7 eadsige of cyric forða 7 ælfgyþ of bōc lande 7 smala of ocmund tune 7 wifman of brada stane 7 byrhflæd of tref meu tune 7 ælflæd of clymes tune on wynstanes gewytynsse mæsse preostæs 7 on wulfsies æt lamburnan 7 on eallra þara hired preosta . 7 ælfgyð of swuran tune 7 þær his to gewitnysse cynsie þ̅ . 7 goda þ̅ . 7 ælfric . þ̅ . ðe þis ge wryt wrat . þis was æt borslea gedon for ordgar

✠ eadgifu gefreode ælfgiðe birhsies dohtor hlaf bryttan æt borslea on feower wegas . on wynstanes gewitnesse mæsse þ̅ . 7 on goda . þ̅ . 7 on cynstanes goda suna . 7 on afan . birhtric gefreode æffan æt curritune on brunes gewitnesse mæsse þ̅ . 7 on wynstanes þ̅ . 7 on ealra þæra hyred þ̅ . ✠ eadgyfu gefreode leofrune æt curritune for ordgar on brunes gewitnesse messe preostes 7 on ealra þæra hyred preosta . ✠ byrhtric gefreode ribrost 7 hwite on middes wintres mæsse dæg æt tiwarhel on prudes gewitnysse mæsse preost. ✠ eadgyfu gefreode wulfrie on feower wegas þrim ucan ær middansumera . on gewitnesse byrhstanes mæsse preostes . 7 on cynstanes 7 on clericces þe þis gewrat.

✠ eadgyfu gefreode wulfwunne on middes sumeres

mæsse dæg on wulfnoþes ge witnysse mæsse preostes 7 on ealra þæra hired preosta.

✠ eadgyfu gefreode æþelgyfe wuncildes wif on feower wegas on middes sumeres mæsse æfen æt bræg . on brunes gewittnisse mæsse ƿ . 7 on wulfnoðes mæsse ƿ . 7 on eallra þæra hyred preosta.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Davidson suggested that this Ordgar may have been the famous ealdorman of Devon, who died in 971. He lived at Tavistock; and the places here mentioned are near that place. Mr. Warren completed Mr. Davidson's idea with the suggestion that perhaps Eadgifu was the wife of Ordgar. This would assign the contents of fol. 8 b to the tenth century. Any hesitation on this point may be relieved by noting that this page is not (as our other Leofric pieces are) first-hand. The last two entries may possibly be original; but all the upper part of the page looks like a continuous transcript or register made from older records.

#### Fol. 11 b.

Ðis synt þa men þe synt anburge betwinon eadgyfe abbedysse 7 leofrice abbode æt þā lande . æt sto'c'tune wulfsige edwig . 7 cytel . 7 denisc . 7 godwine . 7 hunwine . 7 sweta . 7 edwig boga . 7 brun ƿ . ƿ se abbod . hit hæbbe his dæg 7 æf̃ his dæg into mynstre.

#### Fol. 377 b.

Her cyð on þisse bec ƿ brihtmær æt holacumbe hæfð geboht hine 7 ælgifu his wif 7 hira cild . 7 hira ofspring æt rocgere derindig to twā pundū æfre to freolse . on dudemannes gewittnisse preostes on exan cestre 7 on leofwines ƿ̃ on hwita stane 7 on ælgæres portgerefa 7 ælfwærdes portgerefa þe ƿ toll namon for þæs cynges hand 7 leofwærdes his broðor 7 edwines leofede suna 7 oteres dyrlinges suna . 7 ælgæres ælfrices suna . 7 blakemanes 7 leofrices sæwines suna 7 dunstanes sæwines suna . 7 randolfes . 7 alboldes . 7 smewines on holacumbe . 7 ægilwærdes ælfsies suna . 7 ælfmær cynges

sunu . 7 ælfsiges mid þā berde 7 edwine leofrices sunu 7  
 edwine edmæres sunu . 7 edric on hrēna hricge 7 on  
 ealles þæs hundrides gewitnisse on holacumbe . 7 hæbbe  
 he cristes curs 7 sça marian 7 sçs petr' þe þis æfre undo .  
 7 on ealles þæs hundrides gewitnisse on exan cestre.

### Codex Exoniensis.

### Quittances and Manumissions

from the Exeter Book (collated). These are not in Kemble.  
 They are in Thorpe, but dispersed. Here they are given in the  
 order of the manuscript, with subjoined references to Thorpe.

#### Fol. 4 a.

Her kyð on þissere becc þ Rotberd apoldraham cwæð  
 saccles Willelm his broðer sune of poldraham lande 7 of  
 elcre craurigge . Ðar to is iwitnis Reinald preost . 7  
 Dunnig . 7 Dalfin . 7 Seuara . 7 Sewi . 7 Girard . 7  
 merescald      a cuic      wig      sculdur      gealdulesc  
 Willelm . 7 Ricard . 7 Wulfrice . 7 Rau . 7 Ricard . 7  
                          inna busc      se webba      se webba  
 Herberd . 7 Segar . 7 Alger . 7 Alger . 7 Willelm .  
 se stiwerd      wianard      swetleðer  
 Rogere . 7 Rotberd . 7 Ricard osanna f' . 7 Semer . 7  
 uppa cote      edwies meg  
 Iohel . 7 Ascetill . 7 Rotberd . Se ðe þiss eure un dō .  
 hadde he Godes curs . 7 sça Maria . 7 ealle Cristes ge  
 corena . ā butan ende . Amen. (T. p. 645.)

Her kyð on þissere boc þ Oter 7 his cild cwede  
 saccles Aluric þane Reda 7 his ofspring. 7 þar to is  
 iwitnis Alword þs. . 7 Alured þ. . 7 Waltere se cañ. . 7  
 Theodbald . 7 Semer Cipspones sune . 7 Waltere se  
 Flemig<sup>1</sup> . 7 Gesfrei Hoel . 7 Randolf se cordewañ . 7  
 Alwine Modi . 7 Alwi Kya . and Alger Oxawamb . 7

Ailwerd . 7 Iordan . 7 Martin . 7 Osbern Hauoc . 7  
 Willemot Quikeuot. 7 Ricard se Flemig nam feor  
 penegas to tolle. Se þe þiss mare undō . habbe he  
 Godes curs . 7 Sċa Maria . and ealle Cristes gecorena .  
 ā butan ende. Amen. (T. p. 646.)

Her kið on þissere becc þ̅ Gesfrei Foliot cweð saccles  
 Semer Aluredes mæg 7 eall his ofsprig<sup>1</sup>. 7 þar to ys  
 iwitnis Ricard se portreua . 7 Rau Theodb̅ . 7 Waltere .  
 7 <sup>pafard</sup>Willelm . 7 <sup>spalla</sup>Willelm . 7 <sup>sadelhack</sup>Ailwerd . 7 Seuara . 7 Edmer  
 Burwolles f' . Seðe þis un do . habbe he Godes curs . 7  
 sċe Marie . 7 ealle Cristes halgena . ā butan ende .  
 Amen. (T. p. 648.)

Her kyð on þissere becc þ̅ Aðelice Ricardes swuster  
 scirreua cwæð Hrodolf Sewies sune an Alfintune saccles  
 of elcre crauigge<sup>1</sup>. Dar to is iwitnis Ricard se portreua .  
 7 Willelm Lamb̅ . Dunnig . Eorlawine. Reiner .  
 Aluric Spoe . Rotberd Puddig . Wiggere . Dalfin . Got-  
 selin gorpittel . Leggefot . Iohan . Osbern Ceaca .  
 Rotbern Sceanca . Brihtric . Ailword Algar f' . Ricard  
 Trencard . Iordan se pr̅b̅ . Ricard . 7 eall þ̅ hundred of  
 Alfint̅ . Se þe þis un dō . habbe he Godes curs . 7 Sċe  
 Marie . 7 ealle Cristes halgena . ā butan ende. Amen.  
 (T. p. 645.)

<sup>1</sup> ig=ing occurs repeatedly in these entries.

#### Fol. 4 b.

Her kyð on þissere bēc þ̅ Waltere Wulwordes sune  
 ureode Aþeluue inna Sċes Petres minstre ouer his fæder  
 lic . his feder saule to alisednisse 7 his . on Viuienes ge  
 witnisse . 7 mestre Odo . 7 mestre Leowines . 7 God-

wines þ. 7 Edwakeres . 7 his sune . 7 azealra þara hade-  
da 7 leweda þe þar igge were. 7 se þe þiss un do habbe  
he Godes curs 7 þere hlefdia Sçe Marie . 7 Sçes Petres  
7 zealle Cristes halga . a butan ende. Amen. (T. p.  
632.)

Her kyð on pissere bec þ Gesfræg Feala sune gebohte  
Gidiþ Edwiges docter at Alpsta on Wunforda . 7 at  
Neæle Pynceune . to x. sciſt. freoh 7 sacles . ut of Wun-  
forda . 7 Gyldeberd portgerefa nam þ toll far þas kinges  
hañd. 7 ðys ys seo gewitnisse Gedmær on Cuike . 7  
Sæger þ. on Hefatriwe . 7 Randolf de Håge . 7 Roggere  
on Pýnnoc . 7 Morin at Gestgete . Riceard Alpstanes  
sune . 7 Wlfword hys broðer . Godwine Leowines sune  
7 Goda his broðer . 7 Geda . 7 Sægær . Riceard Kyke-  
beauw . 7 Edmær Norðman sun. 7 se þe þiss ún dó .  
hæbbe he Godes curs . 7 Sça Maria . 7 Sçs Petres . 7  
ealle Xþes halgena á butan ende. Amen. (T. p. 631.)

Her kyþ on pissere bec þ Huberd on Clist cræfede  
anne wifman þe Edit hatte Liuegeres wif mid un rihte .  
for þam Liueger hig alisde ut at Gosfreige bisceope  
ealswa man sceolde freohne wifman . 7 ealswa hit hriht  
wæs on þam dagum ælcne freohne man . wiþ xxx. þ. 7  
Huberd wæs leosende þære wifmanne for his unriht  
cræfinge þá 7 æfre mó . hig 7 eal hire of spring. 7 þær  
to is gewitnis Willm de Buhuz . 7 Ruold se cniht . 7  
Osbern Fadera . 7 Unfreig de Tettaborna . 7 Alword  
portgereua . 7 Iohan se cniht . 7 Rau Folcard. 7 þeos  
spæc wæs innan Wiltmes bure de Buhuz on Excestre ge  
spæce. (T. p. 633.)

Her kyð on pissere bec þ Willelm de la Brugere cwæð  
saccles Wulwærd ðane webba . inna tune and út of tune



bisceop of þa 3ealla minstre inna þ̅ niwe . 7 hine freode  
 for Godes luue . 7 S̅c̅e Mariæ . 7 ealle Cristes halgena .  
 7 for þara bisceopa saule . 7 for his saule to alisednesse.  
 Ðar to is iwitniss . Algar se bisceop of Constance<sup>2</sup> . 7 se prior  
 of Plimtune . 7 se prior of Tantune . 7 se prior of S̅c̅es  
 Nichol' minster . 7 se prior of S̅c̅es Andreas . 7 Leowine se  
 canon . 7 Waltere þ̅ . 7 Willelm þ̅ . 7 Rodberd se Blund .  
 7 Aluric þ̅ . 7 Osbern se kapeł . Wiłm 7 Osbern . Wiłm 7  
 Barthōl . Odo . 7 Hugo<sup>on</sup> . 7 Hugo<sup>oc</sup> . Wiłm Edw' s' . Alger  
 Liff̅ s' . 7 Iordan his s' . Randolf 7 Rau<sup>mahtille s'</sup> . Waltere . Os-<sup>dan</sup>  
 hauoc<sup>selewies s'</sup> bern . Ascetil buta port . Seuara . Dunnig . Rau<sup>jalewa s'</sup> . Theod̅h<sup>Theod̅h</sup> .  
 Teodbald . Wiłm . 7 fela oðra þe ma nemna ne meg .  
 Se þe þis efre un do . habbe he Godes curs . 7 S̅c̅a Maria .  
 7 ealle Cristes gecorena . ā butan ende . Amen . (T.  
 p. 646.)

<sup>1</sup> William Warelwast, Bp. 1107-1136.

<sup>2</sup> Algarus, Bp. of Coutances 1132-1150, Gams, Series Episcoporum, p. 542. Freeman, Norm. Conq., vol. v. p. 362, points out that he was probably an Englishman (Ælfgar): a supposition which is strengthened by this occurrence of his name in an English document.

### Fol. 6 a.

Her cyð on pissere bec þ̅ Bruning Cola sunu gebohte  
 Roting æt Colewyne 7 æt Leofa . freoh 7 sacleas ut of  
 Sceft beara . on Særla ge wytnisse þæs portgereua . 7 on  
 Huberdes . 7 on Ælwerdes . 7 on Ælgares Paiardes . 7  
 on Wyllelmes his suna . 7 on Godwynes Colwynes suna .  
 7 on Esbernes Ælwerdes suna . 7 hebbe he Godes curs  
 þe þis æfre undo . Amen . (T. p. 635.)

Her kyð on pissere bec þ̅ Teolling gebohte Ælword



Stamera 7 Edwine his broðor æt Coluwine to vii. mancson to cepe 7 to tolle . 7 Ælword port ge refa nam þ̅ toll. 7 her to is ge witnesse . Uiðel æt Culumtune . 7 Sæwulf . 7 Uitula . 7 Eadmund þ̅ . 7 Snelling Tullinges sunu . 7 Leowine Leowerdes broðor . 7 Ælfgar Helle bula. 7 hæbbe he Godes curs þe þis æfre un do á on ecnisse. Amen. (T. p. 633.)

Her kyð on þissere bec þ̅ Leowine Lundenisca 7 Ialdgið his wif gebohton Ælfilde æt Touie to feower 7 sixtuge penegon . 7 Ælfric Hals nam þ̅ toll innan Touies bure for þæs kynges hand. 7 her to is ge witnesse Roðsalin þ̅ . 7 Ailword diacon . 7 Alwine deacon . 7 Dunstan Peoning. (T. p. 635.)

Her kyð on þissere bec þ̅ Wulward bohte Leouede æt Hierdinge Eadnoðes sune wið v. scilt. to cepe 7 to tolle . 7 þ̅ toll nam Garwise gerefa to Toppes hamme . on Smecwines ge witnesse preostes . 7 on Alwines þ̅r . 7 on Ailwordes æt Oteri . 7 on Dunninges Tailiferes<sup>1</sup> . 7 on Ailwordes Luunges sunu . 7 on Dunewines . 7 on Godwines æt Hina tune . 7 on Hierdinges . 7 on Brihtmares Alfgares suna. 7 se þe þiss un do habbe he Godes curs a butan ende. Amen. (T. p. 648.)

Her kið on þissere bec þ̅ Regenere bohte Alfriðe at Regenolde þam muneke at Cuicu wið v. scilt. freoh 7 sacles uppan Cuiclande to beonde on fridome . on Edmæres gewitnesse þ̅ . 7 on Edwines þas gereua . 7 on Rodberdes . 7 on Agelrices at Stanlince . 7 on ealles þas hundredes on Cuicu. 7 Alfric Hals nam þ̅ toll. 7 habbe Godes curs þe hit æfre un do. Amen. (T. p. 637.)

Her kið on þissere bec þ̅ Sewine Pinca bohte hine

silfne to x. scið. at Willelme . on Edmæres gewitnisse  
 p̃f. . 7 on Edwines . 7 on Tailiferes<sup>1</sup> . 7 on Rodð. . 7 on  
 ealles þas hundredes on Cuicu. 7 Alfric Hals nam þ  
 toll. 7 habbe he Godes curs þe hit æfre un do. Amen.  
 (T. p. 632.)

Her cyð on þisse bec þa Osbern ð. halgode Sça Maria  
 portic . þa freode Folcard þær Agelwine his man 7 his of  
 spring . Criste to lofe 7 Sça Maria . 7 his sawle alised-  
 nisse . 7 let him ceosa hlaford loc hwær hig wolde. 7  
 hæbbe he Godes curs 7 ealra halgena þe þis æfre un do.  
 Amen. (T. p. 634.)

Her kið on þissere béc þ Liueger se bacestere on  
 Excestre alyside an wifman Edip hatte . Godrices dohter  
 Cocraca ut of Clist lande at Gosfreige bisceope . to xxx.  
 þ. æfre mā freoh 7 saccles . heo 7 eal hire ofspring. 7  
 Gesfreig bisceop wæs hlaferd ofer Clist land on þam  
 dagum. 7 þarto is gewitnis Colswain . 7 Roger on  
 Buin . 7 Hereberd on Clist . 7 Edric se cipa. 7 se þe  
 þis un do hæbbe he Godes wræðe a butan ende. Amen.  
 (T. p. 637.)

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Conqueror's warlike minstrel who sang a song of Roland at Senlac.

#### Fol. 6 b.

Her cyð on þissere bec þ Huscarl lisde hine silfne  
 wið Ealuwb . . . mid xL. þ. on Godwines gewitnesse þ.  
 7 on Alwordis portirefa . 7 on Ealdrides his suna . 7 on  
 Osð. 7 on Walteres his broðra . 7 on Sæmæris . 7 God-  
 wine þ. 7 Swegn. 7 Wulfet namon þ toll for þas cinges  
 hand . 7 for Særles þe þa was portigerefa. Godes curs  
 he habbe þe hit æfre un do. Amen. (T. p. 635.)

Her cyð on þissere bec þ̅ Leowine Feala sunu bohte hine silfne 7 his ofspring æt Wulfworde Alfrices sunu at Iacobes cyrca to healfe punde . on Willelmes gewitnesse preostes . 7 on Godwines p̅r . 7 on Arnoldes p̅r . 7 on Edwines p̅r . 7 on Bartholomeus Floheres suna . on Floheres . 7 on Algares Pagardes . 7 on Cona . 7 Algares Leoflæde suna . 7 Haim . 7 Oter Dirlinges sunu . Edwacer . Agelword Ofstanes sunu . Osber . Alwordes sunu . Alfsta on Wunforda . Edwi . Nobol . Ocing . Agelword Pudding diac . 7 on ealles þa[s hun]dredes on Excestre . to ceo-sende him hlaford 7 his ofspring swa hwær swa hig woldon . 7 Alword portgerefa 7 Alwine Dirlinges apum fangon to þam tolle for þæs cynges hand . 7 habbe he Godes curs 7 ealra halgena þe þis æfre undo. (T. p. 636.)

Her cyð on þissere bec þ̅ Edip Leofrices docter Locces bohte hi silue 7 hire ofspring at Hul . . . . to III. 7 XX. þ̅ . on Willelmes gewitnisse stiwerdes . 7 on Agilwerdes Wudinges . 7 on Edmeres preostes . 7 on Edwies Hreawa suñ . 7 on Huscarles . 7 on Algeres þ̅r . . cge Godwines preost̅ . 7 on Leowines Lundeniscea . 7 habbe he Godes curs 7 ealra halgena þe hit æfre undo. (T. p. 636.)

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Cod. Exon. 7 a.

T. p. 808.

### Gilds

at Woodbury and other places ; associated with the Canons of Exeter.

On Cristes naman . 7 S̅cs Petrus apostolus . an gild-scipe is gegaderod on Wudeburg lande . 7 se þ̅. Osbern<sup>1</sup> 7 þa canonicas innan S̅cs Petrus minstre on Excestre habað underfangen þone ilcan geferscipe on broðorræ-

denne gemænelice forð mid oðrum gebroðrum. Nu doð hig æt ælcum heorðe to gecnawnisse þam canonicon anne penig to Eastron ælce geare . 7 ealswa æt ælcum forðfarenum gildan æt ælcum heorðe ænne penig to sawul sceote . se hit bonda se hit wif . þe on þam gildscipe sindon . 7 þat sawul gesceot sceulon þa canonicas habban . 7 swilce þenisce don for hig swilce hig agon to done . 7 þis sindon heora nama þe beoð on þam gildscipe. Brihtwi . Wilnoð . Ealdwine . Leofric . Brihtmær . Alfric . Eadmær . Edwine . Algar . Edwi . Wlword . Alword . Edwine . Godwi . Osgod . Aðeleoue . Brihtmær . Godric.

On Wudeburge lande is eac an oðer gildscipe gegaðerod Criste 7 Sçe Petre . 7 hig doð to Martinus mæssan of ælcum heorðe anne penig into Sçs Petrus minstre þam canonicon . and ælc sawul gesceot ealswa . æt ælcum heorðe anne penig. And þis sind þæra manna nama . Kytel . Deoderic . &c.<sup>2</sup>

Of Clistunes gildscipe Isaac þ. . Almær . Godwine . &c.

Of Colatunes gildscipe . Orðric þ. . Almer . Ailwine . &c.

Of Alwines gildscipe on Wudebirig . Alstan . Leawine . Ailwine . &c.

Of Bridafordes gildscipe . Edwine . Wlfric . Sæwine . &c.

Of Clistwike . Waltere þ. . Eadmær . Leowine . &c.

Of þam gildscipe on Lege . Ailwi þ. . Tyrri þ. . Wifm . &c.

Of Hnutwille . Godric . Alwine . Edwine . &c.

Of Colatune . Alwine Treddasunu . Godric . Ailric . &c.

Of Sidemuða . Algar . Ailric . Wlwine . &c.

Of Halsforda . Ilberd þ. . Edwine . Alwine . &c.

Of Hwita stane . Edzi . Godric . Edwine . &c.

Of Examuða . Godgið . Esgar . Edrid . &c.

<sup>1</sup> Osbern, bp. Exon 1072-1103, was the successor of Leofric.

<sup>2</sup> Here follow more names ; and so also in the other groups.

Dean and Chapter, Exeter.

S. ii. Exon. 15.

### Boundary

on Dartmoor. Not in Wanley's list. Published first by Mr. Davidson, in 1876 in the Transactions of the Devon Association, viii. 396; and again in 1883 in the Journal of the Archæological Association, xxxix. 301: quoted below.

Þis is peading tunes landscaro þær æscburne ut scyt .  
 on dertan stream oð wede burne ut scyt . up an wede  
 burnan oþ wiðimor . of wiði more on cealfa dune midde  
 wearde of cealfa dune o[ð] sufonstanas . of sufonstanū on  
 hyfan treow . of hyfan treowe on hord burh . of hord-  
 byrg on deor ford . of deor forda on langa stan . of langa  
 stane on eofede tor . of eofede torre on hean dune fore  
 wearde . of hean dune on þone blindan wille . of ðam  
 wille on writelan stan . of þā stane on ruwa beorh . of  
 ruwan beorge on fyrs penn . of fyrs penne on wyrt cumes  
 heafod . of wyrtcumes heafde on rammeshorn . of rammes  
 horne on lulca stile . of lulca stile on wice cumes heafod .  
 on lymen stream oþ wogga will lacu ut scyt . on þa lace  
 oð wogga willes hafod . of wogga willes heafde on þone  
 weg oð þa gretan dic of þære dic on þone wille on þæs  
 mores heafod . on þa lace to þære sweliende . of ðære  
 sweliende on yederes<sup>1</sup> beorh . of yederes beorge on  
 stan dun<sup>2</sup> [niðe] wearde oþ þa gretan linde . of þære  
 linde on dyra snæd midde wear[d]ne . of dyra snæde on

hwita ford . of hwita forda on fulan ford . of fulan forda  
 on hildes ford . of hildes forda on hildes lege norðewearde  
 oþ sole get . of sole gete to brynes cnolle suče weardū on  
 puneces wurði . of puneces wurþige on hremnes cumes  
 heafod . of hremnes cumbe on þa riðe oð æscburnan .  
 þanon on stream to dertan.

\*.\* Mr. Davidson's local knowledge, and his affection for his native county, add weight to his comments. He says: "The Ashburn is a rivulet falling into the river Dart, just opposite to Buckfastleigh church. On it, about two miles above the outfall, was founded at the original settlement of Saxons in the county, a 'tun' or town, in conformity with universal Devonshire practice, where every river has its 'tun.' The name of this town, Ashburntun, became Ashburton. The boundary begins at the point where the Ashburn falls into the Dart, and follows that river upwards, to the infall of the Withiburn brook, now called the East Webber. This it follows upwards to a manor called Dunstone, in the parish of Withicomb-in-the-Moor, thence to Hamilton's Down, and so to Langston in Manaton parish, thence to Lustleigh Cleave; and so by Ramshorn Down and the Ogwell river, back to the Ashburn rivulet. The area comprised is about ten miles long from south to north, and about six from west to east, having Heytor Rock and Rippon Tor in its centre. The parishes included are, Ashburton, Buckland-in-the-Moor, and the whole or parts of Withicomb-in-the-Moor, Manaton, Lustleigh, Bovey Tracy, Ilington, Bickington, West Ogwell, Woodland, and Staverton."

Mr. Davidson takes "Padington" as a man's name, in which I am not able to follow him: yet I will not withhold the remarkable information which he gives in connection with this.

"John Padyngton was the name of the steward, in about 1310, of Bishop Stapledon, a great benefactor to Ashburton, then part of the possessions of the see. Padyngton was, indeed, slain by his master's side, when Stapledon was murdered in Cheapside on the 15th of October, 1326. It may possibly be that this John Padyngton was a descendant of Padington of the boundary. The document itself, one supposes, must be centuries older than 1310; nor did this tract of land, or anything like it, belong to the Bishop of Exeter at any date after the Conquest. In 1086 (*Domesday* does not state who held the lands T. R. E.), the only parts of this area belonging to the see were Ashburton and Staverton. It is possible that at some date prior to the Conquest, this area belonged to Exeter; but this could not have been the case at King Eadward's death, and there is no proof of the fact known to the writer; and no evidence, beyond the existence of an ancient boundary stone in a lane in Lustleigh parish, standing on this

actual boundary, which is traditionally stated to have had carved upon it the arms of the see of Exeter. As bishops, before the Conquest, certainly did not bear arms in the modern sense, it is clear that the tradition does not preserve a literal fact. It serves only to show *some* connection between the stone and the bishops of Exeter."

<sup>1</sup> *yeðeres S.*

<sup>2</sup> *stan dun [niðe].* Mr. Davidson's reading of a much defaced part, which Mr. Sanders leaves almost blank.

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C. C. C. Cantab. 111.

K 933-937.

T. p. 640.

### Entries

now in a Register of Bath Abbey. Obviously this is not their original place, and Wanley (p. 149) thought the leaf had been taken from the Gospel Book to be mentioned next.

(1) ✠ Her swutelað on þisse cristes bec ꝥ leofenoð ægelnoðes sunu æt korstune hæfð geboht hine 7 his ofspring út æt ælsige abb.<sup>1</sup> 7 æt eallon hirede on baðon . mid fif oran 7 mid .xii. heafdon sceapa. on kascilles<sup>2</sup> ge-witnesse portgeréfan 7 on ealre þære burhware on baðon. crist hine ahlende þe þis æfre awende.

(2) ✠ Her swutelað on þisse cristes bec ꝥ ægelsige æt linncúme hæfð geboht wilsige his sunu ut æt ælsige abb. on baðon 7 æt eallon hirede . to écean fréote.

(3) ✠ Her swutelað on þisse cristes bec ꝥ ægelsige byttices sunu hæfð geboht hildesige his sunu út æt ælsige abb. on baðon 7 æt eallon hirede mid syxtigon penegon to écean fréote.

(4) ✠ Her swutelað on þisse cristes bec ꝥ godwig se bucca hæfð geboht leofgife þa dægean æt norðstoke 7 hyre ofspring mid healfan punde æt ælsige abbod to ecan freote on ealles þæs hires gewitnesse on baðon. crist hine ahlende ðe þis æfre awende.

(5) ✠ Her swutelað on þisse cristes bec þ ælsige abb. hæfð gefreod godwine bace æt stantune . for hine 7 for ealne þone hired on baðan . on sæmannes gewitnesse 7 wulwiges æt prisctune . 7 ælfrices cermes.

\*.\* Professor Skeat writes that this leaf, now in MS. 111, has undoubtedly been removed from MS. 140. It was the outside leaf of MS. 140; and that which is now the first leaf in this book was once the second.

<sup>1</sup> Ælfsige (abbot) died 1087. Dugdale, Monasticon ii. 257 (ed. 1846).

<sup>2</sup> Hascilles T.

C. C. C. Cambridge 140.

K 1351.

### Entries

in the Benet manuscript of the Saxon Gospels, the book to which also belonged the five previous entries. The two sets of entries are united by a community of place and of persons. The place is the Abbey of Bath, and the chief persons are abbots, or bishop, or prior. The entries are here ranged in the order of the manuscript, but this is not necessarily the order of time; and the figures to each entry are an attempt (provisionally) to indicate the relative dates of the transactions.

(6) ✠ Her swutelað on ðissere cristes bec þ ælfwig se red hæfð geboht hine sylfne út æt ælfsige abbod 7 eallon hirede mid anon punde. þar is to gewitnes eall se hired on baðan. crist hine ablende þe þis gewrit awende.

(7) ✠ Her swutelað on þissere cristes bec þ edric æt forðan hæfð geboht segyfu his dohtor æt ælfsige abbod and æt þam hirede on baðan to écum freote . 7 eall hire ofspring.

(11) ✠ Her swutelað on þisse cristes bec þ ælfric scot 7 ægelric scot synd gefreod for ælsiges abbodes sawle to écan freote. þis is gedon on ealles hiredes gewitnesse.

(13) ✠ Her swutelað on þissere cristes bec þæt siwine leofwies sunu æt lincumbe hafap geboht sýðflæde ut



mid fif scyllingum 7 . . . . . penegan æt iohanne þam  
 biscope<sup>1</sup> 7 æt eallon þam hirede on baþon . to ecum  
 freote . 7 herto is gewittnesse godric ladda . 7 sæwold  
 . 7 his twegen sunan . scirewold 7 brihtwold.

(14) ✠ Her swutelað on þisse cristes béc þ̅ iohann  
 hæfð geboht gunnilde þurkilles dohter æt gode leofen-  
 aðes lafe to healfan punde . on ealles hires gewitnysse.  
 crist hine ablende þe þis gewrit awende. 7 he hæfð hi  
 betæht criste 7 sçe petre for his moder sawle.

(8) ✠ Her swutelap on þyssere cristes béc þ̅ sáwi  
 hagg æt widecume hæfþ gedon út his twegen sunu ætt  
 ælsige abbude . on ealles hires gewitnesse.

(15) ✠ Her swutelað on þisse cristes béc þ̅ lifgið æt  
 forða is gefreod 7 hire twa cild . for þone biscop iohann  
 7 for ealne þone hired on baðon . on ælfredes gewitnesse  
 aspania.

(16) ✠ Her swutelap on þisse cristes boc þa fore-  
 wordan þe þe prior<sup>2</sup> on baþan 7 ealle þa gebroþran habbaþ  
 gemaked wið sæwi'7 wiþ þeodgyfu his wif. þ̅ is þ̅ we  
 habbaþ heom geunnen . of godes healf . 7 of s. mañ . 7  
 of sçe petres . 7 of ure . þa broþerræddene 7 þa bedræd-  
 dene for life 7 for deþe . 7 gelænd heom þ̅ land of þære  
 stræt þe ure wæs . heore hus on to rymende . þa hwile þe  
 hi libbeþ . 7 hi us þar togenes gifep þ̅ hi us hyrsumien  
 wylleþ 7 holde beon . mid eallan þam þe hi magan 7  
 cunnen . 7 æfter heore tweire dæie . sæwies 7 ðeodgyfe .  
 hi gyfeþ heore hus 7 heore land 7 ure criste 7 sçe  
 petre . to þam þ̅ me hi fægere underfo . 7 holdlice for  
 heore sawla beo. her is to gewitnesse . osward preost .  
 7 will. ðe clerec . 7 hugo þe portgerefe . 7 beoring . 7  
 leoffric . 7 heapewulf . 7 burehhard . 7 wylwi . 7  
 geosfræi . 7 ælfword þe smiþ . 7 edwi scredes sune . 7  
 roðð. þe frencisce. (T. p. 436.)

(12) ✠ Her swutelað on þissere cristes bec þ ægylmær bohte sæþryþe æt sewolde abbude<sup>3</sup> mid III. māxan . on ealles hiredes gewitnysse . 7 ofer his dæg 7 his wifes dæg beo se man freoh. crist hine ablende þe þis gewrit awende.

(9) ✠ Her swutelað on þissere cristes bec þ wulwine hareberd bohte æt ælfsige abbude ælfgyþe mid healfan punde . on ealles hiredes gewitnysse. 7 crist hine ablende þe þis gewrit awende.

(10) ✠ Her swutelað on þissere cristes bec þ ægylsige bohte wynric æt ælfsige abbude mid anon yre goldes. þysses ys to gewitnysse ælfryd portgereua 7 eal se hired on baþon. crist hine ablende þe þis gewrit awende.

<sup>1</sup> John de Villula, Bp. Bath and Wells, 1088-1123.

<sup>2</sup> In 1106 John de Villula appointed the monastery of St. Peter, Bath, to be governed by a Prior instead of an Abbot. Dugdale l.c.

<sup>3</sup> Collinson (Hist. Somerset, i. 55) makes Sewold abbot under Edward the Confessor; but he gives no authority, and these entries suggest that he came after Ælfsige.

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Mus. Brit. Add. MSS. 9381.

Oliver, Monasticon Dioc. Exon. p. 431.

K 981. T. p. 623.

### Manumissions

in the Bodmin Gospels. These entries, forty-six in number, are mostly in Latin, but a few are in Saxon. Some specimens are here given of each. There is some Cornish-Latin, as *prespiter*; and some Cornish-Saxon, as *Codgivo* (Godgiftu). Dr. Oliver's numbering is kept, as useful for reference.

Fol. 1 a.

1. Hæc sunt nomina illorum hominum. hūna. et soror illius dolo. quos [lib]eravit byrhtflæd pro redemptione

mid fif scyllingum 7 . . . . . penegan æt iohanne þam biscope<sup>1</sup> 7 æt eallon þam hirede on baþon . to ecum freote . 7 herto is gewitnesse godric ladda . 7 sæwold . 7 his twegen sunan . scirewold 7 brihtwold.

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(8) ✠ Her swutelap on þyssere cristes béc þ̅ sæwi hagg æt widecume hæfþ gedon út his twegen sunu ætt ælfsige abbude . on ealles hires gewitnesse.

(15) ✠ Her swutelað on þisse cristes béc þ̅ lifgið æt forða is gefreod 7 hire twa cild . for þone biscop iohann 7 for ealne þone hired on baðon . on ælfredes gewitnesse aspania.

(16) ✠ Her swutelap on þisse cristes boc þa forewordan þe þe prior<sup>2</sup> on baþan 7 ealle þa gebroþran habbaþ gemaked wið sæwi 7 wiþ þeodgyfu his wif. þ̅ is þ̅ we habbaþ heom geunnen . of godes healf . 7 of s. mañ. . 7 of s̅c̅e petres . 7 of ure . þa broþerræddene 7 þa bedræddene for life 7 for deþe . 7 gelænd heom þ̅ land of þære stræt þe ure wæs . heore hus on to rymende . þa hwile þe hi libbeþ. 7 hi us þar togenes gifep þ̅ hi us hyrsumien wylleþ 7 holde beon . mid eallan þam þe hi magan 7 cunnen . 7 æfter heore tweire dæie . sæwies 7 ðeodgyfe . hi gyfeþ heore hus 7 heore land 7 ure criste 7 s̅c̅e petre . to þam þ̅ me hi fægere underfo . 7 holdlice for heore sawla beo. her is to gewitnesse . osward preost . 7 will. ðe clerec . 7 hugo þe portgerefe . 7 beoring . 7 leoffric . 7 heapewulf . 7 burehhard . 7 wylwi . 7 geosfræi . 7 ælfword þe smiþ . 7 edwi scredes sune . 7 roðð. þe frencisce. (T. p. 436.)

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<sup>1</sup> John de Villula, Bp. Bath and Wells, 1088-1123.

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#### Fol. 1 a.

1. Hæc sunt nomina illorum hominum. hūna. et soror illius dolo. quos [lib]eravit byrhtflæd pro redemptione

animæ suæ super altare sancti petroci coram istis testibus. leofric prespiter. budda prespiter. morhayþo prespiter. deui prespiter. hresmen diaconus. custentin<sup>1</sup> laicus. wurlowen<sup>2</sup> laycus. ut libertatem habeant cum semine suo sine fine. et maledictus sit qui fregerit hanc libertatem.

9. þes ys þæs mannes nama ðe byrhsie gefreode et petrocys stowe. byhstan hate<sup>3</sup> bluntan sunu on æþelhide giwitnyse hys agen wyf 7 on byrhisiys mæse preostes 7 on riol 7 myrmen 7 wunsie morhæþþo 7 cynsie priost.

\* \* In the *Revue Celtique* i. 332 ff. these manumissions were printed from the MS. by Mr. Whitley Stokes; and he analysed the Cornish names. The reader will be glad of a few illustrations from his hand.

<sup>1</sup> custentin, "borrowed from *Constantinus*. Note the loss of the *n* in the first syllable and the umlaut of the *a* in the second."

<sup>2</sup> wurlowen, "lowen = Welsh *leguen* (*leguenid* lætitia) now *llawen* joyful." The prefix *wur-* is explained a few lines lower down.

<sup>3</sup> = hatte, was called, is called.

#### Fol. 7 b.

23. wuenumon 7 hire team moruiw hire swuster 7 hire team 7 wurgustel<sup>1</sup> 7 his team. wuarun gefreod her on tune. for eadryde cynige. 7 for æðelgar<sup>2</sup> biscop an thas hirydes gewitnesse ðe her on tune syndun.

24. Hoc est nomen illius hominis quem liberavit perem. pro anima sua. guriens.<sup>3</sup> super altare sancti petroci coram istis testibus. adelces presbiter. morhaedo diaconus. guædret. clericus. vale vive in Xp̃o.

<sup>1</sup> wurgustel. "*gustel* is Welsh *gwystl* hostage; O.H.G. *gisal*."

<sup>2</sup> Æðelge[ard] W. S.

<sup>3</sup> "Guriens = *Wurgent*. In this and [other examples] the *gur-*, *wur-* is the intensive prefix = Gaulish *ver-*, Old Welsh *guor-*, *gur-*: Old Breton *uor-*, *guor-*. (*Grammatica Celtica*, ed. 2; 895, 896.)"

#### Fol. 8 a.

26. ✠ Marh gefreode leðelt 7 ealle hire team for

eadwig cyninge on his agen reliquias<sup>1</sup>. 7 he hie het lædan hider to mynstere 7 her gefreogian on petrocys reliquias on thæs hirydes gewitnesse.

27. Her kyð on þissere bec þ ælsig bohte anne wifmann ongyneþel hatte 7 hire sunu gyðiccael. æt þurcilde mid healfe punde æt þære cirican dura on bodmine 7 sealde ælsige portgereua et maccosse hundredes mann. iiii. pengas to tolle. þa ferde ælsig to þe þa menn bohte 7 nam hig 7 freode uppan petrocys weofede æfre sacles. On gewitnesse þissa godera manna þ waes isaac messe preost. 7 bleðcuf<sup>2</sup> m̃. p̃. 7 wunning m̃. p̃. 7 wulfger m̃. p̃. 7 grifuð<sup>3</sup> m̃. p̃. 7 noe m̃. p̃. 7 wurpicið m̃. p̃. 7 ælsig diacon. 7 maccos. 7 teðion modredis<sup>4</sup> sunu. 7 kynilm. 7 beorlaf. 7 dirling. 7 gratcant. 7 talan. 7 gif hwa þas freot abrece hebbe him wið criste gemene. amen.

28. Hoc est nomen illius mulieris codgiuo quae liberata fuit pro anima maccosi centurionis super altare sancti petroci in vigilia adventus domini istis testibus videntibus . boia decanus. godricus p̃r. sewinus p̃r. eli diaconus. wulgarus diaconus. godricus diaconus. elwine diaconus. edricus clericus. elwinus. elwerdus. sicteicus. waso . wulwerdus. et alii quamplurimi de bonis hominibus. Si quis tam temerarius sit qui hanc libertatem fregerit anathema sit a deo et ab angelis ejus. amen fiat.

<sup>1</sup> I. e. relics which were the private property of the master. (Oliver.)

<sup>2</sup> bleðcuf. "Better Bleyðcuf 129 b. Here we have a compound of *bledh* = W. *blaidd*, Br. *bleiz*, wolf. In the Cornish vocabulary the word is written *bleit*, leg. *bleith*. The Old Breton names *Bledic*, *Bleidbara*, *Fou-bleid* contain this word; so in Liber Landavensis (Old Welsh) *Bledud*, *Bledris*, *Bledbui*, *Bledgur*, *Arth-bleid*."

<sup>3</sup> grifuð. "The common Welsh name *Griffud*, *Gruffud*, anglicised *Griffith*."

<sup>4</sup> modredis. Saxon genitive of Cornish "*Modred*, Old Breton *Modrot*."

## Fol. 8 b.

30. Her kyð on þissere bec þ ælfric ælfwines sunu wolde þeowian putraele him to nyd þeowetlinge . þa cam putrael to boia 7 bed his fore spece to ælfrice his breðere. þa sette boia þas spece wið ælfrice. þ wes þ putrael sealde ælfrice viii oxa æt þere cirican dura æt bodmine. 7 gef boia sixtig penga for þere forspæce. 7 dide hine sylfne 7 his ofsprenge æfre freols 7 saccles fram þam dæge wið ælfrice 7 wið boia 7 wið ealle ælfwines cyld 7 heora ofsprenge. on þissere gewittnisse. isaac messe preost 7 wunning þ. 7 sewulf þ. 7 godric diacon. 7 cufure prauost. 7 wincuf. 7 wulfwerd. 7 gestin thes bisceopes stiwerd. 7 artaca . 7 kinilm. 7 godric map. 7 wulfger. 7 ma godra manna.

## Fol. 129 b.

34. Hær cyð on þison bec þ ælwold gefreode hwatū far hys sawle a pætrocsystow a degye 7 æfter degye. an ælger ys gewittnisse 7 gotric 7 walloð 7 gryfyð 7 bleyðcuf 7 salaman. 7 hebbe he godes curs 7 s̄cs. petrocus 7 æalle welkynes s̄cas. þe þ brece ðæ ydon ys. amen.

## Fol. 137 a.

36. Wulfsie episcopus liberavit aedoc filiam catgustel . pro anima sua et eadgari regis super altare sancti petroci . cyngelt . et magnus . et sulmeap<sup>1</sup>. et iustus . et rumun . et wengor . et luncen . et fuandrec . et wendeern<sup>2</sup>. et wurðylic<sup>3</sup>. et cengor . et inisian . et brenci . et onwean . et rinduran . et lywci.

<sup>1</sup> "The *sul* here and in [other Cornish names in these entries] constantly occurs in Old Breton names [examples given]. It probably means 'sun' (Welsh, Cornish, and Breton *sul* borrowed from Latin *sol*)." I do not see why borrowed.

<sup>2</sup> "wendeern = *wen teern* = Irish *tigerne dominus*: compare Middle Welsh *Ederu, Edyrn*, Mabinogion. A woman's name? = *alba domina*."

<sup>3</sup> *Wurðylic* = *valde dilecta*: "*ðylic* in *Wurðylic, Ourdylic*, is borrowed from *dilectus*."

Cott. Dom. A. vii. 43.

K 925.

T. p. 621.

## Geatfled

her manumissions. This entry (in a Gospel book which is perhaps of the eighth century, K) affords a glimpse of the fall from freedom to bondage in bad times.

Geatfled ageaf freols . for Godes lufa 7 for heora sawla þearfe . ƿ is Ecceard smið . 7 Ælstan 7 his wif . 7 eall heora ofspring . boren 7 unboren . 7 Arcil . 7 Cole . 7 Ecferð Aldhunes dohter . 7 ealle þa men þe heo nam heora heafod<sup>1</sup> for hyra mete on þam yflum dagum. Swa hwa swa þis awende 7 hyre sawla þises bereafie . bereafige hine God ælmihtig þises lifes 7 heofona rices . 7 sy he awyrgead deað 7 cwic āā on ecnyse . 7 eac heo hafað gefreod þa men þe heo pigede æt Cwæspatrike . ƿ is Ælfwald . 7 Colbrand . Ælsie . 7 Gamal his sune . Eðred . Tredewude . 7 Uhtred his stepsun[e] . Aculf . 7 þurkyl . 7 Ælsige. Hwa þe heom þises bereafie . God ælmihtig sie heom wrað 7 Sçe Cuðberht.

<sup>1</sup> "All the men whose persons (literally *heads*, as of cattle) she took for their food in the evil days." T.

Cott. Tib. B. v. 76.

K 1354.

T. p. 649.

## Gebúras

on the Hatfield estate (Herts): their relationships, their



settlements on other estates, and their intermarriages with *gebūras* of other manors<sup>1</sup>.

✠ Dudda wæs gebur into Hæðfelda . 7 he hæfde þreo dohtor . an hatte Deorwyn . oðer Deorswyð . þridde Golde . 7 Wullaf on Hæðfelda hæfð Deorwynne to wife . 7 Ælfstan æt Tæccingawyrðe hæfð Deorswyðe to wife . 7 Ealhstan Ælfstanes broðar hæfð Goldan to wife. Hwita hatte wæs beocere into Hæðfelda . 7 Tate hatte his dohtor wæs Wulfsiges modor scyttan . 7 Lulle hatte Wulfsiges sweostar Hehstan hæfð to wife on Wealadene. Wifus 7 Dunne 7 Seoloce syndan inbyrde to Hæðfelda. Duding hatte Wifuse sunu sit on Wealadene . 7 Ceolmund hatte Dunnan sunu sit eac on Wealadene. 7 Æðeleah hatte Seolecan sunu sit eac on Wealadene . 7 Tate hatte Cenwaldes sweostar Mæg hæfð to wife on Weligun . 7 Ealdelm Hereðryðe sunu hæfð Tatan dohtor to wife. Wærlaf hatte Wærstanes fæder wæs riht æht to Hæðfelda . heold ða grægan swyn.

✠ Brada hatte wæs gebur to Hæðfelda . 7 Hwite hatte þæs Bradan wif wæs gebures dohtor to Hæðfelda . seo Hwite wæs Wærstanes 7 Wærðryðe 7 Wynburge þridde modor. 7 se Wærstan sit æt Wadtune . hæfð Winnes sweostar to wife . 7 Wine hæfð Wærðryðe to wife. 7 Dunne sæt on Wadtune wæs inbyrde to Hæðfelda . 7 Deorwyn hatte hire dohtor hæfð Cynewald on Munddene to wife . 7 Deornað hatte hire broðar bið mid Cynewalde. 7 Dudde hatte Wifuse dohtor sit æt Wilmundeslea. Cynelm hatte Cenwaldes fæder wæs gebur into Hæðfelda . 7 Manna hatte Cenwaldes sunu sit æt Wadtune under Eadwolde.

✠ Buhe hatte wæs Dryhtlafes moddrige . wæs afaren ut of Hæðfelda into Eslingadene . 7 Æpelwyn 7 Eadugu 7 Æpelgyð heo wæran ðreo gesweostra . 7 Tilewine 7

Duda wæron ealle þære Buge bearn . 7 Ealhstan Tilewine sunu . 7 Wulfsige Eaduge sunu . 7 Ceolem Æþelgyðe sunu . 7 Ceolstan . 7 Manwine. Þis cyn com of Felda . Deorulf Cyneburhe sunu 7 his twa sweostar . 7 Cynric æt Clæfring heora eam. Þas men synd Tatan magas æt Hæðfelda ðæs gebures.

<sup>1</sup> These gebúras "boors" were the agricultural population of the manor, who tilled it and paid rent in produce, in money, and in work. They were serfs, *adscripti glebæ*, and the lord had a proprietary interest in them, which gives the motive of this record. The Hatfield serfs had relations at Datchworth, Walden, Welwyn, Watton, Munden, Wymondley, Essenden. The memorandum appears to be of the 11th century. Mr. Seebohm identifies these gebúras (as a class) with the villani of the same places in Domesday. *English Village Community*, p. 139. He adds that on some manors the pedigrees of villani or nativi were kept even after the Black Death.



PART II.

SECONDARY DOCUMENTS.



## SECONDARY DOCUMENTS.

### I.

THIS Group comprises documents which are preserved in single parchments as the primary records are; but which, unlike those, are not contemporaneous with the date assigned to the transaction; and yet, on the other hand, probably not later than the eleventh century.

Cott. Aug. ii. 86.

A. D. 680.

K18.

B. iv. 2.

### Cædualla

king of Wessex, granting land to bp. Wilfrid at Pecganham and places adjacent:—one of the signataries being Aldhelm, who had the charge of drafting and getting the document written.

✠ IN nomine saluatoris nři ihu xpi . Nihil intulimus in hunc mundum uerum nec auferre quid poterimus . idcirco terrenis et caducis æterna et cælestia supernæ patriæ premia mercanda sunt . Quapropter ego cædualla disponente dño rex rogatus a uenerando uuilfrido æpiscopo ut sibi aliquantulam terram ad suffragium uitæ suæ fřmque suorum qui secum conuersarentur et in diuino seruitio huius peregrinationis quã uir uenerandus diutius peregit pro relaxatione criminũ et perpetui premii receptaculo largiri dignarer . cuius precibus annuens terrenam sibi possessiunculam de qua sugerere uidebatur pro remedio animę meæ libenter inpendi . et hanc libertatẽ sub estimatione . lxx . tributariorum taxaui in illo loco qui dicitur pecgan ham . aliisque locis circumquaque adiacentibus hoc est scrippan eg . ceorla tun . bucgan ora . beorgan stede . north beorgan stede . crymes

ham se northra mundan ham . other mundan ham . et hæc omnia uenerabili uiro uuilfrido cum consensu et deuota confirmatione ecgualdi subreguli in potestatem proprię dominationis pro suę nimie sc̃itatis conuersatione . et ñfoꝝ peccatorum relaxatione redigimus . in super addidimus fr̃ibus suis d̃o seruiantibus ad ec̃clesiam sc̃i andree super ripam positam orientalẽ portus qui dicitur uedring mutha . fram quæ dicitur, tang mere . x . tributariorum . ut eis quamdiu fides catholica regnet hinc necessaria corporalis usus specialiter prebeantur . Si quis uero quod absit contra hæc decreta firmiter statuta contraire et ea soluere conatus fuerit nouerit sē ante tribunal examinis xp̃i rationem redditurum et habere partem cum iuda traditore d̃ni ñri ih̃u xp̃i . in inferno inferiore . Hæc sunt territoria ad pecgan ham pertinentia primit<sup>9</sup> ab occidente uedring mutha . per illum portum ad locum qui dicitur holan horan fleot et sic ducitur in lang port . inde ad aquilonem to unning lande . sic ad orientem on fleot super illud quod dicitur inufes ford . inde in locum qui dicitur c̃ynges uuic . et sic ad locum qui d̃r langan ersc . inde on loxan leage . et sic in locum qui d̃r bebbes ham . inde in pontem thel br̃ygcg . et sic ad aquilonem iuxta palustria loca . super hæc ad locum qui d̃r h̃ylsan seohtra et sic ad orientem in uuærmundes hamm . hinc in uuadan hlæu . ab illo loco in fisc mere . et sic in br̃ynes fleot . sicque dirigitur in mare . Sed et hi sunt termini pertinentes ad tang mere . primitus of hleap mere per uiam publicam ad terram heantunensem ad angulū circianum . ĩde in locum horsa gehæg . et sic ubi d̃r hean ersc . hinc ad ælrithe . ab ipso riuo ad fraxinū unum . et sic ad locum cealc mere . hinc ad headan scræf . ab illo loco . to lulan treouue . et sic in tatan ham . sic ad risc mere . ab illo loco to hleap

mere . et sunt pascua ouiū in meos dune pertinentia ad tang mere . Anno dominicæ incarnationis . delxxx . Ego cæduualla rex a prefato rogatus ep̃o hanc donationis meę cartulam scribere iussi . et absque trimoda necessitate totius xp̃iani populi id est arcis munitione . pontis emendatione . exercitiū congestionē liberam perstrinxi . Ego ecguuald subregulus mente deuota consensi et subscripsi ✠ Ego æthelredus domino prestante rex pro remedio animę meę hanc donationē corroborauī . ✠ Ego hæddi ep̃s consensi et subscri . ✠ Ego ercenuualdus ep̃s consē et subscri . ✠ Ego aldhelmus scolasticus archiep̃i theodori hanc cartulam dictitans prout regis maiorumque inperia statuerunt scribere iussi . illisque sancientibus constitutum est . ut beato uiro uuilfrido liberum remaneret arbitrium in uita sua de hac ruris possessiuncula . et post obitum cuiusque uoluerit in æternam possessionem iure hereditario derelinqueret . Pax cunctis legentibus . consensūq; prebentibus . sitque laus utentibus . luxque perpes credentibus . uirtus uita fauentibus . rite constet senatibus anglorum atque cetibus qui dona firment nutibus.

\*\*\* *Endorsed in hands of the 10th century, '✠ PAGGAN HAMM;'* and '✠ uuilfridus episcopus cartulam hanc . multimodasque et humillimas theodoro archiepiscopo in christo salutes:.'; and in a hand of the 12th century, 'Rex Ceduuala dedit paggeham sancto Wilfrido episcopo . latine.' B.

Cotton Charter viii. 3.

A.D. 755-757.

K100.

B. iv. 3.

### **Æthilbald of Mercia**

grants 10 cassati to abbot Eanberht. Mr. Bond assigns the writing to the 9th century. It is a fragment, of which the effective portion is complete:—

[QUAPRO]PTER ego æthilbald rex non solum mercen-



sium . sed etiam in circuitu populorum quibus me diuina dispensatio sine meritorum suffragio pręesse uoluit uenerabili seruo dī eanberhttae abbati agrum .x. cassatorum in dominium xpī ecclesiae pro redemptione animae meae . et pro expiatione facinorum meorum libenter concedens largior . est autem terra illa iuxta siluam quam dicunt toccan sceaga . habens in proximo tumulum qui habet nomen reada beorg.

\*.\* *Endorsed*, 'reada beorg.' B.

Cott. Aug. ii. 87.

26 July, 805.

K190. B. ii. 8.

### Cuthred

king of Kent, with licence of Cenulf king of Mercia, conveys land to Abp. Wulfred. Mr. Bond says the writing is 'rather later, and retouched.'

✠ ANNO ab incarnatione dñi nři ihu xpī deccc<sup>uo</sup> indictione xiii . ego cuðred rex cantiae cum licentia coenulfi regis merciae octabo anno regni mei a dō ocessi wulfredo sedenti in archiepiscopatus solio . duorum aratorum terrae in ppetuum donabo . est itaq: terra illa composita in occidentali parte xu . manentium quae dicuntur bocholt hec duo aratra supra p̃dicta a quib:dam campus armentorum id est hriðra leah appellantur hoc h̃ modo quasi pro comparatione in p̃tio xxx mancusarum illi hanc p̃nominatam terram tradere curabo ut communem silbam secundum antiquam consuetudinem cum ceteris hominibus abeat potestas quoq: ipsi datur ut in libertate terram habeat quamdiu uiuat 7 postea cuicumq: hominum uoluerit in aeternam libertatem derelinquat si quis hanc largit̃onem illi augeat augeatur illi a dō uita si quis demin'u'erit quod absid deminuetur sibi gloria in xpō nisi satisfacione emendauerit .

huius confirmationis signa in celeberrimo loco hacleah nominato exponuntur in uiii<sup>as</sup> kas agustus die sabbati quo transfiguratus est xps .

✠ ego coenuulf rex merċ consensi et subscři ✠ ald-  
uulf epiš ✠ werenberht epiš ✠ deneberht epiš  
✠ eaduulf epiš ✠ wulfhard epiš ✠ alhheard epiš  
✠ tidferð epiš ✠ osmund epiš ✠ wiohthun epiš  
✠ wig[be]rht epiš ✠ alhmund epiš ✠ bernmod  
epiš ✠ abh . . . . ✠ . . . . aþ ✠ wernoð aþ  
✠ dudan aþ ✠ feolageld aþ ✠ ego cuðred 'rex'  
cantiaē oð 7 suð . ✠ heaberht dux ✠ beornnoð dux  
✠ cynehelm dux ✠ tiduulf dux ✠ wicgga dux  
✠ ceolward dux ✠ ceolberht dux ✠ dynne dux  
✠ wighard dux ✠ byrnwald dux ✠ heardberht  
comes ✠ cuðred pŕ.

\*.\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 10th century, 'hryperaleh,' to which is added in a hand of the 12th century, 'duorum aratorum . Cuðred rex . cantiaē Wluredo archiepiscopo pro xxx marcis auri.' 'latine.' B.*

Smith's Bede, p. 768.

A.D. 825.

Hickes Diss. Ep. p. 80.

K 219. T. p. 70.

## Beornuulf

king of the Mercians, sate in council at Clovesho. There was a very great suit concerning the swine-pasture at Sutton. It appears to have been an action in the nature of an appeal, as the American legist has observed. The Bishop of Worcester appeals from a decision of the Swángerefan, who were Commissioners of Woods and Forests, on the ground that they had disregarded the old established rights of his convent. The Witan allowed him and his chapter to take the oath, which was administered at Worcester, and of which Hama the Swángerefa of Sutton was an eye-witness; and so the

bishop's claim was established. A bad copy of a rare piece. Nothing seems now to be known of the original, which Hickes described as 'charta autographa Somersiana.'

✠ IN nomine trino diuino qui est deus benedictus in saecula. Amen. þý gere ðe wes from cristes gebyrde ágæn eahta hund wintra and xxv and sió æfterre indictio wæs in ríme and wæs biornwulfes ríce mercna cyninges ðá wæs sionoðlic gemót on ðære méran stówe ðe mon háteð clofeshoas and ðær se siolfa cyning biornwulf ond his biscopas ond his aldormenn ond alle ða wioton ðisse ðiódæ ðær gesomnade wæron ðá wæs tiolo micel sprec ymb wuduleswe tó súðtúne ongægum west on seyrhylte<sup>1</sup> waldon ða swángeréfan ða læswe forður gedrifan ond ðone wudu geþiogan<sup>2</sup> ðon hit aldgeryhto wéron ðon cuæð se biscop and ðára hina wiotan ðet hió him néren máran ondeta ðon hit áræded wæs on Aeðelbaldes dæge ðrím hunde swína mæst ond se biscop ða tugen<sup>3</sup> ahten twæde ðæs wuda ond ðæs mæstes. ðá geræhte uulfred arcebiscop ond alle ða wiotan ðet se biscop ond ða higen mósten mid áðe gecyðan ðet hit suá wære áræden on Aeðelbaldes dæge ond him máre tó ne sóhte ond he ðá sona se biscop beweddade eádwulfe ðæm aldormen ðæs áðæs biforan allum ðæm wiotum ond him mon ðone gelædde ymb xxx næhta tó ðæm biscopstole et wiogoerna ceastre in ða tiid wæs háma suángeréfa tó súðtúne ond he rád ðæt he wæs et ceastre and ðone aað gesæh ond gesceawade suá hine his aldor-mon héht eádwulf ond he hine hweðre ne grétte. Hii sunt nomina et uocabula qui in synodali concilio fuerunt congregati.

✠ Signum manus Biornwulfi regis Merciorum. ✠ Wulfred archiepiscopus consensi hanc conditionem. ✠ Oeðelwald episcopus consensi. ✠ Hræðhun episco-

pus consensi. ✠ Heaberht episcopus consensi. ✠ Bionna episcopus consensi. ✠ Eadwulf episcopus consensi. ✠ Wilred episcopus consensi. ✠ Wigðegn episcopus consensi. ✠ Alhstan episcopus consensi. ✠ Humberht episcopus. ✠ Ceolberht episcopus. ✠ Cynred episcopus. ✠ Torhthelm prior. ✠ Eanmund abbas. ✠ Wihtred abbas. ✠ Cuðwulf abbas. ✠ Eanmund abbas. ✠ Eadberht dux. ✠ Biornnoð dux. ✠ Sigered dux. ✠ Cuðred dux. ✠ Eadwulf dux. ✠ Mucel dux. ✠ Uhtred dux. ✠ Alheard dux. ✠ Bolam. ✠ Aldran. ✠ Bynna. ✠ Wighelm. ✠ Heabert. ✠ Eadgar presbiter. ✠ Wigberht presbiter. ✠ Heahstæf presbiter. ✠ Brada presbiter. ✠ Cuðbald presbiter. ✠ Regengar presbiter. ✠ Cuðbert presbiter. ✠ Ecgmund presbiter. ✠ Heahferhð diaconus. ✠ Wighelm diaconus. ✠ Cyneberht diaconus. mid allra oðerra priōsta bûtan ðissum mæsse-priōstum efen lx.

<sup>1</sup> ongægum west on scyrhylte. Thorpe translates, 'towards the west in Shireholt': but perhaps the text is corrupt.

<sup>2</sup> gepicgan T.

<sup>3</sup> ða tugen. Hickes reads \*and ða higen,' which must be the true reading. It is tacitly adopted by Thorpe in his translation 'the bishop and the convent held two parts of the wood and the mast.'

Chart. Cott. viii. 30.

A. D. 838.

(Text. Roff. 138.)

K 239.

B. iv. 8.

### Ecgberht

with consent of his son Æthewulf king, grants to bp. Beornmod four ploughlands. The Chronicle gives Ecgberht's death in 836, but there are reasons for thinking that chronology wrong by two years. Mr. Bond says the writing is a 'later imitation.'

✠ IN nomine dñi nři iñu xpī saluatoris mundi . anno

dominicę incarnationis .dcccxxx .uiii. indictione .i. Ego . ecgbearhtus rex cum consensu dilectissimi filii nři ęðelwulfi regis dabo debotissimo episcopo meo . beornmodo . aliquam terre partem iuris mei . quattuor aratrorum . in loco que dicitur snodding land 7 ęt holan beorge ut habeat et possideat et cuicumque uoluerit relinquat ita ut predicta terra sit liuera ab omni regali serbitia.

✠ scripta ęst hęc cartula in bica regali . que dicitur fręric burna is testibus consentientibus et subscribentibus quorum infra nomina tēnentur . et unam molinam in torrente qui dicitur holan beorges burna . et in monte regis quīnquaginta carrabas lingnorum . adiectis . quattuor denberis . hwęton stede . heah dęn . hese . helman hyrst

✠ Egeberht rex. ✠ ęðeluulf rex. ✠ Cialnoð . arhi . ep̃c. ✠ beornmod . ep̃sc. ✠ ealhstan . ep̃sc. ✠ eadhun . ep̃sc. ✠ Cynred ep̃sc. ✠ Ceolbeorht . ep̃sc. ✠ uulfheard . dux. ✠ ęðeluulf dux. ✠ eanulf dux. ✠ herebearht dux. ✠ ęðeluulf dux. ✠ eðelheard .

. et in oriente ciuitatis hroui unum uiculum. \*

\*.\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 10th century, '✠ snodinglandes boc . iiii . aratrorum .'; and in a hand of the 13th century, 'Rex Ethelbrich dedit beormodo Episcopo snodilant et Holeberg.' B.*

Cotton Charter viii. 32.

A. D. 862.

K 287.

B. ii. 36.

### Æthelberht

rex occidentaliū sax' seu cant'—to his thane Dryhtwald ten ploughlands at Bromley with exemption from all but the three inevitable burdens. Mr. Bond characterizes the writing

as a 'later imitation.' See above, Primary Documents, A.D. 987; p. 209, perhaps the true document after which this has been fabricated.

... HÆC sunt et ++ termini p̃dicti agelli circū iacentia An norðan frā ceddān leage to langan leage bromleaginga mearc 7 liofshema ðanne fram langan leage to ðam wón stocce<sup>1</sup> ðanne fram ðam wón stocce be modinga hema mearce to cinta stiogole ðanne fram cinta stiogole be modinga hema mearce to earnes beame ðanne fram earnes beame cregsetna haga an easthalfe sced hit to liowsan dene ðanne fram liowsan dene to swelgende ðanne fram swelgende cregsetna haga to sioxslihtre ðanne fram sioxslihtre to fearnbiorginga mearce fearnbiorginga mearc hit sced to cýstaninga mearce cýstaninga mearc hit sced suðan toward setle ðanne framweard setle cýstaninga mearc to wichæma mearce ðanne sio west mearc be wichema mearce ut to bipplestyde ðanne fram bipplestyde, to acustyde to bioha'h'hema mearce fram acustyde to ceddānleage —

ðanne belimpoð ðer to ðam londe fif denn an an ut walda . broccesham ðes dennes nama . ðes oðres dennes nama: sænget hryg: billan ora . is ðes ðriddan nama . ðanne twa denn an gleppan felda; actum ÷ hec mea donatio anno p̃scripta in loco que ðr willherestrio coram his testib: qui hæc oSENTIENTES subscripserunt quorū hic nomina infra tenentī adscripta :—anno dominice incarnat̃ . dcccclxii.

\*.\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 15th century, 'bromlegh Ethelberth rex.'* B.

<sup>1</sup> wónstocce. The *wónstoc* Mr. Kemble had 'no hesitation in translating Woden's post.' *Saxons*, bk. i, c. 2, p. 52, note.

Harley Charter 43 C. 1.

A.D. 909.

B. iv. 10.

**Eadweard the Elder**

praising written records, and saying that at the time of his division of the diocese of Winchester he was asked by bp. Friðestan to renew the title-deeds of the church for the lands given by successive kings; and especially that privilege whereby the land about the city, estimated at 100 mansæ or more, was to be assessed as one Mansa only. The lands that bp. Denewulf so freely leased out are to return to the church, but the king may retain for his day those which Denewulf leased to him. This piece is of a type repeatedly occurring in Cod. Winton; such are K 1090, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096.

. . . . HÆC cartula scripta ert anno dominẽ incarnaĩ .  
 dcccvi. indict . xii . his limitib: hoc rus undiq: cir-  
 cūdatur . et intra ambitum suĩ multas uillas complec-  
 titur . quarũ nomina incolis . liquido clarescunt . hnut  
 scillinc tamen et ceolbolding tũn . quae duę uillæ con-  
 tiguæ non sunt . c . manentiũ quantitatem pficientes  
 indumentis cleri deseruientes . non his limitib; set ppriis  
 et ratis terminis ambiuntur .

✠ Ærest on icenan æt brombrigce up 7lang weges to  
 hlidgeate . þanon 7lang slades to beánstede . ƿ be hagan  
 to searnægles forða . ƿ up be swæðeling to sugebroce .  
 ðæt forð be mearce to cules felda . forð be gehrihtũ ge-  
 mære to stodleage . swa to ticnes felda . ƿ to mearcdene .  
 swa to tæppeleage . swa forð to scipleage . ƿ to bradan  
 ersce . swá to ƿære ealdan cwealmstówe . ƿ forð be  
 deopan delle . ƿ be cawealeainga mearce to bacegeate .  
 forð be mearce to ðæm ealdan falde . swá norð 7 east to  
 hearpaðe . a be hearpaðe to heafod stoccũ . swá be hide  
 burninga gemære on icenan . ƿ úp be streame . ƿ swá  
 wið easton wordige þonan be rihtre mearce to ðæm

gemær ðornan . þ to ðære readan rode . swá forð be ealdormonnes mearce . a be mearce . þ hit cimð on icenan . úp be streame to alres forða . þonon on ticceburnan . up 7lang burnan . to hearpaðe swa to tyrngeate wiðinnan ða æfisc to sceap wican . þ be riht gemære to ellenforða . swa to bradan dene . þ to meoluc cumbe . swa to meolæn beorge . 7lang weges to wealþhæminga mearce . be rihton gemære to hige leage . þ to clænefelda . swá on are dene forð be hagan on sceatte leage . þ forð on icenan be norðan stanforde . swá mid streame ðæt hit cymð eft on brom bricge.

*\*\*. Endorsed in a contemporary hand, 'Cyltan cumbes boc.', subsequently added, 'Edweardi regis senior'; in various hands from the 12th to the 16th century, 'Hee sunt de Chiltecombe.' and 'De Chiltecombe'; 'Hec est nobilis Carta de Chiltecumba'; 'Custodiatur bene'; and 'Eduueardus Angul Saxonum Rex.' B.*

Cott. Aug. ii. 33.

A.D. 956.

K 437.

B. iii. 17.

### Eadwig

industriis anglorum rex . . cuidam comiti . . nomine Ælfhere . . xx mansos perpetualiter impendo. penes illum locū qui assertionem multorum hominum pfertur ita . æt [c]upenes dune . &c.

þis sýndon þa land gemæru to cuþenes dune .xx. hida . [of] hryþera forða on holan ford . of holan forde on lahhan mere 7lang ripiges on bradan mædwa . þæt swa norð 7lang fura on set þorn . of set þorne on fúlan ripig on anne pýt . of þǣ pýtte 7lang ripiges on þæt heafod lond . of þǣ heafodon 7lang fura . on pric þorn on foreweardne eanferþes hlau . of eanferþes hlawe 7lang fure . þæt on án ripig . ~~7lang ripiges~~ . 7lang ripiges þ



on ane díc . 7lang dices on drygean bróc . þæt swa  
 7lang dices on mærwelle bróc . 7lang broces on mærwelle . of mærwelle . on þæt heafod long on gerihte to stræt . þonne east 7lang stræte . oþ þæra stræta gelæto . þ[on]an rihte norþ ondlong weges oþ þa heafdo þ̅ on mærweg . 7long mærweges þ̅ ónbutan ceorla gráf . on fost bróc . of fost bróce on þone hlið weg . 7long weges on hina gemæro . 7long hina gemæres on þa hlýdan . þ̅ of þær hlýdan on þa stan bricge . 7long healhtunes gemæres on risc dene . þæt of risc dene on gerihte on þæt þriex . of þā þriexe on þa stræt . 7long stræte on holan bróc . 7long broces on herpaþ ford on tame 7long tame þ̅ eft on hryþera ford . Hæc carta scripta ē . anno dñice incarnationis deccclvi . indictione xiiii.

\*.\* *Endorsed in a contemporary hand*, 'þis is seo lanboc to cupenes dune to þan twentigan hidan þe Eadwig cýnc gebocede ælfhere his ealdormen on ece ýrfe.'; and in one of the 12th century, 'eduii' 'carta de codesdona.' B.

D. and C. Westm.  
 S. ii. 6.

A.D. 962.

### Eadgar

granting land at Sunbury to his kinsman Ælfheh. Mr. Sanders says it is not in K. nor T., nor mentioned by Wanley. Compare p. 203 above.

¶ ALTITHRONO in æternum regnante uniuersis sophiæ studium intento mentis conamine sedulo rimantibus liquido patescit quod huius uitæ periculis nimio ingruentibus terrore recidiui terminus cosmi appropinquare dinoscitur ut ueridica christi promulgat sententia qua dicit. Surget gens contra gentem et regnum aduersus regnum et reliqua. Quam ob rem ego EADGAR totius

brittanniæ basileus quandam ruris particulam . decem uidelicet cassatos loco qui celebri æt SUNNANBYRIG . nuncupatur uocabulo propinquo meo mihi oppido fideli qui ab huiusce patriæ gnosticis ÆLFHEH appellatur uocabulo . pro obsequio eius deuotissimo perpetua largitus sum hereditate ut ipse uita comite cum omnibus utensilibus pratis uidelicet pascuis siluis uoti compos habeat et post uitæ suæ terminum quibuscumque uoluerit cleronomis innumem derelinquat. Sit autem predictum rus omni terrenę seruitutis iugo liberum tribus exceptis rata uidelicet expeditione pontis arcisue restauratione. Siquis igitur hanc nostram donationem in aliud quam constituimus transferre uoluerit priuatus consortio sanctæ dei ecclesiæ æternis barathri incendiis lugubris iugiter cum iuda christi proditore eiusque complicitibus puniatur . si non satisfactione emendauerit congrua quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum. His metis prefatum rus hinc inde giratur.

Ðis sindon þa land gemæro to sunnanbýrig. Ærest on sunnan hýg<sup>1</sup> þanon andlang streames on crudan scýpsteal þanon ofer ða mæde on eclesbroc 7lang broces on ða mearclic 7lang dices on hwæte dene norðeweardre of hwæte dene on þa oðre mearclic 7lang dices on cottes hýrste westewearde of cottes hýrste on risemere of risemere on eadbryhtes hlæw of þam hlæwe on þone ellen stub ðonon on mearcwill of mearcwille on duddes býre of duddes býre on þone clofenan beorh of þam beorhge on sunnan hýg<sup>1</sup> . 7 her hýrð to tynn gýrda of þære mæde to halgan forde 7.ælce geare into sunnanbýrig of burhwuda fiftig foðra wudes 7 fiftig swina mæsten.

Anno dominicę incarnationis . DCCCCLXII . scripta est . hæc carta his testibus consentientibus quorum inferius nomina notantur.

✠ Ego eadgar rex anglorum concessi. ✠ Ego dunstan archiepiscopus corroborauī. ✠ Ego oscytel archiepiscopus confirmaui. ✠ Ego osulf episcopus consolidauī. ✠ Ego byrhtelm episcopus acquieui. ✠ Ego oswold episcopus confirmaui. ✠ Ego æpelwold abbas. ✠ Ego ælfhere dux. ✠ Ego ælfheah dux. ✠ Ego æpelstan dux. ✠ Ego æpelpold dux. ✠ Ego beorhtnoð dux. ✠ Ego byrhtferð minister. ✠ Ego ælfwine minister. ✠ Ego æpelsige minister. ✠ Ego wulfhelm minister. ✠ Ego æpelwine minister. ✠ Ego ælsige minister.

<sup>1</sup> Qu. error for *byrg*?

Harley Charter 43 C. 5.

A. D. 966.

B. iii. 27.

### Eadgar

grants 10 cassati at Niwanham to a noble matron of his own kin que ab istius patriæ gnosticis eleganti .ÆLFGIFV. apellatur uocamine.

Þis sint þa gemæru to niwanhamme Cattan ege into niwanham of þam hæþnan birigelsan up 7lang dic innan mæR wege up 7lang mæR wege þæt up on wearddune þær þæt cristel mæl stod of þan up on þa readan slo oþ þære ealdan byrig of þære readan slo on þæt crundel þær se haga utligæþ. Of þan crundelle innan mid slæde 7lang mid slædes on þa grægan hane of þære grægan hane 7lang hearpdene on cealfa leage neopewearde of cealfa leage á be hagen 7 be þan ealdan wege in on þ þec siþþan 7lang beces on tæmese 7lang ea on cattan ege.

\*\*\* *Endorsed in large letters*, '✠ þis is ðara .x. hida land boc æt niwanham þe eadgar cyning gebocode ælfgifre his magan on ece yrfe.' B.

D. and C. Exon.

A.D. 977.

S. ii. Ex. 14 dorso.

**Eadward**

meo fideli comiti nomine æðelweard granting land in Cornwall. Manifestly a later copy, as it is endorsed on a deed (below p. 300) dated 1059 which has relation to the same manor. It is not in K. or T. Deeds of this Eadward are rare.

✠ REGNANTE inperpetuum domino nostro ihesu christo. Cunctis sophiæ studium ferme rimantibus stabili notum constat ratione . quod presentis esentiæ periculis incumbantibus et curis euanescentium rerum inopinate crebrescentibus Humana mortalium rerum cognitio quasi ros minuendo elabitur et obliuioni tantundem traditur . nisi aliqua certa ratione prenotetur . quia non sunt æterna quæ hic conspiciuntur sed terrena . ut imbutus sermone tonantis apostolus inquit. Nunc uelut umbra cito sic corpore<sup>1</sup> fugiunt res. Sed decus æternum hoc uisu stat certius omni. Quapropter ego eadward annuente gratia dei rex anglorum ceterarumque circumquaque nationum cum consilio atque consensu episcoporum obtinatumque meorum quasdam ruris particulas in diuersis locis possitus id est trefwurabo æt trefwaloc trefgrued æt trefdewig. In perpetuam hereditatem admodum libenter concedo meo fideli comiti nomine æðelweard cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus . campis siluis pratis piscariisque libere ab omni regali censu excepta expeditione arcisue munimine et uigiliis marinis et postquam uiam uniuersitatis adierit cuicumque uoluerit prefatam terram libenter derelinquat. Acta est autem hæc donatio anno . DCCCCLXXVII . ab incarnatione domini . indictione uero . v<sup>ta</sup> . VI . concurrentes epactę . XXVIII . XVII<sup>o</sup> anno cicli decenouelis meique imperii . II . anno. His testibus consentientibus quorum nomina

infra caraxata fore uidentur. Ðis ys seo landscaru to trefwurabo ærest æt pollicerr þænne be þære dic and lang weges þonne of þam wege þonne on þa lýtlan dic on east healfe weges to poll hæscen adune be þam broce to rýt cendeurion þonne be þam broce to carn nið bran to deumæn coruan . þanon 7lang weges to crucdrænoc . þanon to carrecwynn 7 eft þanon to pollicerr. Ðis is seo landscaru to trefualoc ærest to þære dic þonne fram dice adun to þam broce of þam broce to crouswrach 7lang weges on þa dic þanon to maýn biþ to cruce mur . þanon to carn wlicet 7lang þære to þam broce . þanon 7lang stremes oð tuow wæter eft be þære dic. Ðis is seo landscaru to crucwæð ærest æt nant buorðtel 7lang stremes oð lenbrunn þanan to cestel merit þanon west to wucou genidor west andlang dic oð broc þanon to fonton morgeonec þanon adune to broce þær hit æt fruman wæs. Ðis . . . . landgemæro to trefdewig ærest æt pennhal meglar suð to þam wege þanon to þam forða ongeriht to erliwet þanon forð 7lang stremes to lyncenin þanon up to penhal meglar.

✠ Ego eadweard rex anglorum hoc donum cum triumpho agię sancte crucis. ✠ Ego dunstanus archipresul confirmaui. ✠ Ego æðelwoldus episcopus testor. Ego ælfstanus episcopus annui. Ego wulfsige episcopus condictaui et subscripsi. ✠ Ego ælffere dux. ✠ . . . . . Ego æðelwýne dux. Ego brýhtnoð dux. Ego leofwine dux. Ego ælfweard minister testor. Ego ælfsige minister testor. Ego leofwýnne minister testor. Ego brýhtmær minister testor. Ego ælfgar minister testor.

Quisquis igitur hoc nostrum donum conseruare imo augere inhianter desiderauerit . ampliucetur dies illius et post obitum transire mereatur feliciter ad regna

polorum. Sin autem quod absit . et deum et semetipsum obliuiscendo aliquis motare temptauerit . anathema sit et dies illius non dimidiauerit et gloriam dei cum choris angelorum nequaquam uideat in terra uiuentium.

<sup>1</sup> Read *corporeæ*. These three hexameters occur again K1297.

Cott. Aug. ii. 90.

A.D. 1039.

K 758. T. p. 338.

B. iv. 20.

## Harold

surnamed Harefoot, lay grievously sick in Oxford, not expecting to live, and bishop Lyfing from Devonshire was with him. A deputation arrived from Christchurch (Canterbury), to represent to the king that certain dues at Sandwich had been seized in the king's name and kept two years from the brotherhood. On hearing this, the king changed colour, and swore that it was not his doing: and so it came to light that the whole thing was a plot between Ælfstan the abbot of St. Augustine's and those who acted for the king.

The narrative is well told, and the manuscript is good; but not contemporaneous.

On the date Mr. Freeman says:—'Mr. Kemble dates the document in 1038, but it is clear that it must, as Sir Henry Ellis says, belong to 1039, or perhaps to the beginning of 1040.' *Norman Conquest*, i. 563, note.

HÆR kȳþ on þison gewrite þ̅ harold king . let beridan sandwic of x̅pes cȳrcean him sȳlfan to handa . 7 hæfde hit him wel neh twelf monað . 7 twegen hæri'n'ge timan . swa þeah fullice . eall ongean godes willan . 7 agen ealra þara halgena þe restað innon x̅pes cȳrcean swa swa hit him sȳððan sorhlice þæræfter agiode . 7 amanc þisan siþan siðe<sup>1</sup> wearð ælfstan abb̅ . æt s̅ce A . 7 begeat mid his smeh wrencan . 7 mid his golde 7 seolfre eall dȳrnun'c̅ga æt steorran þe þa wæs þæs

kinges rædes mann ꝥ hī gewearð se þridda penig of  
 þære tolne on sandwic þa gerædde eadsige arceb þa he  
 þis wiste . 7 eall se hired æt xþes cýrc betweonan heom  
 ꝥ man sende ælfgar munuc of xþes cýrc to harolde  
 kingce . 7 wæs se king þa binnan oxana forde swýþe  
 geseocled . swa ꝥ he læg orwene his lifes . þa wæs  
 lýfinge ð of defenan scire . mid þam kingce . 7 þancred  
 munuc mid him . þa com cristes cýrc sand to þā ð .  
 7 he forð þa to þam kingce . 7 ælfgar munuc mid hī .  
 7 oswerd æt hergerdes hā . 7 þancred . 7 sædon þā kinge .  
 ꝥ he hæfde swýðe agýlt wið crist ꝥ he æfre sceolde  
 niman ænig þing . of xþes cýrc þe his foragengceon  
 dýdon þider inn . sædon þā kinge þa embe sandwic ꝥ  
 hit wæs hī to handa geriden . þa læg se king 7 aswear-  
 tode eall . mid þare sage . 7 swor sýþþan under god  
 ælmihtine 7 under ealle halgan þarto ꝥ hit næfre næs .  
 na his ræd na his dæd . ꝥ man sceolde æfre sandwic don  
 ut of xþes cýrc . þa wæs soðlice gesýne . ꝥ hit wæs oðra  
 manna ġþeaht næs na haroldes kinges . 7 soðlice ælf-  
 stanes abbodes ræd wæs mid þā mannan þe hit of xþes  
 cýrc ut geræddon . þa sende harold king ælfgar munuc  
 agen to þā arceb eadsige . 7 to eallon xþes cýrc munecan .  
 7 grette hig ealle godes gretinege 7 his . 7 het 'þ' hig  
 sceoldan habban sandwic into xþes cýrc . swa full . 7  
 swa forð swa hig hit æfre hæfdon on ænies kinges dæge .  
 ge on gafole . ge on streame . ge on strande . ge on  
 witun . ge on eallon þā þingan þe hit æfre ænig king  
 fyr'm'est hæfde æt foran hī . þa ælfstan abb . þis of  
 axode þa com he to eadsige arceb . 7 bæd hine fultumes  
 to þā hirode embe þone þriddan penig . 7 hi begen þa  
 to eallon gebroþran 7 bædon þone hired ꝥ ælfstan abb  
 moste beon þæs þriddan peniges wurðe of þære tolne .  
 7 gýfan þā hirede . x . þd . ac hý forwýrndon heom

ealle togædere endemes . ꝥ he hit na sceolde næfre gebidan . 7 wæs þeah eadsige arceþ swiðor his fultum þoñ þæs hires . 7 þa he ne mihte na forð her mid þa gýrnde he ꝥ he moste macian fornangen mildryþe æker ænne hwerf wið þone woda<sup>2</sup> to werianne . ac eall se hired him forwýrnde þæs forð út mid ealle . 7 se arceþ eadsige let hit eall to heora agene ræde . þa gewearð se abþ ælfstan æt . mid micelan fultume . 7 let delfon æt hýppeles fleote an mýcel gedelf . 7 wolde ꝥ scip rýne sceolde þærinne liegean eall swa hig dýdon on sandwic . ac hī na speow nan þinge þæron . for þam he swingð eall on idel þe swincð ongean xþes willan . 7 se abþ let hit eall þus . 7 se hired fenge to heora agenan . on godes gewitnesse 7 sça marian 7 ealra þara halgena þe restað innan xþes cýrcean . 7 æt sçe augustine . þis is eall soð gelyfe se þe wýlle . na gebad ælfstan abþ næfre on nanan opre wisan þone þridan penig of sandwic . Godes bletsung si mid us eallon a on ecnýsse . amen.

\*.\* *Endorsed in a hand of the 12th century, 'Altercatio de Sandwic inter conuentum ecclesie Christi et Elfstanum abbatem sancti Augustini, tempore Eadsigi archiepiscopi . anglice .'; and in a hand of the 13th century, 'Anno Mº xxxº viijº.' B.*

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has amanc pisan siþan siðe: with the word *pisan* underlined, which means that the reviser had his misgivings about it. Kemble printed amanc pisan siðe; Thorpe amanc pisan siþan, which he translated 'during this time.' I suppose the original had simply 'amang þisum' = meanwhile.

<sup>2</sup> wið þone woda. 'That he might make a wharf over against Mildred's field, as a protection against the ford' Thorpe, who acknowledges his translation doubtful. Leo, A. S. Glossar 13: ein Damm (Kai) gegen den Sturm.



D. and C. Exon.

A.D. 1059.

S. ii. Ex. 14.

**Eadweard**

granting to bp. Aldred land in Cornwall. Not in K. or T.  
See above p. 295.

✠ CUM diuinę maiestatis potentia . secundum uelle crearet omnia . hominisque speciem . ad suam crearet imaginem . inuidus omnium bonorum succinctus fraude malorum . ipsius hominis esse . suę malignitatis penitus deprauauit posse. Sed misericors condolens fragilitati . se ipsum subegit humanitati . quatenus futurorum prescius liberaret per semetipsum . quod ipse omnium malorum radix illexit ad interitum. Huius rei memores . nos nostrique consimiles . ei persoluamus gratias . ut oportet perpetuas . qui nos libertati . dedit et saluti. Unde dignum ducimus de bonis temporalibus quę concessit dominus . uite suffragari . ueniamque mereri . sic diuidentes transitoria . ut dum defecerimus recipiamur in ęterna tabernacula . quum velud umbra quę modo uidentur transibunt omnia. Qua propter ego . EADWEARD rex anglorum . eorumque confinium . nutu dei conpunctus . totiusque regni monarchia functus . optimatum consilio . cuidam fidei meo episcopo nomine alfredo quandam partem telluris trado . id est . trefwurabo . et trefualoc . trefgrueð . et trefdewig . cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus campis . siluis . pratis . piscariisque liberam ab omni regali censu . excepta expeditione . arcisue munimine . eo tenore . ut perpetua possideat hereditate . dumque uniuersę carnis uiam intrauerit . cuicumque libeat . perpetuo possidendam relinquat. Acta est autem hæc donatio . anno millesimo . lviii . ab incarnatione domini . indictione . xii . epacte . xv . his

testibus consentientibus quorum nomina infra sunt prenotata . þis is seo landscaru to trefwurabo . ærest æt pollcerr . ðenne be þære dic 7lang weges . þonne of þam wege on ða lýtlan dic . on easthalfe weges to poll hæscen . adune be þam broce to rýt cendeurion . þonne be ðam broce to carn nýþbran . to deumæn coruan þanon 7lang weges to crucdrænoc . þanon to carrec wýnn . 7 eft ðanon to pollcerr . þis se landscaru to trefualoc . ærest to þære dic . þonne fram dice adune to ðam broce of ðam broce to crouswrach . 7lang weges on ða dic . þanon to main biw . to crucmur . þanon to carnwlicet . 7lang ðære to ðan broce . ðanon 7lang stremes oð tuow weter eft be ðære dic . þis is seo land scaru to crucwæþ ærest æt nant buorðtel 7lang stremes oð lenbrun . þanon to cestel merit . þanon west to wucow geniðor west 7lang dic oð broc . þanon to fonton morgeonec . þanon adune to broce . ðær hit æt fruman wæs . þis is seo landscaru to trefdæwig . ærest æt penheal meglar suð to þam wege þanon to ðam forða ongerihtre to erliwet . þanon forð 7lang stremes to lýncenin . ðanon up to penhal meglar .

✠ Ego EADWEARD rex anglorum hanc donationem cum triumpho agiꝑ crucis impressi. Ego Stigandus archiepiscopus christi ꝥcclesiꝑ confortauī. Ego Kynsinus archiepiscopus eboracensis ꝥcclesiꝑ consensi. Ego Leofricus episcopus exoniensis ꝥcclesiꝑ confirmaui et subscripsi. Ego Dodica episcopus assensum prebui. Ego Alfwoldus episcopus testis fui. Ego Ælfwinus abbas consolidauī. Ego Ægelnoðus abbas corroborauī. Ego Haraldus dux. Ego Ælfgar dux. Ego Tostig dux. Ego Leofwine dux. Ego Gerð dux. Ego Býrhticus nobilis. Ego dodda minister. Ego ordulf minister. Ego ælfrie minister. Ego æglward minister. Ego

Leofnoð minister. Ego Wulfnoð minister. Ego Leofwine minister. Ego Eadmær minister.

Huius uero predii donationem optamus et uolumus esse perpetuam . et omni contradictione securam . neque christianum se fateatur . qui eam infringere conatur . et si quis in hoc consenserit . quod absit . penarum ultionibus sit ab istis testibus tamdiu addictus . quo adusque per ignem urentem . debiti huius persoluat nouissimum quadrantem.

\*.\* The Latin of this deed is in a sort of rude rhymes.

D. and C. Westm.

A.D. 1051-1065.

S ii. Westm. 10.

### Eadward

his writ to William bp. London, &c. confirming to St. Peter's, Westm. the estate of Staines, and a vill in London named after the said estate.

✠ EADWARD king grett Willelm biscop 7 Harold eorl 7 Esgar stealre . 7 ealle mine pegnas 7 mine holde freond on middelsexan? freondlice. Ic kȳpe eow þ̅ icc wille . 7 icc ánn þ̅ Sce Peter 7 þa gebroðra on westmýnstre habben to heora bileofan þ̅ cotlif stana . mid þam lande stæninga haga wið innon lundone . 7 fif 7 þrittig hida sokne þær tó . mid eallū þám berwican þe icc habbe for minre sawle alesednȳsse in to þære halgan stowwe gegȳfan . 7 ælce þære þinga þe þær tó mid rihte ge býrað on cȳrcan 7 on mȳlnan . on wuda 7 on feldan . on læse 7 on hæðe . on mædū 7 on éitū . on wæterū 7 on werū . 7 on eallū þingū swa full 7 swa forð swa hȳ on ealdū timan in to stana sokne geléd wæron . oððe me selfan fȳrmest on handa stodan. Ánd icc ánn heom

eft ealswa þ̅ h̅y habben þ̅ær tó saka . 7 sokne . tóll 7  
 téam . infangeneðeof . 7 flemenef̅yrmðe . griðbr̅yce . 7  
 ham sokne . forsteall . 7 miskænninge . 7 ealle o̅pre  
 gerihtu on eallū þ̅ingū þ̅e þ̅ær úpp a springað . inne tíð  
 . 7 ut of tíðe . binnan burh . 7 butan burhge . on stræte  
 . 7 of stræte . For þ̅án ícc nelle nateshwón geþ̅áfian .  
 þ̅ ænig mán aet br̅ede oððe geútige mine g̅ýfe 7 mine  
 ælmesse swa m̅ýcel þ̅̅ s̅ý an æker landes . þ̅æs þ̅e on  
 æniges mannes dægge in to þ̅ā cotlifan geb̅ýrede . oððe  
 þ̅ þ̅ær ænig mán ænigne on st̅ýng habbe on ænigū þ̅ingū.  
 oððe on ænige timan . be strande ne be lande . buton  
 se abbod 7 þ̅a gebroðra to þ̅as m̅ýnstres neode ; 7 ícc  
 wille . 7 fæstlice bebeode . þ̅ þ̅eos mundb̅ýrdnesse beo  
 strang . 7 stapelfæst in to þ̅ære halgan stowwe . á on éce  
 erfeweardnesse . Amen . God eow ealle gehealda .

\*.\* K855 is the same deed in a more debased form, and taken from  
 a much later transcript, in *Faustina*, A iii. f. 104.

## II.

THE Second Group is based on the Worcester Chartulary  
 (Cott. Tiberius A. xiii), which was compiled by Heming, a  
 monk of Worcester, under guidance of Wulfstan (bishop  
 1062–1095). This book was edited by Hearne in 1723  
 under the title ‘Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiæ Wigornien-  
 sis.’ In his Preface he is almost rapturous as he describes  
 his first impressions:—‘Codicem . . nactus avidissimè per-  
 legi, omnia in eodem maximi facienda esse illico cernens.  
 Immo, perinde ac si cuncta in lapidibus veteribus exscul-  
 perentur atque celebrarentur, æstimanda duxi.’ He corro-  
 borates his own opinion by that of others, especially Hickes  
 (who was then recently dead):—‘Ceterum, ne quid putes  
 me dixisse ex nescio qua vana opinione, contraque senten-

tiam iudicum præstantissimorum, id velim scias, clarissimum Hiccesium Chartularium hoc inter pretiosissima regni monumenta numerasse.' For some few of the deeds in this Register we have an older authority, namely, Cott. Nero E. 1, which Kemble assigns to A.D. 1000. In these Registers of the 11th century the vast bulk is genuine, and some specimens have been admitted into Part I. But artificial fabrication is already at work; and these early collections, being of known dates, afford us some valuable indications for diplomatic criticism.

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Cott. Tib. A. xiii. ff. 15 and 167. A.D. 717-743.

Cott. Nero E. 1. f. 391.

K 88\*.

### Æthilbald

granting 8 cassati to bp. Wilfrid, whose episcopate affords the most limited assignable date for this piece.

✠ Ego Aethilbald diuina inspirante gratia rex Suthanglorum terram VIII. cassatorum quæ nomen habet aet Baecesshoran, pro redemptione animæ meæ, ut sit iuris æcclesiastici, reuerentissimo episcopo Uuilfrido libenter largitus sum; notis hæc terra limitibus ab aliis litem discernit agris; montis ad meridiem uersus haud parua obtinet partem, ad orientem uia regia septa ab aquilone fluuiialibus cingitur undis, paludibus dyssis certis determinat illam.

✠ Ego Aethilbald rex meam donationem pro domino factam signaculo sacratissimæ crucis confirmo. ✠ Ego Uualhstod episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Uuilfrith subscripsi. ✠ Ego Oba subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aethilric subscripsi. ✠ Ego Sigebed subscripsi.

\*.\* There are three copies, two in Tiberius, and one in Nero; with unimportant variations.

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Cott. Tib. A. xiii. f. 16.

Cott. Nero E. i. f. 339.

A.D. 757.

K102\*. Birch 183.

## Eanberht of the Hwiccas

and his two brothers, granting to Milred, bp. Worcester, 30 cassati at Tredingtun, co. Worcester.

✠ REGNANTE inperpetuum domino deo Sabaoth! 'Dum certum constat omnibus orthodoxis ac catholicis uiris, quod istius uolubilis uitae transitoria uidelicet tempora momentaneis cursibus termino adpropinquare, et inreuocabiles esse iam praeteriti dies, nec non annorum curricula cum suis mensibus in priorem statum nunquam reuerti a nullo credentium dubitatur; et caetera quae restant subsequencia nullam facere moram festinando ad finem pro certo noscuntur. Idcirco ego Eanberhtus, deo praedestinante<sup>1</sup> regulus propriae gentis Huicciorum simulque germani mei mecum, Uhtredus uidelicet et Aldredus, eadem uocabuli dignitate et imperio fungentes, 'his ante dictis manifestissimis causis instructi, quatinus cum istis saecularibus rebus quae citius transire constant, aeterna paradisi praemia quae sempiterna esse scimus lucrare ualeamus'<sup>2</sup>, aliquam agelli portionem, pro remedio animae nostrae, Milredo uenerando antistiti, ad sedem pontificalem et ad aecclesiam beatissimi apostolorum principis Sancti Petri, ubi corpora parentum nostrorum quiescunt, quae in Uueger-nensi ciuitate fundata est, ter denos cassatos, id est, uicum qui nuncupatur Tredingtun, in duobus locis, in altero quater senos, in altero bis ternos, iuxta fluuium qui dicitur Stuur, iisdem terminibus adiacentibus quibus Tyrdda comes antea tenebat, libentissime in commune

largiti sumus; ut semper seu nobis uiuentibus seu in Christo dormientibus, digna remuneratio in sanctarum orationum, cum missarum sacris celebrationibus, ab eadem aeclesia die noctuque, deo patrocicante, fideliter reddatur. Si quis uero, quod absit, hanc munificentiam nostram, pro deo omnipotenti concessam, plurimorumque consilio corroboratam, quorum infra nomina ponuntur, auaritiae aestibus succensus et diabolica praesumptione incitatus, infeliciter inritam facere praesumat, sciat se ab aeterna requie separatum, et cum Iuda impio traditore aeternis dampnationum legibus mancipatum. Si quis uero augendo multiplicare uoluerit, Christi instinctus amore<sup>3</sup>, augeat deus partem illius in remuneratione iustorum, ubi animae sanctorum fulgent in gloria. His hinc inde subscriptis terminis praefata certissime circumgiratur tellus.

Ðis syndan ða landgemæru tó Tredingetúne. Of Stúre on ða stán scale; ðonne be ðán heáfdan; ðæt on ða dúnas ende; ondlong dúnas ðæt on scíre mére; of scíran mére ðæt on Brócnanbyrh; of Brócnanbyrh on ðæt riðig; ondlong riðiges on mórseáð; of mórseáðe on Siðryðe wellan; of Siðryðe wellan on rýdmædwán úfearde; of reódmædwán on háran stán; of háran stáne on ða langan díc; ondlong díce ðæt on ðone pyt; of ðám pytte ðæt on reódwellan; of reódwellan ðæt on ðone ofer; ondlong ofres ðæt on Stánford; of Stánforda ondlonges ðære lace; of ðære lace súð be ðám heáfdon ðæt on ráhweg; ðæt ondlong ráhweges on ráhdene; ðæt ðonne on Wádbeorgas; of Wádbeorgan ðæt on ðone rycweg; of rycwege on hwæte dune; of hwæte dune on ðone stapol; of ðám stapole on ða márdíc; ondlong dices ðæt on Stúres streám.

✠ Ego Eanberht hanc nostram communem dona-

tionem pro ampliori firmitate signum sanctissimae crucis libens arauī. ✠ Ego Uhtred ante praescriptam donationem nostram confirmans subscribo, et uexillum crucis praetitulauī. ✠ Ego Aldred, maiorum meorum corroboratus exemplis, almae crucis uexillum inposui. ✠ Ego Milred gratia dei episcopus, his praedictis rebus canonice consensi et signum uenerabile impressi. ✠ Ego Offa, nondum regno Mercionum a domino accepto, puer indolis in prouincia Huicciorum constitutus, huic donationi eorum consensi et signum honorabile beatæ crucis conscripsi<sup>4</sup>. ✠ Ego Totta, dei diffinitione antistes, hanc praenotatam munificentiam consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Hemele, dei gratia praesul, aecclesiastice consensi, et signum salutiferae crucis praenotaui. ✠ Signum manus Heardberhti praefecti. ✠ Signum manus Aldberhti praefecti. ✠ Signum manus Tiluuini abbatis. ✠ Signum manus Cusan abbatis. ✠ Signum manus Headdan presbyteri. ✠ Signum Ealdbaldi praefecti. ✠ Signum Eatan p̃.<sup>5</sup> ✠ Signum Cecces. ✠ Signum Dunnes. ✠ Signum Brogan. ✠ Signum Pendheres. ✠ Signum Uuales p̃.<sup>5</sup> ✠ Signum Beornhardus praefectus.

\*.\* A comparison of the two copies suggests that the elder (Cott. N.) is an attempt at the composition of an ancient charter, which was thrown aside unfinished; and that the latter one (Cott. T.), which is here printed, was considered satisfactory.

<sup>1</sup> 'Dum . . . prædestinante'—for all this Cott. N. has only 'cuius concedente clementia, ego Eanberht.'

<sup>2</sup> Not in Cott. N.

<sup>3</sup> Here Cott. N. breaks off.

<sup>4</sup> I Offa, before I was king of the Mercians, being placed for education (?) in the province of the Hwiccas, signed this.

<sup>5</sup> praefecti K.



Cott. Tib. A. xiii. f. 34.

A.D. 757-775.

K 126\*. Birch 219.

## Offa

granting Wick on the west of Severn to Milred, bp. Worcester. We have the bounds in two forms, of which the unmixed Saxon is manifestly the original.

✠ OMNIBUS patet fidelibus quod hic non habemus manentem ciuitatem, iuxta gloriosi doctoris gentium Pauli uocem, quoniam per momentanea succedentium temporum curricula et carnis fragilitatem, omnia labentis uitae subsistentia festinare uidentur ad finem. Propterea ego Offa, rex Merciorum diuinae misericordia gratiae, pro acquirenda deificae remunerationis requie, animaeque meae remedio et salute, et meorum facinorum releuatione, terram cum finibus suis, quae pertinet ad uillam quae uocatur Wican, sitam in occidentali parte Sæferne, regio utens potestate, dono libertati, et Mildrede pontifici perpetua haereditate trado in possessionem iuris aecclesiastici, ad laudem et gloriam et honorem altissimi dei, omniumque sanctorum nunc et omni tempore saeculi. Si quis ergo hanc nostrae donationis elemosinam minuere uoluerit et delere, auferatur et deleatur memoria eius de libro uitae, et cum Iuda Christi traditore crematur aeterna combustionem; et Annania et Saphira sentiat iram ultionis diuinae, nisi in praesenti uita emendauerit condigna satisfactione.

Haec enim sunt nomina finium terrarum ad supradictam uillam adiacentium. Primus de Tamede mūdān recto cursu in os wynna bæce; deinde in Wuda mōr; sic extenditur in Wætansíc; sic statim in locum quae dicuntur bakas; proinde in ueterem uallem; de illa ualle usque in Secmāeres oran; sic recto cursu in pulles

camp ; sic in longum usque ad þorn brycge ; inde quoque in Kaderapull ; de Caderapulle in Becha brycge ; de hoc ad introitum hypes mōr ; de ipsa mōre in Coforet brōc ; in illam hagan ; post illud ad tumultum uocitatum kett ; ex kette usque ad monticulos ; ex inde uero in Lawern ; sic usque ad átsice ; post usque ad quercum quae nuncupatur scip ác ; inde autem ad locum dictum greátan æspan ; et ex eo loco ad hreadan sloh ; deinde uero ad alios monticulos ; postea uero ad uiam quae dicitur Fíf ác ; recto itinere ad easdem fíf ac ; proinde autem ad þreom gemæran ; et ex illo loco recta occidentis semita in illam dīc ; sicque protenditur in kyllan hrygc ; deinde in Syllweg ; sic extenditur in hǣðihtan leáhge ; et ita in fūlan sloh ; post hinc supra Buttinge gráf in locum dictum Ecclesbrōc , qui terminus adiacet in Doferic , usque ad Sæferne ; quod transit in ore Temede .

Ðis synd ða landgemæra intó Wīcan . Ærest of Temede gemýðan ; andlang Temede in wynna bæces gemýðan ; of wynna bæce in wuda mōr ; of wuda mōre in wætan síce ; of ðám wætan síce in ða bakas ; and of ðám bakan in ða ealdan dīc ; of ðære ealdan dīc in secges mēre ; and of secges mēre in ðes pulles heáfod andlong tó þornbrycge ; of þornbrycge in kadera pull ; of kadera pulle in beka brycge ; of becha brycge in forewardan hipes mōr ; of ðám mōre innon coforð brōc ; of ðám brōke innon ðone hagan ; æfter ðám hagan innon kett ; of kette in ða hlāwas ; of ðám hlāwan in Lawern ; of Lawerne in ðæt átsic ; and æfter ðám síce innon ða scip ác ; and of ðære scip ác in ða grátan æspan ; and swá in þ hreáde sloh ; of ðám slo innon ða hlāwas ; and of ðám hlāwan in fíf ácana weg ; and æfter ðám wege innon ða fíf æce ; of ðám ácan innon þrim gemæran ; of þrim gemæran in lacge burnan ; of

ðære burnan tō mīla stāne ; of ðām stāne on ða hāran  
apeltreó ; of ðære apeltreó innon Doferic ; æfter Doferice  
in Sæferne ; and andlang Sæferne in Temede mūðan.

\*.\* The former importance of the villa of Wick is testified by many names on the west side of the river. The Latin version occasionally adds something to the Saxon ; e. g. ad tumulum vocitatum kett.

Cott. Nero E. 1. f. 390.

A.D. 757-795.

Cott. Tib. A. xiii. f. 107 (*bis*).

K 55\*. Birch 123.

## Offa

granting 33' cassati to the church at Worcester.

✠ REGNANTE in perpetuum domino, uniuersitatis  
creatore! Ego Offa rex Merciorum, aliquam partem  
terrarum, id est XXXIII. cassatorum, in ius aecclesiasticae  
libertatis Uuigornensis largior, aet Scottarið ; quem  
tamen agrum fluuio, quem dicunt Afen, constat interlui ;  
is demum subregulus III. postea cassatos ruris siluatici  
largiendo addidit, aet Hnuthyrste. Istis terminis prae-  
fatum rus cingitur, in primis Balgandun, Billeslæh,  
Westgraf, Heofentill, Baddandun, hoc est in occiden-  
tali parte fluminis ; in orientali plaga Wudanbergas,  
Rugganbroc, Bromhlinces dene ; inde on Sture ; ond-  
longes Sture usque in Afene.

Addidit etiam praedictus Offa III. cassatos in alio loco  
siluatici ruris, usitato nomine Hellerelege, pro remedio  
suae animae in ciuitate Wegornensi : his terminis cin-  
gitur : Ærest on Leontan ðæt cume on blācan mēre ;  
ðonon ðæt cume in ða geapan linde ; ðonon ðæt cume  
on lindwyrðe ; swā ðæt cume on Ciondan ; of Ceondan  
ðæt cume on Reodmōre ; ðonon ðæt cume on ða greātan  
āc ; ðonon ðæt cume in ða reādan sole ; ðonon ðæt

cume on cærs pytt; swā ðæt cume in Usanmère; of Usanmère ðæt cume eft on Leontan.

\*\* Kemble assigns this piece not to the great formidolosus Offa (757-795), but to Offa of Essex, who became a monk in 709: Bede, v. 19; apparently in order to reconcile the expression 'subregulus.' But then, how about 'rex Merciorum'? The fact is, no accommodation will make this piece anything but a crude attempt to construct the early history of benefactions. This is from Nero E. i. The Heming copy has considerable variations, and K. has printed both in full. Heming moreover repeats the document with further but slight variation.

Cott. Tib. A. xiii. f. 48.

A.D. 791-797.

Cott. Nero E. i. f. 387.

K 166. T. p. 39.

Birch 272, 273.

### Offa

conveying land at Westbury, co. Gloucester, and at Hanbury, co. Worcester.

✠ In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi 'qui cuncta regit secula'. Ego Offa trado illam terram æt Westbyrig cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus, id est sexaginta manentium, et in alio loco æt Heanbyrig xx. manentium to Weogerna cestre, pro remedio animæ meae ac parentum meorum, post obitum meum et filii mei Egcfriði, et eadem libertatis dicione in omnibus rebus jure permanendam qua eam ante Æpelbaldus rex, avo meo Eanulfo conscripserat; id est, ut sit libera tam in terrarum donatione seu in omnibus causis parvis vel magnis inconcussa permaneant usque in sæculum, tamdiu fides Christiana apud Anglos in Brittannia maneat. 'Soluta sit ab omni vi regum et principum et subditorum ipsorum, in summo Dei nomine præcipimus, præter his vectigalibus, hoc est, þæs gafoles æt Westbyrig twa tunnan fulle hlutres aloð. 7 cumb fulne liðes aloð. 7 cumb fulne Welisces aloð. 7 vii. hriðru. 7 six weðeras.

7 XL. cysa. 7 VI. lang þero. 7 pritig ombra rues cornes. feower ambru meolwes, ad regalem vicum <sup>1</sup>. Hoc itaque cum consensu et consilio pontificum et senatorum meorum firma fœdere dejudicaverunt. Nulla `regalis vel principalis aut aliqua<sup>1</sup> sæcularis dignitas de nostra hereditate plus his in modico vel in magno appetendo, per vim aut petitionem aliquid exigerit, `absque hoc tantum quod hæc præsens cartula continet <sup>1</sup>. Hi sunt testes :

✠ Ego Offa gratia Dei rex hoc regi singulis annis statum . . . . . cenum manus meae propriæ signo confirmo. ✠ Ego Ecgferð ejusdem regis filius consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æþelheard archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Heaðored episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Unuuona episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Signum Brordani patricii. ✠ Signum Beonnani abbatis. ✠ Signum Alhmundi abbatis. ✠ Signum Wigmundi abbatis. ✠ Signum Forðredi abbatis. ✠ Signum Bynna principis. ✠ Signum Esne ducis. ✠ Signum Æþelmund ducis. ✠ Signum Alhmund ducis. ✠ Signum Wigberht ducis. ✠ Signum Wigeggan ducis. ✠ Signum Eadgar ducis. ✠ Signum Alhmund ducis.

<sup>1</sup> Not in MS. Nero.

Cott. Tib. A. xiii. f. 13.

25 Dec. 841.

Cott. Nero E. I. f. 106.

K 248\*.

T. p. 92.

### Berhtuulf

king of the Mercians granting to Bredon abbey exemption from the burden of 'festingmen,' for a valuable consideration.

✠ Aro<sup>1</sup> et alto domino deo Zabaoth regnanti in

aeuum<sup>2</sup>. Siquidem humani generis prosapia de primo patre et matre oriundus in hoc saeculum uenit, et sic per longa uaga temporum spatia diuersis nationibus dirimuntur, ut ianitor coelestis bibliothecae et uas electionis, praedicator egregius, apostolus Paulus dixit, praeteriit enim figura huius mundi, quomodo uelocitate dies et anni deficiunt: et iterum sagax sophista, qui quondam Solymis diues regnauit in aruis<sup>3</sup>, katalectico uersu cecinit dicens, Non semper licet gaudere: Fugit hora qua iacemur. Et ideo sunt omnes nostrae seriae literarum apicibus confirmandas<sup>4</sup>, ne posteris ex memoria labere possit quicquid facta praecedentium patrum ac regum firmiter statuerunt. Qua de re, ego Berhtuulf, domino disponente rex Merciorum, mihi et omnibus Mercii in aeternam elemosinam, donans donabo Eanmundo uenerabili abbate et eius familie on Breodune, cum licentia et testimonia obtinatum gentis Merciorum, hanc libertatis gratiam, id est, ut sit liberatum et ob-solutum illud monasterium in aeternitatem ab illis incommodis quae nos Saxonica lingua festingmen dicimus, Christo domino teste et omnibus sanctis in celis tam diu fides catholica et baptismum Christi in Britannia seruetur. Ob huius rei gratia, ipse uero supradictus Eanmund abbas et illius sancta congregatio Breodunensis monasterii dederunt mihi et omnibus Mercis regaliter perfruendum et possedendum, in famoso uico in Tome-worðie, magnum discum argenteum ualde bene operatum ac faleratum in magno pretio, et c.xc. mancusas in auro puro: similiter etiam decantauerunt duodecim uicibus c. psalterios, et c.xx. missas, pro Berhtwlfum regem, et pro illius caros amicos, et pro omnem gentem Merciorum, ut eorum libertas firmior ac stabilior permaneat in evum, et ut illius regis memoria et amicorum

eius, qui hanc pietatem in elemosinam sempiternam omnibus Mercis ille congregatione on Breodune donauerat, in eorum sacris orationibus iugiter permaneat usque in evum. Insuper, in dei omnipotentis nomine, et nouem ordinibus angelorum, et omnium electorum Christi, praeceptum ponimus, ut nullus unquam regum uel principum, aut alicuius personis homo, magnis siue modicis, in aliquo tempore hanc praescriptam libertatis gratiam infringere ausus sit, sed semper stabilis et indiscussa firmiterque firmata ille congregatione on Breodune coram deo et hominibus iugiter permaneat in evum. Haec autem cartula caraxata est anno dominice incarnationis DCCC<sup>o</sup>XLI. Indictione IIII. in die natalis domini, in celebre uico on Tomeworðie, his testibus consentientibus, et signum crucis Christi scribentibus, quorum subter nomina notata sunt.

✠ Ego Berhtuulf, largiflua dei munificentia rex Merciorum, hanc meam libertatis gratiam ac omnium Merciorum cum signo sancte crucis firmiter consignabo.

✠ Ego Sæðryð regina consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cyneferð episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Aldred episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Berehtred episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Heaberht episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Cuðuulf episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Eanmund abbas consensi. ✠ Ego Wihtred abbas consensi. ✠ Ego Ceolred abbas consensi.

\*.\* Hearne has passed over this document with the most meagre notice. Was he ashamed of it? Thorpe called it 'A choice specimen of monastic Latin in the 5th century.'

<sup>1</sup> Agio N (Hearne, p. 28).

<sup>2</sup> hexameter.

<sup>3</sup> honor *N adds.*

<sup>4</sup> confirmandæ K.

Cott. Tib. A. xiii. f. 19 (collated).

Easter, 857.

K 280\*.

T. p. 118.

**Burgred**

the last king of Mercia, granting to bp. Alhun a villa in London.

✠ IN nomine domini dei excelsi, qui est spes omnium finium terrae et in mare longe! Ego autem Burhredus, omnipotentissimo deo concedente, rex Merciorum, donabo ac trado Alhuno, episcopo meo, pro remedio animae meae, aliquam parvam portionem libertatis, cum consensu consiliatorum meorum, gaziferi agelluli in uico lundonioe; hoc est, ubi nominatur Ceolmundinge haga, qui est non longe from westgetum positus, sibi ep̃is in propriam libertatem ad habendum, uel ad uneogerna ciuitate pertinentem, cum omnibus rebus que ad se recte pertinent, modicis et magnis; hoc est, quod habeat intus liberaliter modium et pondera et mensura, sicut in porto mos est ad fruendum. Hec libertas huius agri comparata est a rege cum sexaginta solidorum argenti, et ante empta cum tanto pecunia uno libra et ceolmunde p̃fecto. Pax et securitas sit omnibus seruantibus hanc libertatem; contradicentes uero et renuentibus aeterni regis ultio sibi incumbat, si non digne emendauerint deo et hominibus. Gesta sunt haec anno dominici incarnatione DCCCLVII. Indictione uero v. in loco famoso qui dicitur Tomanworðig, in sancta pascha domini. Ad census uero regi reddatur in anno de agriunculo illo XII. denarios. Hii fuerunt testes quorum nomina hic sunt.

✠ Ego Burgred rex Merciorum, hanc libertatem



quam episcopo donauī, signo crucis Christi munio et confirmo. ✠ Ego Æthelswyð regina hanc donationem regis consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Tumberht episcopus. ✠ Ego Ceorred episcopus. ✠ Ego Alhun episcopus. ✠ Ego Byrhtred episcopus. ✠ Ego Cuð-uulf episcopus. ✠ Ego Hunberht dux. ✠ Ego Beorhtnoð dux. ✠ Ego Ealdberht dux. ✠ Ego Mucel dux. ✠ Ego Aðulf dux. ✠ Ego Beornhard dux. ✠ Ego Eadred dux.

\*\*\* Whether genuine or the product of a later age, this document may contain good material for the history of London. The 'Westgate' here is, according to J. B. Green, *Conquest*, p. 457, the 'Newgate' of later days.

Cott. Tib. A. xiii. f. 18.

A.D. 889.

K 316\*.

T. p. 135.

### Alfred

and Æthelred of Mercia granting a mansion or court in London to Werfrith, bp. Worcester, with market dues.

✠ SEDULE namque nonnullis, et maxime per instantis uitae turbidam discordiæ rabiem, in hac decrepita finis mundialis canitiæ<sup>1</sup> contingere solet, quod simplicem memorabilis præcordii oculum turbines obliuiosae ob-scenitatis quatientes reuerberant, seu nebulae neglegentiarum nubiferis deprauationum fuscationibus a recte possessionis iure radiantem iustitiæ Phoebum obnubilant; quapropter necesse cuilibet homini est, ut literatoris apicibus omnia atquisita seu possessa, ob præsentium siue succedentium cautelam, quae a catholicis uel heroieis uiris cuiuslibet personae maioris minorisue potestatis, deo eiusque sanctis per celorum celsitudinem tradita sunt, etiam testimonio et roboratione ipsorum

firme rationis serie firmentur, rectoque caraxantis stilo  
 in scedulis notentur. Anno igitur postquam almifica  
 celestini luminis gemma, per agrum uirginalis pudicitiae  
 humano generi desiderabilis mistici spiraminis specimine  
 enituit, octingentesimo octuagesimo nono, indictione .VII.  
 cuius denique splendoris et gratiae nobis iubare radiante,  
 ego Ælfred rex Anglorum et Saxonum, et Æðelred sub-  
 regulus et patricius Merciorum, cum testimonio et li-  
 centia seu consensu senatorum, episcoporum seu ducum  
 utriusque gentis, pro releuatione facinorum nostrorum,  
 et pro acquirenda deifice remunerationis requiæ<sup>1</sup>, Uuær-  
 friðo, eximio Huicciorum antistiti, ad aecclesiam Uueo-  
 gernensem, in Lundonia unam curtem quae uerbotenus  
 ad antiquum petrosum aedificium, id est, aet Hwaet-  
 mundes stane a ciuibus appellatur, a strata publica  
 usque in murum eiusdem ciuitatis, cuius longitudo est  
 perticarum XXVI. et latitudo in superiori parte perticarum  
 XIII. et pedum VII. et in inferiori loco perticarum XI. et  
 VI. pedum, ad plenam libertatem infra totius rei sempi-  
 ternaliter possidendum, in ecclesiasticum ius conscribi-  
 mus, et concedentes donamus; et intro urnam et trutinam  
 ad mensurandum in emendo siue uendendo ad usum,  
 siue ad necessitatem propriam et liberam omnimodis  
 habeat; et totius debiti uel pene fiscalis, uel publice  
 rei, nisi ad dominium episcopi ecclesie Uueogernensis  
 quae intus contingat, absoluta persistat. Si autem foris  
 uel in strata publica seu in ripa emtorali quislibet  
 suorum mercauerit, iuxta quod rectum sit, thelon ad  
 manum regis subeat; quod si intus in curte praedicta  
 quislibet emerit uel uendiderit, thelon debitum ad ma-  
 num episcopi supra memorati reddatur; et semper  
 quamdiu unda sacri baptismatis populi Anglorum siue  
 Saxonum per fidem Christianae religionis aspergentur,

seu ipsorum auctoritatis dominio urbs Londonia habilis subiaceat, ad Uueogernensem ciuitatem subdita persistat. Contestamur et obsecramus unius cuiusque personas hominum, praesentium siue subsequentium, ut hoc nostrum donum inuiolatum et integrum, sicut presens pagina testatur, permaneat. Si qui uero, ut non optamus, serpentino suggestionis demonicae toxico inflati, huius tramitis seriem in aliquo temptauerint foedare, nouerint se cum Anna et Zaphira herebica aeterne anathematis machera perforandos, nisi prius digna satisfactione emendare maluerint. Haec autem sunt nomina illorum qui huic nostrae donationi testes et consentientes fuerunt, et trophico sancte crucis uexillo roborantes propriis manibus subscripserunt.

✠ Ego Ælfred rex Anglorum et Saxonum, hanc donationem confirmans, signo crucis subscribo. ✠ Ego Æðelred subregulus et patricius Merciorum hanc donationem signo crucis subscripsi. ✠ Ego Æpelflaed consensi. ✠ Ego Uulfred episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Alhard episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Uuærfred episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Deneulf episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Uulfsige episcopus consensi.

\*\* Apparently a later writing than purported: it has the inflation of the time of Eadgar, or perhaps that inflation imitated and exaggerated. But it has good material in it. The Curtis or Court in London here conveyed was called 'Æt hwætmundes stane,' and this Mr. Kerslake (*Antiquary*, July, 1880) interprets by means of the sculptured stone in Pannier Alley, Newgate Street. On this stone, which has been often engraved, e.g. Hone's *Every Day Book*, ii. 1135, is the figure of a man sitting upon a pannier, with the date 1688. Now 'maund' is a well-known provincial word for basket or pannier or hamper: and Mr. Kerslake justly asserts that in Devonshire a large basket is hardly known by any other name. See also Halliwell, v. Maund. The pure form was 'mand'; Epinal Gloss. '*Cofinus*, mand.' If now the *mund* in *hwæt-mund* might be this *mand*; then *hwæt-mundes stan* would be the stone of the wheat-maund, and the antiquum petrosum ædificium

may have been the block of masonry that was once the platform or basis of a market cross, which had become the usual pitching place of cereal producē. Cf. Leo, *Glossar* v. Mand: *Prompt. Parv.* 330.

<sup>1</sup> æ for e ablative.

Cott. Tib. A. xiii. f. 17.

A.D. 907.

K 341\*.

### Werfrith

bp. Worcester, granting land to abbot Cynelm with licence of king Alfred, six years after that king's death.

✠ IN nomine dñi. Ego uuærferð episc cum consensu et licentia ælfredi regis et æpelredi necnon et æpelflaede ducis mercioꝝ et cum licentia uenerabilis familię in uueogerna cestre donauī cynelmo abbati p̃p̃inquo meo partē agri prope fluuium auen in loco qui dicitur benninge-uuyrð sub quantitate .x. manentium ut habeat et bene utatur dieb: uite sue . et post se derelinquat duob: heredib: quib: uoluerit . et decursis illorū terminib: iterū reddatur ad sedem episcopalem supradicta terra sine ulla contradictione . nisi heredes illius tempus p̃lixius a pontifice sedis illius adipisci poterint. Et sciat quicūq: hanc terram teneat cotidie elemosinam faciendam p̃ anima burhredi regis et alhuni episcopi qui hanc terrā dona-uerunt deo et scē mariae ad ecclesiam in uueogerna cestre. Et hoc donū factum . ē . anno doñice incarnationis .DCCCC.VII. Consentientib: hīs quorum nomina inferius conscribi uidentur.

✠ ealhmund . presb. ✠ ecgberht . presb. ✠ uulfhard . presbiter. ✠ ceolberht . presb. ✠ putta prepositus. ✠ eadberht diacon. ✠ baldred diacon. ✠ friðulf diacon.

## III.

THE Third Group consists of six deeds; the first a genuine one, the others later reconstructions. All of them are alike in the name of king Athelstan; but the latter five bear the meaningless date of 'DCLXX indictione xi'; and while all the five are nearly uniform with one another, they are unlike the first or any known deed of Athelstan.

The eccentricity of the date (i.e. as regards the Anno Domini—for the Indiction suits with A.D. 938, a year of Athelstan's reign) is such as to suggest a close relationship between these writings. It is not supposable that a blunder so senseless should have occurred repeatedly and independently. The fact that four of the five concern one house strengthens the likelihood of their literary affinity.

Of these five deeds, three are preserved at Exeter; one is in the British Museum; and one is in the William Salt Library at Stafford. The three at Exeter grant lands in Newton, Culmstock, and 'Hrocastoc'; these may be symbolized by the initials N, C, H. The one in the British Museum grants land at Monkton and may be called M; the remaining deed grants land at Topsham and may be called T.

The enquiry into the real date of these pieces is helped forward by the fact that Mr. Bond has given an independent opinion upon one of them, based solely on the evidence of penmanship. He has assigned M to the 11th century (B. iv. Pref.).

But it is from N that we seem to get most light. This is a Bodmin instrument. It purports to be a grant by king Athelstan to the monastery of St. Petrock, and Mr. Davidson (who had the originals in hand and could see more than fac-similes show) was struck with the closeness of its resemblance to T, 'not only in the character of the writing, but also in the direction of the lines, which are entered along the breadth instead of the length of the parchment.'

This N is a very stately piece of work, and superior in style of execution to all the others of the batch. It looks like the type and model, direct or indirect, of the whole '670' series. It is isolated, not only by a distinction of air, but also by the place of its original home. These characteristics seem to suggest that with N originated the error of date, and that when the Exeter monks wanted to reconstruct their muniments, they borrowed this writing for a pattern. And we have an intimation that they might want to reconstruct their titles. In K 729 (not a first-rate authority, but probably right in this) it is said that the charters of the church at Exeter had perished in the Danish troubles. For the Domesday commissioners they would naturally like to have their titles in good presentable form.

Such fabrications were rather a formal imposture than an act of dishonesty—to judge by the lights and habits of those times. It was a restoration of lost evidence to support a real and existing right. All we otherwise know is in favour of a good construction, as to the substance of these fabrications. The head-piece to this group appears to be a genuine deed of Athelstan, and if so, it establishes the rightfulness of T, and suggests a like inference for the others. This argument was advanced by Kemble (C. D. ii. p. vij.) against the condemnation of Hickes. In his *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, p. 6, Hickes had pronounced H and C to be *egregia doli et imposturæ exempla*; but Kemble, pointing out that TC is a warrant for the substantial veracity of T, a deed labouring under the same chief ground of charge as H and C, claimed a gentle construction which would shield the whole batch *ejusdem furfuris*, in Hickes's contemptuous phrase. This genuine deed will further serve to show how far this '670' group is from the native form of Athelstan's deeds. I call it TC, because it concerns Topsham, and lies at Canterbury.

Canterbury Charters, E. 206. A.D. 937. (TC.)

K 369.

S. i. 14.

### Athelstan

grants to St. Peter's at Exeter land at Topsham, which is described first as a 'mansa' and afterwards as a 'hyde.'

✠ IN xpi nomine atq: uirtute sagaci intuendo pspectu casus lapsusq: condicionis humane de qua aecclesiastes . Uanitas uanitatũ inquit et om̃ia uanitas . et id̃o mer-canda s̃t æt̃na caducis . dicente ueritate . Thesaurizate uobis thesauros in celo . et c̃ẽa. Qua pp̃t̃ ego æðel-stanus rex monarchus totius bryttannię insule flante dō . aliquā ruris particulā id ÷ unam mansam ubi ignostici uocitant toppesham . libent̃ concedo ad monasteriũ s̃ci petri apli exoniensis æcc̃le p̃ remedio anime meę in æternam libertatē habendi quādiu fides xp̃iana p̃maneat. Imunis amodo iste ager p̃maneat ab om̃i censu regali excepta communi labore quod notũ ÷ om̃ib: Si q̃is amodo hanc ñfam donationē ammouerit . sciat se dō contra iturũ ire non mihi . quia ab illo potestatē accepi. Territoria autē istius agri hec s̃t. Ærest fram toppes oran up on exan on þone nearan team pol . þanon up on exan . þonne of exa on þa smala lace , of þære lace eft on exa . þanon up andlang exa on þone uferan teām pól . þanon up on exan stream oð póle . upp of pole on þone ealdan herpað to dyran treowe . þanon suð on wynford up on streā on wyndeles cumb middeweardne up on þa pyrian . þanon andlang dic on þone weig . east andlang weiges on þære dice hirnan andlang dic ut on clyst . andlang streames eft on toppes oran . þis synd þære anre gyrde landgemæro æt æschyrste þe gebyrað into þære hyde æt toppes hamme . ærest fram æschyrste . to æsc

wylles lace . þanon up to herpaðe . 7 fram þam herpaðe  
suðrihte oð hit cymð to gyrde hricges forða . fram  
gyrde hricges forða adun on stream to wungyfe forðan .  
þanon west on þone herpað oð þ hit cymð to æsc willes  
lace heafdon.

Acta ÷ hec donatio anno dominice incarnationis  
DCCCCXXX.VII.

✠ Ego æðelstanus rex totius bryttannie hoc donum  
cum signo sçe crucis confirmaui. ✠ Ego eadmund  
indolis clito<sup>1</sup> consensi. ✠ Ego wulfhelm subscripsi.  
✠ Ego ælfheah adqueiui. ✠ Ego æðelgar conclusi.  
✠ Ego howel regulus. ✠ Ego wulgar dux. ✠ ælf-  
here dux. ✠ æðelstan dux. ✠ æðelwold miñ. ✠  
ælfrie miñ. ✠ wulfsige mī. ✠ odda mī.

<sup>1</sup> This description of the king's brother runs through this whole  
series, and appears to be quite peculiar to it.

Salt Library.

A.D. '670.' (T.)

K 370.

S. ii. ad finem.

## Athelstan

granting to the monastery at Exeter land at Topsham. For  
substance it might be called an abstract of the preceding  
(and that is why I place it here), but in form it harmonizes  
with the following.

✠ ANNO dominice incarnationis DCLXX . indictione XI.  
Ego Æðelstan rex totius bryttannie insule . dabo pro  
eterna retributione et pro expiatione anime mee unum  
cassatum in loco ubi ab incolis uocitatur Toppesham deo  
et sancte marie ad monasterium quod a solicolis nomina-  
tur exaceaster ut habeat quamdiu fides catholica in gente  
anglorum permaneat . Precipimus et obsecramus in dei



omnipotentis nomine et in sanctę trinitatis honore . ut nullus hominum in aliquo tempore umquam ausus fuerit hanc nostram donationem minuere aut frangere in aliquo sed semper stabilis et inconcussa permaneat tam deo quam et hominibus usque in ęternum tempus. Si quis autem hoc munus in aliquo frangere uel minuere temptauerit . sciat se coram deo et sanctę marię rationem reddere . nisi hic prius celeriter emendet coram idoneis testibus. Huius agelluli temini<sup>1</sup> hec sunt. *Ærest fram toppes horan úp an exan on þone nearan teampol þanon úp on exan þænne of exan on þa smalan lace eft an exan þænne úp anlang exan on þone uferan teampol þanon úp on exan stream oð pole úp of pole on þone ealdan herpoð to dýran streowe<sup>1</sup> þanan suð on wýnford úp on stream on wýndeles cumb middewearðne úp on þa pýrian þanon anlang dice on þone weg east anlang wegges on þære dice hýrnan anlang dice ut on clýst anlang streames eft to toppes horan.*

✠ Ego æðelstan rex anglorum hanc nostram donationem cum signo crucis impressi. ✠ Ego eadmund indolis clito consilium dedi. ✠ Ego wulfhelm archiepiscopus consolidauit. ✠ Ego þeodred episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego ælfheah episcopus adqueui. ✠ Ego brihtelm episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego eadelm episcopus faui. ✠ Ego æðelgar episcopus conclusi. ✠ æðelstan dux. ✠ ælfhere dux. ✠ eadmund dux. ✠ æþelsige dux. ✠ odda minister. ✠ wihtmund minister. ✠ æðelmod minister. ✠ deormod minister. ✠ wulfgar minister. ✠ osulf minister.

\*.\* Kemble said that this piece 'is apparently a faulty copy of the last.'

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.*

Dean and Chapter, Exeter.

A.D. '670.' (N.)

S. ii. Exon. 3.

**Athelstan**

grants to the monastery of St. Petrock one cassatus at Newton. This deed is not mentioned by Hickes or Kemble, and it has never been printed in any Collection. This seems, upon our present data, to be the piece after which the '670' series took form.

✠ ANNO dominicę incarnationis DCLXX. Indictione .  
 XI. Ego æðelstan rex totius brýttannię insule dabo pro  
 ęterna retributione et pro expiatione animę meę unum  
 cassatum in loco ubi ab incolis uocitatur æt nýwantune  
 deo et sancto confessori petroco . ad monasterium eius-  
 dem sancti . ut habeat quamdiu fides catholica in gente  
 anglorum permaneat. Precipimus et obsecramus in dei  
 omnipotentis nomine et in sanctę trinitatis honore . ut  
 nullus hominum in aliquo tempore umquam ausus fuerit  
 hanc nostram donationem minuere aut frangere in ali-  
 quo . sed semper stabilis et inconcussa permaneat . tam  
 deo quam hominibus usque in æternum tempus. Si quis  
 autem hoc munus in aliquo frangere uel minuere temp-  
 tauerit . sciat se coram deo et sanctis eius rationem  
 redditurum . nisi hic prius celeriter emendet coram  
 idoneis testibus. Huius agelluli termini hi sunt. Þis  
 sind þa landgemæro to nýwantune. Cærest on wudu  
 ford . þonne upp on stream oð þone lýttlan broc . þonne  
 andlang broces oð hreodmores heafod . þonne on gerihte  
 suð ofer dune to loddan broces æwýlman . þonne adune  
 on loddan broces stream oð toric . þonne upp on toric  
 stream eft to wuduforda.

✠ Ego æðelstan rex anglorum hanc nostram dona-  
 tionem signo crucis impressi. ✠ Ego eadmund indolis

clito consilium dedi. ✠ Ego wulfhelm archiepiscopus  
consolidaui. ✠ Ego þeodred episcopus subscripsi.  
✠ Ego ælfheah episcopus adqueiui. ✠ Ego brihthelm  
episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego eadhelm episcopus favi.  
✠ Ego æpelgar episcopus conclusi. ✠ æðelstan dux.  
✠ ælfhere dux. ✠ eadmund dux. ✠ eðelsie dux.  
✠ odda minister. ✠ wihtmund minister. ✠ æðelmod  
minister. ✠ deormod minister. ✠ wulfgar minister.  
✠ osulf minister.

\*.\* Mr. Davidson says that this deed represents, almost undoubtedly, a genuine grant, in the year 938, by Athelstan, to St. Petrock's, Bodmin, of the land which is now Newton Petrock, on the east bank of Torridge, North Devon. The boundaries are easy to trace. Toric = Torridge, is especially noticeable. In Domesday, Newton is held by the priests of Bodmin, and assessed as one hide. *Journal of Brit. Arch. Association*, vol. xxxix. part iii.

Dean and Chapter, Exeter.

A.D. '670.' (H.)

K 37.

S. ii. Exon. 1.

### Athelstan

granting six perches of land at Hrocastoc to the monastery at Exeter.

✠ ANNO dominicę incarnationis DCLXX. indictione XI.  
Ego æðelstan rex anglorum dabo pro ęterna remunera-  
tione et pro expiatione animę meę sex perticas ubi  
incolis uocit' hrocastóc deo et sanctę marię ad monas-  
terium quod incolis uocitatur exa ceaster . ut habeat  
quamdiu christiana fides in gente anglorum maneat .  
precipimus quoque et obsecramus in dei omnipotentis  
nomine et in trinitatis honore . ut nullus hominum in  
aliquo tempore ausus sit frangere uel minuere. Sed  
stabilis et inconcussa permaneat. Si autem aliquis hoc

in aliquo frangere temptauerit . sciat se in eterna damp-  
natione penitere nisi hic celeriter emendat. Huius  
agelluli termini hec sunt. Ærest of sulforda east an-  
lang herpoðes on culum þanon east rihte to langan forda  
þanon suð anlang streames oð culum lace anlang lace  
of þære lace úp to þære ealdan die anlang þære dice on  
ceaggan cumb þanon on cinges sloh þanon anlang wegcs  
to þæm mægen stane þanon suð þær ða wegas to liegað  
þanon on þone norð mýstan hryc weg anlang hrycgcs to  
ðære eorð burh middeweardre þanon on brýdena wýll  
þanon ut on exan úp anlang exan oð scræwan legcs lace  
7 scræwan leg þærto þænne fram æðelstanes hammes  
forda on sulforda 7 feoper æceras bewestan exan forn  
agean edferðes eald lande.

✠ Ego æðelstan rex anglorum meum donum cum  
sigillo sanctę crucis conclusi. ✠ Ego eadmund indolis  
clito consolidauī. ✠ Ego wulfhelm archiepiscopus ad-  
quieui. ✠ Ego þeodred episcopus coadunauī. ✠ Ego  
brihtelm episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego ælfheah episco-  
pus faui. ✠ Ego æðelgar episcopus consolidauī. ✠  
æðelstan dux. ✠ ælfhere dux. ✠ eadmund dux.  
✠ odda minister. ✠ wihtbord minister. ✠ heremod  
minister. ✠ wihtlaf minister. ✠ ælfhere minister.

\*.\* 'The locality bears the curious name of Hrocastoc, that is,  
Rookstock. The prefix derived from a rookery has wholly disappeared;  
but the boundaries sufficiently identify the place as Stoke Canon, in the  
fork of the rivers Culm and Exe, four miles north-east of Exeter.'  
James B. Davidson, *Journal of British Archæological Association*, vol.  
xxxix. part iii. And the simpler name appears even in the (contem-  
porary) endorsement: 'six gyrdas boc to stoc tune.'

Dean and Chapter, Exeter.

A.D. '670.' (C.)

K 373.

S. ii. Exon. 2.

**Athelstan**

giving five cassati at Culmstock (Devon) to the monastery of Exeter.

✠ ANNO ab incarnatione dominicę DCLXX. indictione XI. Ego æðelstan rex anglorum dabo pro ęterna retributione et pro expiatione animę meę quinque cassatos ubi incolę uocitant culumstoc . deo et sanctę marię necnon et sancto petro principi apostolorum ad monasterium quod ab incolis nominatur exanceaster . ut habeat quamdiu fides catholica in gente anglorum maneat . precipimus quoque . et obsecramus in dei omnipotentis nomine et in sanctę trinitatis honore . ut nullus homo in aliquo tempore . umquam hanc nostram donationem infringere ausus sit. Sed stabilis sit coram deo et hominibus usque in seculum. Si quis autem hoc in aliquo frangere vel minuere temptauerit . sciat se in ęterna dampnatione puniri . nisi hic celeriter emendet. Huius agri termini hec sunt. Ærest on hacapenn foreweard adun on secgwyll þanon on craducc þoñ anlang streames on culumford of þæm forde to þorn wylle þanon to brýd wylle þanon to þære ænlipan æc þanon anlang herpoðes on heanhangran middeweardre þanon on hwitan beorh þanon on gerihtne on fengel þanon on gerihtne to ðam ealdan geweorce þanon on býrichangran þoñ úp on gyran tórr þanon on þone hwýrfel þanon on þone þorn þanon on peonmýnet easteweard þanon ongerihtne on þa lace adun on culum úp of culum on ða ealdan lace on burhgeardes worðig þanon o gerihtne to rancumb þanon west on gerihtne be ecge on hacapenn foreweardne.

✠ Ego æðelstan rex anglorum hanc meam donationem cum sigillo sanctę crucis impressi. ✠ Ego eadmund indolis clito . consensi. ✠ Ego wulfhelm archiepiscopus dictaui. ✠ Ego ælfheah episcopus adqueui. ✠ Ego æðelgar episcopus notaui. ✠ Ego brihtelm episcopus faui. ✠ Ego wýnsige episcopus conclusi. ✠ wulfgar dux. ✠ ælfhere dux. ✠ æðelstan dux. ✠ odda minister. ✠ wulfhelm minister. ✠ ælfheah minister. ✠ æðelferð minister. ✠ wihtgar minister.

\*.\* This deed is linked to M, not only by the common error, but also by a peculiar grammatical confusion in the first line.

Add. Chart. 19,516.

A.D. '670.' (M.)

B. iii. 7.

### Æthelstan

granting one mansa at Muneca tun to the monastery at Exeter. Mr. Bond has judged this writing to be of the 11th century. B. iv, p. 7.

✠ ANNO ab incarnatione dominicę delxx . indicę xi. Ego æðelstan rex angloꝝ dabo ꝑ eřna retributione et ꝑ expiatione anime meę unam mansam ubi incolę uocitant muneca tun . đo et scę marię nec non et scō petro ꝑncipi aploꝝ ad monasteriũ qđ ab incolis nominat<sup>r</sup> exan ceaster . ut habeat quā diu fides catholica in gente anglorum maneat ꝑcipim<sup>9</sup> q<sup>o</sup>q . et obsecram<sup>9</sup> in đī oñiptis noīe et in scē trinitatis honore . ut null<sup>9</sup> homo in aliq<sup>o</sup> tēpore . umquā hanc nřam donationē infringere ausus sit . set stabilis sit corā đo et hominibꝝ usq . in scłm . Si qis aut hoc in aliq<sup>o</sup> frangere ř minuere tēptauerit . sciat se in eřna dāpnatione puniri . nī hic celerit eřmdet . huius agri řmini hęc řt . ærest of sceoca broces forda upp on

stream oþ ðær seo dic onfehð . swa andlang þære dic of þære dice hýrnan . swa adún on þone cumb on þa lace . adun on þa lace on ceacga broc . adun on ceacga broc on þære dice ende . swa east on þa dic of þære dice hýrnan . swa suð on þa dic on þone þeod herpað west on herpað eft to sceoca broces forða

✠ Ego æðelstan rex angloꝝ hanc meam donationē cum sigillo scē crucis imp̃ssi. ✠ Ego eadmund indolis clito . consensi. ✠ Ego wulfhelm archieþs dictaui. ✠ Ego ælfheah eþs adqueiui. ✠ Ego æþelgar eþs . notauī. ✠ Ego brihtelm eþs . faui. ✠ Ego wýnsige eþs . conclusi. ✠ wulfgar dux. ✠ ælfhere dux. ✠ æðelstan dux. ✠ odda mī. ✠ wulfhelm mī. ✠ ælfheah mī. ✠ æðferð mī. ✠ wihtgar mī.

\*.\* *Endorsed in hands contemporary with the writing of the charter, 'Munecatunes boc.' and 'to muneca tune'; in a hand of the early part of the 13th century, 'Regis ædelstani de munecatun.'; and in hands of the early 14th century, 'Carta Adelstani Regis . super manso quod olim vocabatur moneketoñ . modo tamen Exchestre pro fundacione Ecclesie.' 'Carta Adthelstani Regis concessa Beato Petro de manso quod antiquitus uocabatur moneketoñ 'ad monasterium' quod nunc nuncupatur exechestre . [ad fundandum monasterium\*] et diuise mansi sunt hee . primo de scokebroc forde . sursum per riuum etc. ut infra patet.' 'Deuon.' B.*

\* Erased.

#### IV.

THIS Group is taken from the famous Book at Rochester ("Textus Roffensis," edited by Hearne, 1723), which contains Laws and Charters, and which is said to have been compiled from the original documents by Ernulf, who was Bishop of Rochester, 1115-1124. Kemble took thirty-three documents from this Codex, and marked only five as spurious. These five are the constituents of our present Group.

Text. Roff. f. 122.

A.D. 762.

K 110 \*.

## Sigiraed

king of Kent, granting land to bishop Eardulf.

✠ IN nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi! Omnem hominem qui secundum deum uiuit et remunerari a deo sperat et optat, oportet ut piis precibus assensum hilariter ex animo praebeat. Quoniam certum est, tanto facilius ea quae quisque a deo poposcerit consequi posse, quanto et ipse libentius hominibus recte postulata concesserit. Quocirca ego Sigiraed, rex Cantiae, tibi uenerabili Earduulfo episcopo, ut diligenter postulasti, aliquam particulam terrae iuris mei, id est quasi unius et semis iugeri in ciuitate Hrofi, ad augmentum monasterii tui, aeternaliter possidendam concedo ac describo, cum omnibus scilicet ad eam pertinentibus rebus. Haec autem terrula ab aquilonali portae monasterii tui iacet, et pertingit usque ad septentrionalem murum praefatae ciuitatis, intra terras uidelicet quas antea ab oriente et occidente possedisti, et ideo haec tibi satis accommoda quia in medio iacebat. Siquis autem contra hanc donationem meam aliquando uenire inuido maliuolique animo temptauerit, sit in praesenti separatus a communione sanctae aeclesiae Christi, et in futuro a societate sanctorum omnium segregatus. Manentem hanc kartulam in sua semper firmitate signo dominicae crucis roborauī, et idoneos testes ut et idipsum facerent, adhibui. Actum indiet. xv. anno dominicae incarnationis DCCLXII.

✠ Ego Sigiraed rex Cantiae hanc donationem meam signo sanctae crucis roborauī. ✠ Ego Eadbehrt rex Cantiae consentiens propria manu confirmaui. ✠ Ego



Bregouuine archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi.  
 ✠ Ego Aldhuun abbas subscripsi. ✠ Signum manus  
 Suuithuun. ✠ Signum manus Aethilhuun. ✠ Sig-  
 num manus Esni. ✠ Signum manus Egbaldi. ✠ Sig-  
 num manus Uuighaad. ✠ Signum manus Bunan.  
 ✠ Signum manus Heabeorhti. ✠ Signum manus  
 Tiidheah.

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Text. Roff. f. 130.

A.D. 761.

K 144\*.

Birch 242.

## Ethelberht II

king of Kent, granting land to Diora, bp. Rochester.

✠ IN nomine dñi nři iħu xpi cui patent cuncta  
 penetralia cordis et corporis Ego ethelberht rex<sup>1</sup>  
 cantuariorū concedo hrofensis aecclesiae antistiti deoran  
 aliquantulū terre iuris mei intra menia supradicte  
 ciuitatis in parte aquilonali . id est fram doddinc  
 hyrnan oð ða bradan gatan east be wealle 7 swa eft  
 suð oð ðaet east geat 7 swa west be strete oð doddinc  
 hyrnan. 7 ðreo hagan be eastan porte butan wealle 7  
 ðar to feower aeceras mæde be westan eé . hoc in  
 auementū monasterii tibi ċcessi sċi andree Ut mea  
 donatio immobilis permaneat semp. Et si quis hanc  
 meā donationē augere uoluerit . augeat dñs ei uitā.  
 Si quis ū tunc minuere presūserit sit separatus a con-  
 spectu dñi in die iudicii nisi prius emendauerit ante  
 eius transitū qđ nequiter gessit.

xx

Actū dominice incarnationis . DCCCLXI. ✠ Ego ethel-  
 berhtus rex hanc meā donationē signo sċe crucis ċfirmaui.  
 ✠ Ego geanberht archieps corroborauī. ✠ Ego deora

eþs consignaui. ✠ signū manus uualhard. ✠ siġ  
manus uban. ✠ siġ manus udan. ✠ siġ manus  
ealhere. ✠ siġ manus dudec. ✠ siġ manus wullaf.

\*.\* The original parchment is extant in the British Museum, Cott. Chart. vi. 4; facsimile B. iv. 5. The hand is imitative of early writing, but Mr. Bond judges it to be "probably of the eleventh century." It is full of historical mistakes. The date 761 (altered to 781 by a corrector) is not much amiss, though the Chronicle puts the death of Æthelberht in 760; we must allow a little for the unsettled state of the chronology of that time. But it was years after his death when Diona became bishop of Rochester, and Iambryht archbishop of Canterbury. Moreover, the original parchment styles Ethelberht king of Wessex and of Kent, thus confounding the history of the eighth century with that of the ninth. This error was rectified by Ernulf or his learned assistant, whose transcript is in other respects faithful. That the fabricator had his eye upon patterns of the eighth century we may see from the following which is a genuine deed of Wihtred the father of Æthelberht of Kent. It is K43, Birch 97; and the original is in the Ashburnham Collection.

✠ In nomine dñi dñi nostri ihu xpi Ego wihtredus rex cantuariorum providens mihi in futuro decreui dare aliquid omnia mihi donanti et consilio accepto bonum visum est conferre basilicæ beatæ mariæ genitricis dñi quæ sita est in loco qui dicitur limingæ terram .iiii. aratrorum quæ dicitur Unieghelmes . tun . cum omnibus ad eandem terram pertinentibus iuxta notissimos terminos id est bereueg et meguines paed et stretleg . quam donationem meã uolo firmam esse in perpetuum ut nec ego seu heredes mei aliquid minuire praesumant. Quod si aliter temptatum fuerit a qualibet persona sub anathematis interdictione sciat se praeuicari ad cuius confirmationem pro ignorantia litterarum ✠ signū scæ crucis expressi et testes idoneos ut subscriberent rogavi id est berichtwaldum archiepiscopū uirū uenerabilē.

✠ Ego berichtwaldus episcopus rogatus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ ✠ Signum manus wihtredi regis. ✠ Signum manus aedilburgæ reginæ. ✠ Signum manus enfridi. ✠ Signum manus aedilfridi. Signum manus hagana. ✠ Signum manus botta. ✠ Signum manus bernhaerdi. ✠ Signum manus theabul. ✠ Signum manus frodi. ✠ Signum manus aehcha. Signum manus aessica. ✠ Signum manus adda. ✠ Signum manus egisberichti. actum in mense iulio indictione . xma.

*Endorsed*:—ðæs landes boc æt Berdelhames wicum, nunc Wigelmigneton, and Pichtredus rex Ca' ad ecclesiam de Liming Pielmestun. .iiii. arat'.

<sup>1</sup> Here the original fabrication adds the words "occidentalium saxonū necnon," which Ernulf omitted.

Text. Roff. f. 123.

A.D. 764.

K 111\*.

Birch 195.

## Offa

granting land to Eardulf, bp. Rochester. That which makes this spurious deed valuable is the formula:—"sicut olim habuerunt comites et principes regum Cantiae, et cum omni tributo quod regibus jure competit:"—and again, "cum consensu . . . principum"—formulae which seem to be borrowed from genuine records, and to illustrate the nature of folc land. Schmid, Gesetze, p. 577. There is a primary record which mentions folc land, of A.D. 858 (K 281).

✠ REGNANTE in perpetuum domino nostro Ihesu Christo ac cuncta mundi iura iusto moderamine regenti! Ego Offa rex Merciorum, regali prosapia Merciorum oriundus, atque omnipotentis dei dispensatione eiusdem constitutus in regem, considerans et recolens quod uas electionis ueracissimis innotuit uerbis, quod istis temporibus instarent tempora periculosa: iccirco unusquisque de semet ipso plenius poterit agnoscere, quod quanto quis in hoc terreno habitaculo longiorem protraxerit uitam, tanto ueraciora esse omnia quae olim antiqui uates implenda esse praedixerunt. Iccirco necessarium duxi ut pro intercessionibus plurimorum, pro uenia meorum delictorum, et requie perpetua adipiscenda animae meae, aliquid ex his quae mihi largitor bonorum omnium Christus dominus donare dignatus est, id est, terram aratrorum uiginti in loco cuius uocabulum est Aeslingaham, quae etiam iacet ad occidentalem partem fluminis Meduuuacian, contigua ipso fluuio, cum uniuersis terminis suis ad eam rite competentibus, cum campis, siluis, pratis, pascuis, paludibus et aquis, sicut olim habuerunt comites et principes regum Cantiae, et cum omni tributo quod regibus

iure competit, tibi venerabili Earduulfo, sanctae Hro-fensis aecclesiae episcopo, libenter in perpetuum perdono. Et hoc cum consensu et licentia archiepiscopi nostri Bregouuini atque Heaberhti regis Cantiae, et principum nostrorum, ut possidendi uel uendendi, uel etiam tradendi cuicunque uoluerit liberam per omnia habeat potestatem. Et quia pro ipsius terrae recompensatione aliquam partem pecuniae nobis fideliter, libenter optulit, ad promerendam non solum specialiter mihi a domino pietatem, sed indulgentiam delictorum totius gentis nostrae, humiliter dominicam exorantes clementiam, ut liberet nos a malignis spiritibus et importunis et malis hominibus. Terminos uero huius terrae ideo latius non scribimus quia undique ab incolis absque ullo dubitationis scrupulo certi sunt. Quicunque uero sequentium regum aut principum, aut aliquis saeculari fretus potestate, haec nostrae definitionis scripta irrita facere, quod absit, nisus fuerit, sciat se in praesenti uita domini benedictione esse priuatum, et in nouissima maledictione subiacere, ut a consortio sit separatus sanctorum, et cum impiis et peccatoribus flammis ultricibus esse dampnandum, excepto si digna satisfactione emendare curauerint quod iniqua temeritate deprauarunt. Manente hac cartula in sua nihilominus firmitate, quam propria manu sacro signaculo roborare curauim et testes ut subscriberent rogaui, quorum infra nomina ascripta tenentur. Scripta est autem haec cartula in ciuitate Dorouerni, anno dominicae incarnationis DCCLXIII. ind. II.

✠ Ego Offa, rex Merciorum, supra scriptam donationem atque emptionem signo sanctae crucis roborauim.

✠ Ego Bregouuinus archiepiscopus, iuxta petitionem clementissimi regis ante praedicti, consensi et scripsi.

✠ Ego Heaberhtus rex consensi et subscripsi.

Cohaerent uero huic terrae in commune saltu denberi  
 III. Holanspie et Lindhrycg et Paedanhrieeg. ✠ Ego  
 Botuuini humilis abbas consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Sig-  
 num manus Esne. ✠ Signum manus Uhtredi. ✠ Sig-  
 num manus Broerda. ✠ Signum manus Eadbaldi.  
 ✠ Signum manus Berhtualdi. ✠ Signum manus Bobba.  
 ✠ Signum manus Cec. ✠ Signum manus Huuithyse.  
 ✠ Signum manus Esne fratris eius. ✠ Signum manus  
 Badoheardi. ✠ Signum manus Egbaldi. ✠ Signum  
 manus Suithhuni. ✠ Signum manus Eangesli.

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Text. Roff. f. 139.

A.D. 855.

K 276\*.

### Æthelwulf

king of the West Saxons, granting to Dunn a villa in Rochester, which is called castellum Hrobi; and the remark is made that the "Saxon" equivalent for "una villa" is "an haga." By a codicil in English, Dunn bequeaths the property to St. Andrew's, subject to his wife's life interest.

✠ IN nomine trino diuino! Ego Etheluuf rex Occi-  
 dentalium Saxonum nec non et Cantuariorum, pro de-  
 cimatione agrorum, quam deo donante, caeteris minis-  
 tris meis facere decreui, tibi Dunne ministro meo, dabo  
 unam uillam, quod nos Saxonice an haga dicimus, in  
 meridie castelli Hrobi, et x. iugera a meridiano plaga  
 uilluli illius adiacentia, necnon et duo iugera prati et x.  
 carros cum siluo honestos in monte regis, et communio-  
 nem marisci quae ad illam uillam antiquitus cum recto  
 pertinebat. Et hoc ipsum tibi ad habendam et possi-  
 dendam concedendo donamus, et post dies tuos cui-

cunque haerede tibi placuerit derelinquendam, cum plena libertate habeas potestatem. Hanc praedictam donationem et libertatem ego Ethelulf rex deo donante, perfecti anno dñcae incarnationis DCCCLV. indictione III. hoc est, diuina gratia largiente, quando ultra mare Romam perrexi, coram his testibus qui hoc mecum consentiendo subscripserunt.

✠ Ego Aeðeluulf rex hanc meam donationem et libertatem cum signo sanctae crucis Christi roboravi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ceolnoð archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aeðelberht rex consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Lullede dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aeðelmod dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aelfred filius regis consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Eadred dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aeðelric dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Cineheh miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Milred miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ceolmund miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Lulla miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aeðelred miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Uulflaf miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aeðelred miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Uuahtgar miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Duduc miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Osberht miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Sigenoð miles consensi et subscripsi.

✠ In nomine domini! Dunn hafað ðas bōc gesald his wīfe, 7 ðæt land ðe ðær an gewriten is, an godes est; ðæt hiō hæbbe hire dæg 7 his brūce; 7 efter hire dæge geselle hit on ðæs hālgan apostoles naman sancte Andreas ðām hirode in, mid unnan godes and his hālgena, for unc būtu 7 ealle uncre eldran; būtan hī hit mit unnan hires ofgān tō rihtan gafole, swā swā hyt his geþingian magan, būtan ælcen bræde oððe

beswice; 7 his ðonne se hired hit geearnian mid heora  
 godcundnæsse ofer twelf monoð . 7 stande simle mid  
 cwide seō bōc on ðæs hiredes handa.

Text. Roff. f. 141.

A.D. "880."

K 312\*.

### Æthelwulf

granting land to the church of St. Andrew at Rochester.

✠ REGNANTE in perpetuum domino nostro Ihesu Christo! Ego Aethelulf, rex Saxonum, dabo pro remedio animae meae terram ad aecclesiam sancti Andreae apostoli Christi et Suuiðuulfo episcopo aliquam partem in illo loco quae dicitur Cucolanstan atque aecclesiam sancti Michaelis archangeli. Hi sunt termini trium aratrum circumiacentes. In oriente, Miodowæge; in meridie, Heallingwara mearc up wið halles méres; in occidente, Briogening ðára mearc oð norðdúne norðan; in aquilone, eást andlanges dúne oð cinges mearc; and út fram cinges merce oð ða aldan stræt; eást be ðære aldan stræte oð hlið; and ðanan út be ðán hliðe oð ða eá Medewegan. ut habeat et possideat et cuicunque uoluerit illo uiuente seu moriente derelinquat, et post se tradendum concedamus liueram ab omni seruitute cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus, cum furis comprehensione, et cum omnibus rebus quae ad aecclesiam sancti Andreae pertinent, cum campis, siluis, pratis, pascuis, paludibus, in minimis et in maximis, notis et ignotis. Si quis uero, quod absit, haeredum successorumque nostrorum donationem immutare aliter uel minuere studeat, sciat se imprimis omnipotentis dei iram incurrere, et uiuentem in hac uita

benedictione carere, et in nouissimo maledictione subiacere. Qui uero haec augenda custodierit, nihilque inrogarit aduersi, sit benedictus in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Scripta est haec cartula anno dominicae incarnationis domini nostri Ihesu Christi DCCCLXXX. indictione XIII his testibus consentientibus et subscribentibus, quorum hic nomina infra tenentur ascripta.

✠ Ego Aedelred archiepiscopus cum signo sanctae crucis confirmaui. ✠ Ego Suuiðuulf episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Aedeluuald dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beornuulf dux consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ealhmund miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beornuulf miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beorhtuulf miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Deoruulf miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ceolbald miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Ealhhere miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Deoring miles consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beornhelm minister regis consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Osmund minister regis consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Beorhtred minister regis consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Ego Noðhelm minister regis consensi et subscripsi.

Hæc sunt prata æt Coðam duos agros æt Scite Cocce, oðer healf æcer mæde.

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## V.

As the twelfth century advanced, deeds were sometimes copied with little attention to the English of the originals or of the time purported. A scholastic attention to the lost grammar was not yet awake. Such documents are often in duplicate, Saxon and Latin. To this class belong the documents embodied in the Peterborough Chronicle.



Cott. Faust. A. iii. f. 109.

A.D. 1066.

K 829.

## Eadward

his grant of Pershore and Deerhurst to St. Peter's, Westminster.

✠ EADWARD king grét Ealdred ercebisceop and Wlstán bisceop and Wlfwi and alle míne heuedmen and míne þegnes and míne sírréfan and alle míne holde freónd on Wigercestresíre and on Glowcestresíre and on Oxnefordscíre freóndlic. Icc kíðe eów ðat ic wille and ðat icc an ðat sainte Petre and ða gebróðere on Westminstre habben tó here bilefan ða cotlife Perscore and Dórhurste mid allen ðán landen and mid alle ðán berewícan ðe icc habbe for mínre sáule álésednesse intó ðáre hálagen stowe gegifan, and alc ðáre þnge ðe ðártó mid rihte gebirad, mid kirkan and mid milnen, mid wóde and mid felde, mid lase and mid háðe, mid mæden and mid eyten, mid wateren and mid weren and mid allen þngen, swá full and swá forð swá hió on elden dagen intó ðáre sócne geleyd wáren oðe meselfen firmest on hande stóðan. And icc an heom eft alswá ðat hí habben ðártó sace and sócne, toll and teám, infangeneðéf and flemenessfermð, gríðbriche and hámsócne, forestal and miskenninge, and alle óðere rihte on allen þngen ðe ðár úpáspringað, inne tíð and út of tíð, binnen burh and búten burh, on stráte and of stráte; forðán ic nelle naðeswon geðafian ðat ány man atbrede oððe geúðe míne gife and mín almesse swá mikel ðat sí án aker landes ðas ðe on ányes mannes dages intó ðán cotlifen gebired, ne eft ðat ðár ány man ány onsting habbe on ány þngen oðe on ány tímen be strande ne

bi lande búton se abbod and ða gebróðere intó ðán minstre. And icc wille and fastlice bebeódde ðat ðár freódóm and ðér mundbirdnesse beó strang and staðelfast intó ðære hálagen stowe, God tó lufe and sainte Petre tó wrdminte and tó gewearde, ā on ēce erfwerdnesse. Amen. God eow alle gehealde. Amen.

MS. Harl. 6968. f. 6.

K 837.

### Eadward

granting Wedmore to St. Andrews at Wells.

✠ EADWARD king grēt Harold erl, and Ailnód abbot, and Toid schīre réue, and alle míne þeines on Sumersetē fréndliche; and ich kýðe eow ðæt ich habbe gegeben Giso biscope ðæt land at Weodmóre and ælch ðære þinga ðæs ðe ðærinne mid richte tóbyreð, inne tó his clerken bilæua æt sancte Andrea æt Willan, mid saca and mid sócna, swó full and swó forð swó hit me syluen on hande stód, mid eallon ða forwyrhtan ðe me óðer mínōn æftergengan tó honda bogen wyllon on eallen þingan for míne sáwle and for mínes fader and for allra mínra yldrena sáwlan ðe ðone biscopestól gestaðeloðon. And gif ánig man sig ðat míne gife áwenden wyllen, áwende hine God almihti fram his ansýne and fram ælre cristenne manna. And ich wille ðæt se biscoep þichte priuilegium ðærtó bi mínōn fullan gelifan.

✠ Eadwardus rex Haroldo comiti, Ealnode abbati, et omnibus balliuis suis Sumersetæ, salutem! Sciatis me dedisse Gisoni episcopo ad sustentationem cleri, aeclesiam beati Andreae in Wellis terram de Wedmore, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, adeo plene et

libere sicut unquam plenius mihi manu stetit aut alicui praedecessorum meorum per omnia, pro anima patris mei et animabus antecessorum meorum qui dictam sedem episcopi statuerunt. Si quis autem hanc meam donationem praesumpserit euertere, auertat eum dominus a conspectu suo et a conspectu omnium fidelium. Uolo etiam quod idem episcopus isto gaudeat priuilegio, et uos amici mei ipsius sitis coadiutores.

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Claud. B. vi. 114.

Claud. C. ix. 130.

K 840.

### Eadward

his writ to the authorities and thanes in Berkshire, that Abingdon minster should exercise free and independent jurisdiction in Hornemere Hundred, and that no royal or local officer should act without the authority of the Abbot. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i. 107.

✠ EADWARD cyninge grét Hereman bisceop, and Harold eorl, and Gódríc, and ealle his þegenas on Bearrucscýre freóndlic; and ic cýðe eów ðæt Ordric abbud and eal ðæt hired on Abbendúnes mynstre be mínre unne and gife frigelíce habban and wealdan Horneméres hunred on hyre ágenre andwealde on écere worulde, and swá ðæt nán scýrgeréfe oððe mótgeréfe ðár habban æni sócne oððe gemót búton ðes abbudes ágen háse and unne.

✠ Eadwardus rex salutatur Hermannum episcopum et Haroldum comitem, et Godricum, et omnes suos barones<sup>1</sup> de Bearrucscira amicabilem; et ego ostendo uobis quod Ordricus abbas et omnis congregatio Abendonensis monasterii meo concessu et dono libere

habeant et possideant hundredum de Hornemere in sua propria potestate in sempiterna saecula, et sic ut nullus uicecomes uel praepositus ibi habeant aliquam appropriationem seu placitum sine abbatis proprio iussu et concessu.

<sup>1</sup> This *barones* seems to indicate that these Latin versions were made after the Conquest, for the use of Norman abbots, and others who knew Latin better than English.

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Cott. Otho B. xiv. f. 257.

K 853.

### Eadward

his writ of privileges to the Abbey of Ramsey, co. Huntingdon.

✠ EADWARD cyng grēt Stigand ercebiscop, and Ægelmār biscop, and Gyrð eorl, and Toli scírréue, and ealle his þeines inne Norðfolce and inne Súffolce and ealle his óðra witen ofer eall Ænglande hádede and leáwede freóndlice; and ic cýðe eów ðæt ic habbe gegeofen Criste and sancte Marie and sancte Benedicte and Ælfwine abbod intó Ramesege saca and sócna, tol and teám, and infangenðeóf, fihtwite and ferdwite, forestall and hámsócne, gríðbryce and scipbryce, and ða sá úpward on eallan þingen æt Bramcæstre and æt Ringstyde, swá wel and swá freolice swá ic hit meseolf betst habbe bi ða sæ rune ahwær in Engelande, and ealle ða gerihte ða ic meseolf ær áhte. And ic wylle ðæt seó sócne wiðinnen Bichámdíc ligce intó Ramesege tó sancte Benedicte on eallen þingen swá full and swá forð swá ic heó meseolf áhte, and ealle ða gerihte ða æni kinge mæi ahen, and ealle ða men ða beón mót wurði<sup>1</sup>, ferð wurðe and fald wurði in ðæt

óðer halfe hundred swá hwile man swá ða men áhe  
 sancte Marie and sanctus Benedictus and se abbod  
 and ða gebróðra intó Ramesege habben ða sócne on  
 eallen þingen ofer heom and ðat market æt Dúnhám  
 bi wætere and bi lande, mid inlade and mid útlade,  
 and mid eallen ðán gerihte ðe ðærtó hered, swá wel  
 and swá freolice swá ic hit meself betst áhte. And ic  
 nelle geðafien ðæt áni man ðis gelytliche mid áenige  
 þinge. And in álcere scíre ðær sanctus Benedictus hæfð  
 land inne his saca and his sócne, tol and teám, and  
 infangenðeóf, wiðinne burhe and wiðúten and on álcere  
 styde, be lande and be strande, be wude and be felde,  
 swá hwylc man swá ða sócne áhe sanctus Benedictus  
 habbe his freódóm on eallen þingen swá wel and swá  
 freolice swá ic hit meself betst áhe áhwær in Enge-  
 lande; and ealle ða gyltes ða belimpeð tó míne kine-  
 helme inne Iol and inne Eásterne and inne ða háli  
 wuca æt Gangdagas on ealle þingan al swá ic heó  
 meseolf áhe, and tolfreo ofer ealle Engleland, wiðinne  
 burhe and wiðútan, æt gáres cepinge and on æfrice  
 styde, be wætere and be lande. And ic forbeóde  
 Godes forbode and mín ðat nán man ðis geofe né  
 lytliche né áwende. And gif áni man hit áwunige mid  
 æfrænige þinge of ðán ðe ic habbe hér geunnen on  
 ðeosen gewrite, sí he gesyndred fram Criste and fram  
 eallen his hálgan. Amen. Ðis writ wæs gemaced  
 æt Windlesoren on feorðe Eáster dæg on Eadgiðe ge-  
 witnysse ðære cwene and Godwines eorles and Haroldes  
 eorles.

✠ Eadwardus rex Anglorum Stigando archiepiscopo,  
 Ailmaro episcopo, Girð comiti, Toli uicecomiti, et omni-  
 bus ministris suis de Norðfolke et Suðfolke et uniuersis

aliis fidelibus suis per totam Angliam constitutis tam clericis quam laicis, salutem! Notifico uobis me concessisse deo et sanctae Mariae et sancto Benedicto et Ælfwino abbati de Ramesia sacam et socam, tol et team, et infangeneðef, fihtwite et ferdwite, forestall, et hamsokne, griðbriche, et schipbriche, et se upwarp, in omnibus rebus apud Bramcestre et apud Ringstede ita bene et libere sicut ipse ea melius et liberius habeo in littore marino alicubi in Anglia, omnesque rectitudines et iura quae ibi ego ipse unquam habui; uolo etiam ut soca quae est infra Bichamdich in omnibus ad sanctum Benedictum Ramesiensem pertineat ita plene et perfecte sicut eam ipse habui, et omnes rectitudines quas rex ibi potest habere; uolo praeterea ut sancta Maria et sanctus Benedictus et abbas et fratres Ramesiae habeant socam in omnibus super omnes homines qui sunt motwrði, ferdwrði, et faldwrði in illo hundredo et dimidio, cuiuscunque homines sint. Concedo eis etiam mercatum de Dunham per aquam et terram, cum inductione et eductione, et cum omnibus rectitudinibus quae ad illud pertinent, ita bene et libere sicut illud ipse unquam melius habui; et nolo pati ut aliquis hoc in aliquo imminuat. In omni quoque comitatu ubi sanctus Benedictus habet terram concedo eis sacam et socam suam, tol et team, et infangeneðef, infra burgum uel ciuitatem et extra, ubique in terra et aqua, in bosco et plano, cuiuscunque fuerit soca, habeat sanctus Benedictus libertatem suam in omnibus ita bene et plene sicut ego ipse alicubi habeo in tota Anglia; habeant et omnes forisfacturas quae pertinent ad regiam coronam meam in natali dominico, in pascha, et in sancta ebdomada rogationum, in omnibus rebus sicut ipse habeo, et per totam Angliam infra ciuitatem

et extra, in omni foro et annuis nundinis et in omnibus omnino locis per aquam et terram, ab omni telonii exactione liberi sint. Prohibeo itaque dei prohibitione et mea ne aliquis hanc concessionem meam mutet aut minuat. Si quis uero aliquid horum quae in hoc scripto continentur temerare praesumpserit, segregatus sit ille a Christo et ab omni sanctorum eius consortio. Haec carta facta fuit apud Windleshoram in .iiv. die ebdomadae paschalis sub testimonio Eadgiðae reginae, Godwini et Haroldi comitum.

<sup>1</sup> A remarkable expression, like "have the franchise." Of the Brehon Law we are told that "The primary local tribunal was a *quasi* court baron, called the *Airecht*, composed of freemen of a certain status. The inferior classes were *écoma airechta*, that is, *impares curiae*." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, v. Brehon Law.

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Harley Charter, 111. B. 49.

A.D. 1155.

## Henry II

his grant of temporalities to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury.

H. þurh godes gefu ængle landes king gret ealle mine bissceopas 7 ealle mine eorlas 7 ealle mine scire-reuan 7 ealle mine þeinas frencisce 7 englisce . on þan sciran þe Teobalt erceþ 7 se hiret æt xþes chyrchen on Cantuarabirg habbad land inne freondlice 7 ic keþe eow þ̅ ic hebbe heom geunnon þ̅ hi beon ælc þare lande wurþa þe hi eafdon en Edwardes kinges dege . 7 on Willelmes kinges mines furþer ealdefader . 7 on Henrices kinges mines ealdefader . 7 saca 7 socne . on stronde 7 on streame . on wudan . 7 on feldan . tolles 7 theames . grithbriches . 7 hamsoene . 7 forstalles . 7 ifangenas thiafes . 7 fleamene frimtha . ofer heore agene men . binnā Burgan 7 butan . swa ful 7 swa

ford swa mine agene Wicneres . hit sechan scolden . 7  
ofer swa fele þeinas swa ich<sup>1</sup> heom to leten habban . And  
ic nelle ꝥ eni man enig þing þer on theo . butan  
hi 7 heara wicneras . þe hi hit betechan willað . ne  
frenciscne ne englisce . for þan þingan<sup>2</sup> þe ich habbe  
criste þas gerichtan forgifan minre Saule to eche alis-  
endnesse 7 ic nelle geþauian ꝥ enig man þis abrece  
bi minan fullen frencscipan. God geau gehealde.

Henricus . Rex Angl<sup>t</sup> et Dux Norm<sup>i</sup> et Aquit<sup>i</sup> et  
Comes And<sup>i</sup> . Episcopis . Comitibus . Baronibus . Jus-  
ticiariis . Vicecomitibus. Ceterisque suis fidelibus fran-  
cis et Anglis in Omnibus Comitatus in quibus  
Teobaldus Archiepiscopus et monachi ecclesie xpi Can-  
tuarie terras habent? Amicabiliter . salutem. Notum  
vobis facio me concessisse Teobaldo Archiepiscopo et  
monachis Cantuarie omnes terras quas tempore Regis .  
Edwardi et Regis Willelmi proavi mei et Regis . Hen-  
rici . avi mei habuerunt et Sacha et Soene . On strande  
et streame . On wude et felde . tolnes et theames . et  
grithbreches . et hamsoene . et forstalles . infangenes  
thiofes . et flemene frimtha . super suos homines infra  
Burgos et extra . in tantum et tam pleniter sicut  
proprii ministri mei exquirere . deberent . et etiam  
super tot theines? quot eis concessit Rex Willelmus<sup>1</sup>  
proavus meus . Et nolo ut aliquis hominum se intro-  
mittat nisi ipsi et ministri eorum? quibus ipsi com-  
mittere voluerint nec francus . nec Anglus . propterea  
quia ego concessi xpo et ecclesie Cantuarie et archiepi-  
scopo et monachis suis has libertates et consuetudines  
pro redemptione anime mee et pro animabus ante-  
cessorum meorum . Et nolo pati? ut aliquis eas in-  
fringat? si non vult perdere amiciciam meam. Testibus



Philippo episcopo Baiocensi . et Arnulpho Episcopo  
Lexoviensi . et Theo.<sup>3</sup> Cancellario et Reginaldo Comite  
Cornubie . et Roberto . Comite Legrecestrensi et H.  
de Essex a Constabulario <sup>4</sup> . Apud Eboracum.

*Endorsed* :—"Carta Regis Henrici .ii. de sach a et socne."

\*.\* This was first printed by Mr. de Gray Birch in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. xi. New Series, p. 312; and since by Mr. Furnivall in "Anglia," 1884. We may consider this as a genuine original deed of 1155, and as such it is useful for testing the date of copies made in the twelfth century.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the other version.

<sup>2</sup> þangan MS. (Birch)—þingan (Furnivall).

<sup>3</sup> Apparently for Tho. i. e. Thomas Beket, Chancellor 1154-1162.

<sup>4</sup> Henry of Essex was disgraced in 1157; and the only time that Henry II. was at York before that date was in February 1155 (Eyton, Itinerary of Henry II.) So this record, if genuine, is fixed to a month.

## VI.

THE Sixth Group is chiefly from a singular and remarkable book in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 15,350), commonly known as Codex Wintoniensis. From this fine manuscript Kemble took 185 documents. It belongs to the latter end of the 12th century. Though varying much in quality, it may be characterized generally as exhibiting a scholastic attention to the ancient forms of the language. The study of old models is sometimes overdone; there are features in the orthography that can only have been derived from examples older even than the originals themselves. Especially is this to be observed in the frequent substitution of æ for plain e; as if the compilers were anxious to be as archaic as possible, and as if they had old Kentish specimens before them. The whole effect of this book is to impress us with the idea (which other writings support) of an Anglosaxon Renaissance at the close of the twelfth century.

Cod. Winton. f. 115 b (collated). A.D. 856-858.  
K 1057. T. p. 115.

### Æðelwulf of Wessex

confirming to the church at Winchester the privilege of Ciltacumb, to be assessed as one hide, because Kinegils gave it to Birinus, and subsequent kings had confirmed it; because God's land ought to be freer than secular holdings; because when he was in Rome he had promised this to Leo; and in this act his son Alfred who travelled with him had also engaged, and had pledged his children (should he have any) to the same obligation. Moreover, the king engages to pay tithe of all his landed estates.

ON þæs naman ðe on eces lifes bec on heofonan þa awrit ðe her on life wel gecwemað. ic aðulf kyninge on ðysum gewrite geswutelie be Ciltacumbes freulse ðone ðe kynegyls kyninge þe ærest kininga cristen gewearþ on west sexan his fulluht fæder sçe birine biscope ge uþe. 7 siþþan ælc þæra kyninga þe æfter oðran on west sexan wæron gefriðodon 7 gefyrðredon, þeah þe he<sup>1</sup> ær on gewrite ne stode oð hit to me com þe nu se nygopa kyninge eom. Eac ic her geswutelie þæt ic þisne freols æt foran sçe petre on rome 7 þam halgan papan leone swa gefæstnode swa swa me 7 eallan ðeodscype gewearþ on englaland ær ic to rome fore. þ̅ wæs þæt mon ælles ðises freolses are æfre for ane hide werian scolde<sup>2</sup>. for þam þe godes ar æfre freogre beon sceal þonne ænig woruld ar. 7 min sune eac ælfred þe mid me for . 7 þær to kyninge gehalgod wæs. þan papan on hand gesealde þæt he ðisne freols æfre gefyrþrian wolde. 7 his bearn . gif hī God ænigra geuþe. to þam ylcan sprittan wolde. Ic eac . be foran þam ylcan papan . ealle þa lānd are ðe ic on angla þeode hæfde. gode into halgan stowon. for me 7 for ealle þeode

geteoðode. 7 on Rome. be þes papan fyrþrunge 7 leaue. mynster ge worhte. Gode to loue . 7 sça marian his halgan meder to wyrþmynte. 7 þær englisce scole gesette . þe æfre nihtes 7 dægges for ure þeode Gode þywian scolde. 7 þa þa ic on eard com. ic oncyðde ealle folce hwæt ic on rome gedon hæfde. þa þancodan hy þyses gode 7 me swyþe georne. 7 heom eall þis swyþe wel licode. 7 cwædon þat heora þances þis on ecnesse stande. Nu halsie ic þurh þa halgan þrimnisse 7 sçs petrus 7 ealne þane haligdom þe ic on rome for me 7 for ealne þeod scype gesohte. þet næfre ne kyninge . ne æþelinge . ne biscop . ne ealdorman . ne þegen . ne gerefa. hine silfne swa earme for wyrce þæt he þisne freols gelyttlie þe be swylcere gewittnesse gefestnod is. buton tweonan se þe hit deð . he abilhð gode 7 sçe petre 7 eallan þam halgan þe on rome cyrcean restap. 7 him seluan ece helle wite ungesæliglice getilaþ. Eac se halga forsæda papa leo godes curs 7 sçe petres 7 ealra halgena 7 his on þæne gesette þe þis æfre undo. 7 eac eall þes þeodscype ge on gehadodan ge on læwedan þ ylce dyde . þa ic on gear com 7 him þis cyþde.

\*\*\* This piece is written in a hand which is distinct not only from that of the body of the book, but also from any of the additional entries, of which this is one, near the end of the volume.

<sup>1</sup> Namely, se freols. the privilege.

<sup>2</sup> This is the original form of the Latin phrase in Domesday, "Defendit se pro una hida."

Cod. Winton. f. 69 (collated).

A.D. 900.

K 1077. T. p. 143.

### Eadweard of Wessex

records that in the days of his grandfather Æthelwulf and his father Alfred, it was settled that Alfred should have the

land at Ceolselden (Chiseldon, Wilts), and at Sweores holt (? Sparsholt) on condition that Alfred at his death should leave it to the venerable family at Winchester. But I Eadweard became possessed of these lands by exchange for 10 hides at Stoke by Hisseburne including all the men who were on that estate when Alfred went the way of all flesh. Then follows:

HAEC sunt territoria utriusque terrae. Her synd gewrīten þa gerihta þæ ða ceorlas sculan don to Hysseburnan. Ærest æt hilcan hiwisce feowerti penega tō herfestes emnihte. 7 VI. ciric mittan eālað. 7 III. sesðlar hlaf hwetes. 7 III. æceras ge érian on heora agenre hwile 7 mid heora agenan sæda gesawan. 7 on hyra agenre hwile on bærene gebringan. 7 þreo pund gauol bæres. 7 healfne æcer gauol mæde on hiora agienre hwile. 7 ðæt on hreace gebringan. 7 IIII. foðera aclofenas gauol wyda to scid hræce. on hiora agenre hwile. 7 XVI. gyrda gauol tininga eác on hiora agenre hwile. 7 to Eastran twó ewe mid twam lāmban. 7 we [talað]<sup>1</sup> two geong sceap tō eald sceapan. 7 hi sculan waxan sceāp 7 sciran on hiora agenre hwile. 7 ælce wucan wircen ðæt hi man hāte butan ðrim. an to middanwintra. oðeru to Eas[t]ran. ðridde tō gand-dagan.

Ðis synd þa landgemero. Ærest of twufyrde andlang weges to fearnhlince. þanan andlang weges to æses beorge. ðanan on gerihte to þære pirigan. þonne 7lang weges on ceardices beorg. ðonne on wiðig grafe. þonne on ðone weg þe scyt ofer ða dīc. þonne andlang weges on þa coppedan ác. ðanan andlang weges oð he to wuda lið. þonne on gerihte on stodleage supewealde. þonne andlang mearc weges. útt wið feld beorga. þonne andlang mearc weges to þan hagan be supan fearn leáge. andlang hagan útt to Ubban leáge stigele. þonne and-

lang hagan to woces geate. Ðanan andlang hagan on tyrwenes sledeſ heafad. þonne andlang hagan útt to bitan<sup>2</sup> enolle on ðone lit hagan. andlang þære þorn græfan þwyres ofer hysseburnan on gosdæne. þonne andlang þæs weges þe lið andlang gosdæne þwyres ofer in waldes weg. þonne andlang weges on þone beorg æt wæcces treówe. Ðanan on butan hig dune þornes tó brunes hamme. þonne andlang hagan to þam grundeliesan pytte. Ðanan on gerihte andlang hagan to hremmes dene. þ andlang hagan on ðære ealdan mapolder be suðán tutan mære. þonne andlang hagan on sot ceorles æcer. Ðanán ofer ða dæne úpp be wurt walan. þonne on butan þone garan on þone piwinðlan. ðonne on butan ðone garan on ðone biwindlan ðonne andlang mearcweges to wifan stócce. Ðanan andlang ðæs ealdan weges to bradan leá. ðonne an weste weard geapan garan. Ðanan to þære haran apoldre. þonne 7lang díc útt on terstan on þone syperan steð. þonne 7lang stepes. þ be neoðan beamwær on þone norþere step. andlang staðes æft on twyfyrd.

\*.\* This deed is rare and valuable for the record of services due from the peasants; among which occurs the duty of making enclosures at the proper season of the year. Each is bound to fence sixteen yards in his own time. Cited by Nasse, *Community*, tr. Ouvry, p. 18; and by Mr. Seebohm, *English Village Com.*, p. 162, as an instance of servile tenure on an English manor.

<sup>1</sup> Conj. K.

<sup>2</sup> *bican* K.

Cod. Winton. f. 59 (collated).  
K 1086. T. p. 147.

A.D. 879-909.

### Denewulf

and the Society at Winchester granting læn-land to king Alfred; after his day to return to St. Peter.

✠ Denewulf bisceop 7 ða hýwan on Wintanceástre

æn lænað Ælfrede his deg XL. hida landes æt Alresforda. æfter þære læna þe Tunbryht bisceop ær alende his yldran. 7 agan wés on ðæt gerad þet he gesylle ælce geære to hærfestes emnihte Ðreo pund to gafole 7 cyresceattas 7 cyresceat weorc. 7 þenne þæs neod<sup>1</sup> bið his men beon gearuwe ge tó ripe ge to huntoðe. 7 efter his dege gänge seo ar<sup>2</sup> unbe<sup>3</sup> flitan into Sçe Petre.

þis synt þara wītena handsetena 7 ðere hina<sup>4</sup> ðe on þære geðafunge wēron. Ðæt is Denewulf bisceop. and Tata<sup>5</sup> bisceop. and Byrnstan bisceop. and Wighelm diaconus. and Æpelstan clericus. and Eadwulf clericus. and Ælfstan clericus. and Wulfstan clericus. and Wulfric clericus. and Winsige clericus. and Wulfred clericus. and Beorhtsige clericus. and Ælfsige clericus. and Wulfhelm clericus. and Wulfsige clericus. and Wiglaf clericus. and Æðelm clericus. and Cynestan clericus. and Aðeric clericus. and Ðruðgar clericus. and Wulfred minister. and Beornulf minister. and Winstan minister. and Aðulf minister.

<sup>1</sup> nuð MS.<sup>2</sup> ðar MS.<sup>3</sup> umbe MS.<sup>4</sup> "inmates" T.<sup>5</sup> According to Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, there is no bishop of the name of Tata at this period; nor any Byrnstan, except Beornstan, who was Denewulf's next successor but one.

MS. Cod. Winton. f. 32.

23 March, 931.

K 1102.

### Æðelstan

rex Anglorum, &c., granting to Abbot Ælfric land at Clere, N. Hants. The bounds are as follows.

PRAEDICTA siquidem tellus his terminis circumcincta clarescit. Ærest on east healfe þær Ecelesburna scyt on aleburnan; and swa supweard up andlang Ecelesburnon to þam mearchbroce; andlang þere ealdan dic to Ceotan stapole; and of Cæotan stapole to þon crundele þe

se iġþ onstent; and of þam crundele on þæt lange grauet; of þam lange grafette supweardon to þon hnottan seale on Searleage stent; of þam seale to þon pæpe; up andlang papes to þære apoldre, and be eastan Bunteles pyte forþ to þam ealdan adfini; of þam finie up to þam ealdan elebeame; of þam elebeame to þam hricgwege ongean þone haran þorn; west andlang weges to þære easteran dic; sup andlang dic on þone lytlan paþ; of þam pape on gerichte to secges geate; of secges geate andlang papes to hamleas sceagan; and swa andlang papes on hremres wyrpe; þonne utt on þone herpaþ; þonne andlang herpapes to þere ealdan stret on supweardon and on easteweardon þam lande; and swa west andlang stret to bradan hamme middeweardon; of bradan hamme up to witan hamme; of witan hamme on þone miclan hæslwriþ wiþ neoþon þæt grafet; of þam hæslwripe on gerihte wiþ þæs lytlan stanbeorges up on hæslhille; of þam stanbeorge ofer þa dene be supan hilgrafon to þon lytlan stanbeorge; of þam stanbeorge to þon oþerum lytlan stanbeorge be eastan hulgrafum; swa andlang þæs lytlan hricges be þere westmearce oþ þone miclan hline; andlang hlines oþ þone lytlan eastlangan hline æt norþeweardon þam miclan hline; andlang þæs lytlan hlyneces þæt ofer þa dene on þes hlines heafod; up an gemanan hylle; swa on gerihte norþeast ofer gemanan hylle; to þam herepape þe scyt to meres byrig; east andlang herpapes to holan wege; and nyþer andlang holan weges; þonne liþ be westan wege .x. eceras to þon easteran lande; forþ norþ andlang weges to þon herepape þe scyt to þære byrig to west Cleran; west andlang herpapes to þere miclan flodan æt Eadrices coton; of þære flodan norþwest to þære miclan apoldre; west on gerihte wiþ supan þa

mede þæt it sticap̃ to emnes þam wipig þyfelum be westan fucges flodan; and þer norþ ofer þa mede; and went þer eastweard; and swa be norþan fucges flodan to rugan hlince; and swa norþ be rugan hlince; of rugan hlince norþeweardne; and þer east hwon to þere broc riþe; þæt norþ andlang broces to þere riþe þe scyt east andlang dene be norþe beorh dune oþ to emnes þes hlinces heafde; and þer up þæt norþ andlang Æpeles wyrþe on gerihte to ealdan wyrþe supeweardne to þon þornum; norþ on gerihte wiþ westan ealdan wyrþe to þon lytlan grafette up on wuncges dune; and þer west hwon to þon norþlangan grafette; þæt norþ to þere lytlan dic æt þam crundelum; swa norþeast to þære lytlan riþe; of þere riþe norþeweardre on riht to gosleage wege to wuda; andlang weges to Cleran finie; þæt to þære gemearcodan æfsan; of þære gemearcodan æfsan to þon readan slo; of þam slo to þon rihte treowe æt gosleage wicum westewardon; of þam treowe to þere wican æt þam boxe; of þam boxe to þære gemearcodan æc æt alerburnan; æt þam lytlan egilande æt westewardon and æt norþewardon þære landmearce; and swa be norþan þam lande east andlang alerburnan þæt hit sticap̃ æt Ecclesburnan on eastewardon and on norþewardon þære mearce þisses forecweþenan landes.

\*\*\* *Rubric.* Dis is seo landboc .x. hydæ to Clearan þe Ædelstan cing bocodæ Ælfricæ biscope on ece yrfæ.

Cod. Winton f. 92 (collated).  
K1110.

16 Dec. 934.

### Æðelstan

to the church of the Holy Trinity in Winchester.

✠ REGNANTE et moderante domino nostro Ihesu



Christo! Ego Æðelstanus rex et rector totius huius Britanniae insulae, largiente domino et omnibus eius sanctis, has terras dono aeternaliter familiae aecclesiae sanctae trinitatis quae est in Wintonia ciuitate, intus ad refectorium fratribus et ad uestimenta; sed et quicumque episcopus qui tunc superfuerit illiusque aecclesiae regimen teneat, eos de suis propriis episcopalibus uillis pleniter pascat, sicut ab antiquis temporibus illi honorabili familiae a uenerabilibus patribus constitutum fuit. Haec autem sunt nomina uillarum huius meae donationis; hoc est in monasterio quod ab incolis Eneford nuncupatur .xxx. cassatas et in uilla quae uocitatur CEOLBALDINCTUN .x. mansas, itemque in uilla quae dicitur Æscmeres weorþ .x. cassatos. Et praecipio in nomine sanctae et indiuiduae trinitatis ut hae supranominatae terrae sint aeternaliter liberae ab omni iugo terrenae seruitutis, excepto expeditione, et arcis pontisque constructione. Necnon et hoc praecipio in nomine omnipotentis dei, quod nullus rex aut episcopus, uel aliquis alius potens, sit tam audax ut huius meae donationis condictum commouere seu confringere praesumat. Uolo itaque ut haec supradicta familia semetipsam pro me tribus diebus in anno pascat, hoc est in festiuitate Omnium sanctorum, et quamdiu christianitas permanserit in hac insula sint illi mei intercessores ad dominum. Si quis uero hanc meam donationem adaugere uoluerit, adaugeat deus praemium eius in regno coelorum. Si quis autem instituerit minuere, minuatur merces eius in regno dei, nisi prius cum satisfactione emendauerit. Necnon et praecipio ut omnes eorum terrae quas mei consanguinei seu aliqui fideles illis dederunt in hac eadem libertate sint. Hoc uero constitutum fuit in regali uilla quae ab omnibus From nuncupatur, anno

dominicæ incarnationis .DCCCC.XXXIIII. indictione .VII.  
 .XVII. kalendas Ianuarii, cum eorum testimonio quorum  
 nomina infra conscripta uidentur. þis syndon þara  
 .xxx. hida gemæra to Enedforda. Ærest of asenan  
 east staþæ upp on þa dīc to þam weallum; of þam  
 weallon andlang hærpapæs into lórtan hlæwe; Of lortan  
 hlæwæ east andlang furh on ceaster herpaf; of þam  
 hærpapæ andlang furh on dolh crundæl: of dolh crun-  
 dæle forþ andlang wæges on þone æþenan byrigæls;  
 of þam byrigelsæ to þære readan hanæ; Of þære readan  
 hanæ andlang stræt on igean seaf; of igean seapæ on  
 þone greatan hling; of þam hlince andlang drafæ on  
 þonæ hline æt wad dænæ; Of wat dæne andlang furh on  
 þonæ rugan beorg; of þam rugam beorge andlang furh  
 to amwican; of amwican to blacan dænæ; of blacan dænæ  
 andlang stræt on þone ford; Of þam forða 7 lanc streames  
 on þonæ bradan igeof; of þam igeofe andlang streames  
 to þære ealdan dīc æt hrisc steorte; of þam hrisc  
 steorte on þone greatan hline; Of þam greatan hlincæ.  
 andlang fyrh on þonæ ruge sled; of þam rugan slede  
 on þone flit garan; of þam flit garan on fitelan sladæs  
 crundæl; Of þam crundæle 7lang þæs smalan weges on  
 þa rugan hylle, æt þære ealdan furh; andlang furh to  
 þam ealdan lagan; of þam ealdan lagan to æscdæne;  
 of æscdæne andlang þæs smalan weges to rodmundes  
 dæne; on þæs hlinces heafod; Of þæs hlinces heafdæ  
 7lang þæs smalan weges on þonæ flit garan; of þam  
 garan 7lang þære ealdan dīc on þonæ wide geat; Of  
 þam widan geate forþ to þam heafod stoccan; þanon  
 7lang dīc on Randa ford.

✠ Ego Æþelstanus Angul-Saxonum necnon et totius  
 Brittanniæ rex, gratia dei regni solio sublimatus,  
 signo sanctæ crucis hoc corroborauī et confirmaui.

✠ Ego Huwal subregulus. ✠ Ego Wulfhelm archiepiscopus. ✠ Ego Wulfstan archiepiscopus. ✠ Ego Deodred episcopus. ✠ Ego Wulfhun episcopus. ✠ Ego Ælfheah episcopus. ✠ Ego Oda episcopus. ✠ Ego Ælfred episcopus. ✠ Ego Ælfheah episcopus. ✠ Ego Æþælgar episcopus. ✠ Ego Burgric episcopus. ✠ Ego Cenwald episcopus. ✠ Ego Ælla episcopus. ✠ Ego Wynsige episcopus. ✠ Ego Tidhelm episcopus. ✠ Ego Cynesige episcopus. ✠ Ego Wulfhelm episcopus. ✠ Ego Ælfred episcopus. ✠ Ego Ælfwald dux. ✠ Ego Æþælstan minister. ✠ Ego Odda minister. ✠ Ego Æþælstan minister. ✠ Ego Wulfhelm minister. ✠ Ego Ælfhere minister. ✠ Ego Ælfheah minister. ✠ Ego Wulfsige minister. ✠ Ego Wulfgar minister. ✠ Ego Æþelmund minister. ✠ Ego Wulfgar minister. ✠ Ego Wulflaf minister. ✠ Ego Wulfmer minister. ✠ Ego Ælfheah minister. ✠ Ego Ælfric minister. ✠ Ego Wulfnop minister. ✠ Ego Æþelstan minister. ✠ Ego Eadric minister.

\*\*. *Rubic.* þis is þara .xxx. hida boc to Enedforda, and þara .x. æt Ceolboldingetune and þara .x. æt Æscmæres wyrþe. Donum Æþelstani regis.

The same in Saxon.

MID Godæs gifæ! Ic Æþelstan Ongol-Saxna cyning and brytænwalda eallæs þyses iglandæs, þurh Godæs sælene and ealra his halegra, þas land æcelice sælle into sanctæ trinitatan þam hiwum to hira beodlandæ and to hreglta; þæt is þonnæ æt Enedforda .xxx. hida, and æt Ceolbaldinctuna .x. hidæ, and æt Æscmæres weorþæ .x. hida. And ic wulla þæt þas land þurhwunien on æcelecum freodomæ from æghwelcum eorþlecum þeowdomæ, butan firdæ and fæstængewæorcæ, and

brycggewæorce; and ic bebeodæ on Godæs ælmihtiges naman þæt nauþær næ sie to þon gedurstig, ne cyning, næ bisceop, ne nanes hades man, þæt þas minæ gife onwændæ oþþæ gewanie; and ic wille þet þa hiwan ælce gere gefermien for mæ hie selfæ þrie dagas to Omnium sanctorum, and ahwilæ þæ Cristendom sie fullicæ mid hira godcundnessæ for me sien. And gif hwa þas minæ gife ecan willæ, iecæ God his on hæfæna rice; and gif hit hwa þonne wanige þæt he hit næfre næ gebæte ær ætforan Cristes þrymsetlæ, nymþæ he hit mid weorþelice dedbote gebæte. And ic wille þæt ealra hira beodland þæ mine magas þydær sealdon beon on þam ylcan freodomæ, and se þæt sæ bisceop a þæ þær þonne sie him do hira fullan fostær butan hira beodlandum of his bisceop hamum. Þis wæs gesæt on þam cynelicun hamæ æt Fromæ, on .xvii. kalendas Ianuarii, indictione .vii. þu gere þe wæs agangen from Cristes acennednesse .dcccc.xxxiiii. wintra, on þyssæ gewitnessæ þæ hira naman hæron awritenæ sint.

✠ Æpelstan Ongol-Saxna cyning and brytenwalda ealles þyses iglandæs þurh Godæs gifæ þis gesætte and gefæstnedæ mid Cristæs rodæ tacnæ. ✠ Huwal undercyning. ✠ Wulfhelm arcebisceop. ✠ Wulstan arcebisceop. ✠ Peodred bisceop. ✠ Wulfhun bisceop. ✠ Ælfheah bisceop. ✠ Oda bisceop. ✠ Ælfræd bisceop. ✠ Ælfheah bisceop. ✠ Æpelgar bisceop. ✠ Burhric bisceop. ✠ Cenwald bisceop. ✠ Ælla bisceop. ✠ Wunsige bisceop. ✠ Tidhelm bisceop. ✠ Cynæsige bisceop. ✠ Wulfhelm bisceop. ✠ Ælfræd bisceop. ✠ Ælfwald ealdorman. ✠ Æpelstan minister. ✠ Odda minister. ✠ Æpelstan minister. ✠ Wulfhelm minister. ✠ Ælfhære minister. ✠ Ælfheah minister. ✠ Wulfsige minister. ✠ Wulf-

gar minister. ✠ Æpelmund minister. ✠ Wulfgar minister. ✠ Wulflaf minister. ✠ Wulfmær minister. ✠ Ælfheah minister. ✠ Ælfric minister. ✠ Wulfric minister. ✠ Wulfnoþ minister. ✠ Æþelstan minister. ✠ Eadric minister. ✠ Æþelwald minister. ✠ Wigar minister. ✠ Wulfric minister. ✠ Ælfsige minister. ✠ Ælfsige minister. ✠ Ælfhære minister. ✠ Æþelgerd minister.

\*.\* A fine example of the Anglo-Saxon studies kept up at Winchester in the twelfth century. The translation of *rector totius huius Britanniae insulae into brytænwalda eallæs ðyses iglandæs* is happily characterised by Mr. J. R. Green as "an instance of the literary archaism and affectation of the time" (*The Conquest of England* (1883), p. 241), a remark which is equally applicable, though with a difference, both to the time of the purported date, that is the tenth century; and to the time of the manuscript, that is the latter part of the twelfth century.

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Cod. Winton. f. 85a (collated).

A.D. 946-955.

K 1173. T. p. 499.

### Æþelwold ealdorman

his will. The writing contains only a portion of the Will; the rest being nuncupatory. It is noticeable that *læn-lands* are treated as hereditary and testamentary.

HER geswutelad þæt Eadred cing geuþe þæt land æt Wilig. þa twelf hida. to scrud fultume<sup>1</sup> þam hirede into Ealdan mynstre.

LEOF<sup>2</sup> ÆþELWOLD ealdarman cyþ his leófan cyne hlaforde Eadred cynge hu ic wille ymbe þa landare þe ic æt mine hlaforde gearnode. Ærest Gode 7 þære halgan stowe æt þam bisceopstole æt Wintanceastre þam bisceope 7 þam hiwum þæt land æt Wilig. þa twelf hida. to scrud fultume. þæt hi me on heora gebedd redenne hæbben. swa swa ic him to gelyfe. 7 þam

cinge minne hære geatwa.<sup>3</sup> feower sweord. 7 feower spæra. 7 feower scyldas. 7 feower beagas. twegen on hund twelftigum mancosun. 7 twegen on hund eahtatigum. 7 feower hors. 7 twa sylfrene fata. 7 minum breðer eadrice þæt land æt Ocebunan. 7 æt æscsedune. 7 æt cegham. 7 æt wessinga tune.<sup>4</sup> 7 Æþelstane minæ breðer þet land æt bradan wætere. 7 þet æt Niwan tūne. 7 Ælfsige mine breðer suna þet land æt carcel. 7 Ælfstanes suna mines broþor þæt land æt Cleran. 7 eall þæt yrfe þæ ic hæbbe on læne lendum. þonne wylle ic þæt þæt sie gedeled for mine sawle swa swa ic nu þam freondum sæde þæ ic to spræc.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the allowances for livery in the mediæval college statutes; they were continued in some colleges almost if not quite down to our times. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* iii. 531.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Thorpe takes *Leof* as a prenominal; I take it as an epistolary address to the king = Sire, My lord.

<sup>3</sup> Here Mr. Thorpe remarks that had Mr. Hallam known this and other like texts, he would not in his "Middle Ages" have put the earliest trace of the heriot in the reign of Canute. The heriot was only defined by Canute.

<sup>4</sup> Is Wessingatun the same as Wassingtun granted by Eadred to Eadric A.D. 947? Or, if Wassingtun is Washington by Steyning (Suss.) — is Wiston, close by there, possibly our Wessingatun?

Cod. Winton. f. 111 b.

A.D. 985.

K 652.\*

### Æthelred

granting his faithful friend Ælfred 11 mansæ æt Micla-mersce (Michelmarsch near Romsey, Hants).

✠ **MUNDUS** iste transibit et qui eum diligit, qui dominum diligit manebit in æternum! Sic diligendus est mundus ut nullus abutatur eo; male utitur mundo ille qui philargyriam retinet in clauso uiscere tanquam heram principalem, quia mundana retinendo

minuuntur, tribuendo multiplicantur, intonante apostolica fone, 'Quid habes, quod non accepisti?' Si accepisti, quid inde gloriaris quasi non acceperis?' Adeo decantante psalmigrapho, 'Domini est terra et plenitudo eius, orbis terrarum et uniuersi qui habitant in eo.' Quamobrem ego Æþelredus rex Anglorum prænoscens quorsum prædicta tendant, scilicet ad diligendos homines bonis moribus adornatos, concedo cuidam meo amico fidei nomine Ælferd quandam telluris particulam, id est .xi. mansas in loco uulgari uocitamine æt Miclamersce, quatinus uita comite habeat ac perenniter possideat; cum autem interitum communem aduenire cognouerit, cuicunque sibi libuerit haeredi post se commendet in propriam haereditatem. Sit autem prædicta tellus libera ab omni saeculari offendiculo, cum omnibus quae ad ipsa loca pertinere dinoscuntur, tam in magnis quam in modicis rebus, campis, pascuis, pratis, siluis, exceptis istis tribus, expeditione, pontis arcisue coaedificatione, anathematibus antiquis cartulis, ita ut nichil ualeant ultra, etiam si iterum emergant. Hanc uero meam donationem cupientes minuere uel mutare uel frangere habeant portionem cum illis quibus dicitur, 'Discedite a me operarii iniquitatis in flammam ignium.' nisi prius poenitentiae digna satisfactione emendent. Est autem prædictum rus talibus circumdatum terminis. *Ærest of Terstan upp on Iww cumb; of Iwwa cumbe on wanhyrste; of wanhyrste on þone ealde iw; þonoue of þon iwe to Lullan setle; of Lullan setle to beocera gente; of beocera gente to horsweges heale; of horsweges heale to æppen lega; of hæppen lege to Higsolon; of Higsolon on fæstan ac; of fæstan ac on feora burnan æwylman; of feora burnan to ceomman*

bricge; of ceomman bricge to wyrtwalun; up be wyrtwalun of Cerswyll; of Cæorswyll up to þam ellene; of þam ellene to popul finige; of popul finige to Lambhyrste; of Lambhyrste to huntan wican; þonone eft on Terstan. Anno dominicæ incarnationis. .DCCCC.LXXXV. his testibus consentientibus quorum inferius nomina caraxantur.

✠ Ego Æpelredus rex Anglorum huius donationis libertatem regni totius fastigium tenens libenter concessi. ✠ Ego Dunstanus Doruernensis aecclesiæ archiepiscopus cum signo sanctæ crucis roborauī. ✠ Ego Oswoldus Eboracensis aecclesiæ archiepiscopus crucis taumate adnotauī. ✠ Ego Ælfegus Wintoniensis præsul confirmaui. ✠ Ego Ælfstanus Lundoniensis præsul corroboraui. ✠ Ego Æpelwine dux. ✠ Ego Bryhtnoþ dux. ✠ Ego Æpelweard dux. ✠ Ego Ælfrie dux.

Cod. Winton. f. 104.

A.D. 987.

K 658.

### Æðelred

king of the English, grants to his huntsman Leofwine portions of land at Westwood and Farleigh (Hants). In the boundaries mention is made of Common land.

Þis syndon þa landgæmæro to Westwuda and to Cissanhammæ. Ærest on Stanford; of Stanforda andlang streamæs on Igford; of Igforda on bære hæhgæ; andlang hægæs on Afonæ; up bæ stræamæ on Windærlæh mæd; of þære mæd east onbutan cading lægæ on hramæs hangran; of þam hangran suþ to þære stræt on þa streatan hlywan; of þære hlywan suþ onbutan færs scagan on þa dic þæt hit cymþ to þære rodæ; þanon on crawan æc; of þære æc æft on Stanford;



þonnæ licgeaþ þa þreo gyrda on oþære hæalfæ fromæ æt  
Fearnlæagæ on gæmænum landæ.

*\*\* Rubric.*—Dis is ðara .iii. hida land boc æt Westwuda and ðara  
.iii. gyrda æt Fearnlege ðe Æðelred cing gebocode Leofwine his huntan  
on ece yrfe.

Cod. Winton. f. 4b.

A.D. 996.

K 1291.

### Æðelred

basileus Anglorum adjudges to the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Winchester, at the request of Bp. Ælfheah, a certain 'haga' which a lady of the name of Ælfswyð had granted for that service, but her intention had been fraudulently defeated. The boundaries are interesting for the names of streets in Winchester.

Dis is þes hagan embegang þe Æþelred cing geuþe  
into Ealdan mynstre, ofer Wulfsiges dæg preostes.  
Ærest fram Leofan hagan west andlang cypstræte oþ  
hit cymþ to flæs[c]mangere stræte; andlang flæsc-  
mangara stræte þet it cymþ to scyldwyrhtana stræte;  
andlang scyldwyrhtana stræte east eft þæt hit cymþ to  
Leofan hagan.

*\*\* Rubric:*—Dis is ðæs hagan boc on Winceastre and ðes healfan  
weres æt Brægentforda and ðæs æcersplottes ðe ðærto lið, ðe Æðelred  
cynig geuðe God elmihtigum and his halgan apostolan Petre and Paulæ  
into Ealdan mynstre on ece inhyrnesse.

Harley Charter 43 C. 4.

Before 991<sup>1</sup>.

Bibl. Publ. Camb. Ff. 2. 33.

K 685. T. p. 519.

B. iii. 35.

### Ælflæd

her Will. Begins by reciting that of Æþelflæd, the second

queen of Eadmund. In Sax. Chron. D. 946, she is called 'Æpelflæd of Domerham,' and that estate comes first in the dispositions of this Will. The estate of Charlesworth was conveyed to Æpelflæd in 962. Above, p. 200. The orthography reminds us of Cod. Winton.

Þis is æpelflæd<sup>e</sup> cwyðe þ is ærest þ ic gean minū hlaforde þes landes æt lamburnan 7 þæs æt ceolsige 7 æt readingan . 7 feower beagas on twam hund mancýs goldes . 7 .iiii. pellas . 7 .iiii. cuppan . 7 .iiii. bleða . 7 .iiii. hors . 7 ic bidde minne leouan hlaford for godes lufan . þ min cwyðe standan mote . 7 ic nan oðer nebbe geworht on godes gewitnesse . 7 ic gean þæs landes æt domar hame into glestinga býrig . for ædmundes cinges sawle . 7 for æadgares cinges . 7 for mire sawle . 7 ic gean þes landes æt hamme into cristes cýrcan . æt cantwarebýrig for eadmundæs cinges sawle . 7 for mire sawle . 7 ic gean þes landes . æt wude ham bæorhtnoðe .

æaldormen . 7 mire swustær hýre dæg . 7 ofor hire dæg<sup>e</sup> into sça marian cýrcan . æt býorcingan . 7 ic gean þe's landes . æt hed ham bæorhtnoðæ æaldormen . 7 mire swuster hæora dæg . 7 æfter hæora dæge into paulus býrig æt lundænæ . to bisceop hamæ . 7 ic gean þæs landæs . æt dictunæ into ýlig to sçæ æpælðryð . 7 to hire geswustran . 7 ic gean þara twegra landa æt cohhanfeldæa 7 æt cæorles weorþe bæorhtnoðæ æaldormen . 7 miræ swust hire dæg . 7 ofer hire dæg into sçæ eadmundes stowe to býderices wyrðe 7 ic gean þæs landes æt fingringahó bæorhtnoðe æaldormen 7 mire swust hiræ dæg 7 ofer hire dæg into sçæ pætres cýrcan æt myres igæ . 7 ic gean þæs landes æt polstede bæorhtnoðe æaldormæn . 7 mire swust hire dæg . 7 ofor hira dæg into stocý . 7 ic gean þæs landæs æt hwifersce into

þonnæ licgeaþ þa þreo gyrda on oþære hæalfæ fromæ æt Fearnlæagæ on gæmænum landæ.

*\*\* Rubric.*—Dis is ðara .iii. hida land boc æt Westwuda and ðara .iii. gyrda æt Fearnlege ðe Æðelred cing gebocode Leofwine his huntan on ece yrfe.

Cod. Winton. f. 4b.

A.D. 996.

K 1291.

### Æðelred

basileus Anglorum adjudges to the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Winchester, at the request of Bp. Ælfheah, a certain 'haga' which a lady of the name of Ælfswyð had granted for that service, but her intention had been fraudulently defeated. The boundaries are interesting for the names of streets in Winchester.

Dis is þes hagan embegang þe Æþelred cing geuþe into Ealdan mynstre, ofer Wulfsiges dæg preostes. Ærest fram Leofan hagan west andlang cypstræte oþ hit cymþ to flæs[c]mangere stræte; andlang flæsc-mangara stræte þet it cymþ to scyldwyrhtana stræte; andlang scyldwyrhtana stræte east eft þæt hit cymþ to Leofan hagan.

*\*\* Rubric:*—Þis is ðæs hagan boc on Winceastre and ðes healfan weres æt Brægentforda and ðæs æcersplottes ðe ðærto lið, ðe Æðelred cyning geuðe God elmihtigum and his halgan apostolan Petre and Paule into Ealdan mynstre on ece inhynesse.

Harley Charter 43 C. 4.

Before 991<sup>1</sup>.

Bibl. Publ. Camb. Ff. 2. 33.

K 685. T. p. 519.

B. iii. 35.

### Ælflæd

her Will. Begins by reciting that of Æþelflæd, the second

queen of Eadmund. In Sax. Chron. D. 946, she is called 'Æpelflæd of Domerham,' and that estate comes first in the dispositions of this Will. The estate of Charlesworth was conveyed to Æpelflæd in 962. Above, p. 200. The orthography reminds us of Cod. Winton.

Þis is æpelflæde' cwýde þ̅ is ærest þ̅ ic gean minū  
 hlaforde þes landes æt lamburnan 7 þæs æt ceolsige 7  
 æt readingan . 7 feower beagas on twam hund mancýs  
 goldes . 7 .iiii. pellas . 7 .iiii. cuppan . 7 .iiii. bleða .  
 7 .iiii. hors . 7 ic bidde minne leouan hlaford for godes  
 lufan . þ̅ min cwýde standan mote . 7 ic nan oðer nebbe  
 geworht on godes gewitnesse . 7 ic gean þæs landes æt  
 domar hame into glestinga býrig . for ædmundes cinges  
 sawle . 7 for æadgares cinges . 7 for mire sawle . 7 ic  
 gean þes landes æt hamme into cristes cýrcan . æt cant-  
 warebýrig for eadmundæs cinges sawle . 7 for mire  
 sawle . 7 ic gean þes landes . æt wude ham bæorhtnoðe .  
 æaldormen . 7 mire swustær hýre dæg . 7 ofor hire deg<sup>e</sup>  
 into sça marian cýrcan . æt býorcingan . 7 ic gean þe's'  
 landes . æt hed ham bæorhtnoðæ ealdormen . 7 mire  
 swuster hæora dæg . 7 æfter hæora dæge into paulus  
 býrig æt lundænæ . to bisceop hamæ . 7 ic gean þæs  
 landæs . æt dictunæ into ýlig to sçæ æpælðryð . 7 to  
 hire geswustran . 7 ic gean þara twegra landa æt coh-  
 hanfeldæa 7 æt cæorles weorþe bæorhtnoðæ æaldormen .  
 7 miræ swusf hire dæg . 7 ofer hire dæg into sçæ ead-  
 mundes stowe to býderices wyrðe 7 ic 'ge'an þæs landes  
 æt fingringahó bæorhtnoðe æaldormen 7 mire swusf  
 hiræ deg 7 ofer hire dæg into sçæ pætres cýrcan æt  
 myres igæ . 7 ic gæan þæs landes æt polstede bæorht-  
 noðe æaldormæn . 7 mire swusf hire deg . 7 ofor hira  
 dæg into stocý . 7 ic gæan þæs landæs æt hwifersce into

stocý ofer minnæ dæg 7 ic gæan bæorhtnoðæ æaldermen .  
 7 mire swust þæs landes æt stræt forða hire dæg . 7 ofer  
 hire dæg . ic his gæan into stocý . 7 ic willæ þ̅ lauuan  
 ham ga into stoce ofær þes æaldermannes dæg . 7 mire  
 swust . 7 ic gæan þæs landes æt býliges dýnæ into stocý  
 ofer þæs æaldermanes dæg . 7 mire swust . 7 ic gæan

<sup>a</sup>  
 þara landa æt peltendune . 7 et mýres ige . 7 æt gren-  
 stede into stocý ofer minnæ dæg . 7 ofer bæorhtnoðes  
 æaldormannæs . 7 ofær mire swust . 7 ic gæan þes landes  
 æt ylmesæton beorhtnoðe æaldormen . 7 mire swust hira  
 dæg . 7 ofær hira dæg . ic his gæan æadmundæ . 7 ic an  
 þæræ . aræ hide æt þorpæ into hedlæge . for mire sawle .  
 7 for mira eldrena ofer [minne dæg] 7 ic gæan ðæra .x.  
 hida æt wieforda sibrihte minū mægæ ofer minne dæg .  
 7 ic gæan ægwinæ minū geræfan . þara .uii. hida æt hed  
 ham ofer minne<sup>2</sup> dæg . swa hit on æald dagū gestod .  
 7 ic gæan brihtwolde minū cnihtæ þara twegra hida . on  
 dunninc lande ofer minnæ dæg . 7 ic an alfwolde minū  
 preoste twægra hida on dunning lande ofer minne dæg .  
 7 ic gæan æþælmære minū præoste twægra hida on  
 dunning landæ ofær<sup>3</sup> minne dæg . 7 ic gæan ælfgræate  
 minū megæ . twegra hida on dunning lande ofær minnæ  
 dæg . ic gæan ðæs landæs æt wæaldinga fælda crawa  
 mira magan ouær minnæ dæg . 7 ic wille þ̅ man frigæ  
 hæalue mine men on elcū tune for mine sawlæ . 7 þ̅  
 man dele æal healf þ̅ ýrue þ̅ ic hæbbæ on ælcū tune for  
 mire sawle.

Ælfæd gæswytelap on þis gewrite hu hæo wile  
 habban gefadad hiræ æhta for gode . 7 for worldæ . ærest  
 þ̅ ic an minū hlaforde þara .viii. landa æft minū dege  
 þ̅ is erest æt douorcortæ . 7 æt fulanpettæ . 7 æt æles-  
 forða . 7 æt stanwægun . 7 æt býrætune . 7 æt læxadýne .

7 æt ylmesætun . 7 æt bucy'shealæ . 7 twægra bæha on twera punda gewihte . 7 twa sop cuppan . 7 an sæolfran fæt; 7 þæ leof æadmodlice bidde for godes luuan . 7 for mines hlafordæs sawle lufan . 7 for minræ swýstor sawlæ lufan ꝥ þu amundie þa halgan stowæ et stocæ þæ mine

yldran on restap . 7 þa are þæ hi þider insæaden a to freogon godæs rihte; ꝥ is þonne ꝥ ic gean æalswa mine yldran his 'er' gæuþan ꝥ is þonne ꝥ land æt stoce into þeræ halagan stowæ . 7 æal ꝥ ꝥ þær to tunæ gæhyrð . 7 þonæ wuda æt hæpfælda þæ min swystar gæuþæ . 7 mine yldran . þonñ synd þis þa land þæ minæ yldran þærto bæcwædon ofær minre swystor dæg . 7 ofær minne . ꝥ is ðonne stredfordæ . 7 fresantun . 7 wiswýþetun . 7 lauanham . 7 byliesdyne . 7 polstyde . 7 wifærmýrsc . 7 grænstýdæ . 7 peltandune . 7 mýræsegæ . 7 ꝥ wudæland æt tothā þæ min fæder geuþæ into myresiæ . 7 colne . 7 tigan; þonñ sýnd þis þa land þe minæ yldran becwædon into oprū halgū stowū . ꝥ is þonñ into cantwarabyrig to cristæs circan þan hired to brece þes landes æt illanlege 7 into paules mynstre into lundene . þes lan'des' æt hedhā to biscop hame . 7 þes landes æt tidwoldingtune þan hirede to brece into paules mynstre . 7 into beorcingan þā hirede to brece þes landes æt babbing þýrnan . 7 ic gean ælfþ'ræðe minæs hlauordæs medder wuduhamæs æftær minū dæge . 7 æft hiræ dege gange hit into sça marian stowæ into beorcingan æalswa hit stænt mid mæte . 7 mid mannū; 7 ic gæan into sçe æadmunde . þara twægra landa cæorles weorþæ . 7 cochanfelde þam hiræde to brece æalswa mine yldran his er geuþan 7 þæs landes æt 'h'nyddinge æftær crawan degæ miræ magan . 7 ic gæan into myresie . æft minū degæ ealswa min hlaford . 7 min swest geuþan . ꝥ is

fingringaho . 7 þara six hida þæ þ mynstær onstent ;  
 7 ic gæan eftær crawan dege þes landes æt wealdinga  
 felda into suðbyrig to scæ gregoriae ealswa min swestar  
 hit er foræwyrde ; 7 ic gean into ælig scæ petre . 7 scæ  
 æpældrype . 7 sçe wihtburhe . 7 scæ sexburhe . 7 sçe  
 æormenhilde þer mines hlafordes lichoma rest þara þreo  
 landa þe wit buta geheotan gode . 7 his halga<sup>4</sup> . þ is æt  
 rettendune þe wes min morgangyfu . 7 æt sæghā . 7 æt  
 dictune ealswa min hlaford . 7 min swæstar his er  
 geuþan . 7 þaræ anre hide æt cæafle þe min swystar  
 begeat . 7 þes bæahges gemacan þe man sæalde minū  
 hlaforde to sawle scæatte . 7 ic gean æðelmære æaldormū  
 þes landes æt lellinge ofer mine deg mid mete . 7 mid  
 mannū æalswa hit stent on þet gerad þ he beo on minū  
 life min fulla freond<sup>5</sup> . 7 forespreca . 7 mira manna . 7  
 efter minū dege beo þara halgan stowe . 7 þeræ are ful-  
 freond<sup>6</sup> 7 forespeca æt stocæ þe mine yldran onrestap . 7  
 ic gean þes landes æt lissingtune eðelmore mines hlafordes  
 mege mid mete . 7 mid mannū ealswa hit stent . 7 hine  
 eadmodlice bið'de þ he min fulla freond<sup>5</sup> . 7 mundiend  
 beo on minū dege . 7 eff minū dege gefelste þ min cwide  
 7 mira yldran standan mote ; þis sind þa land mearca to  
 býligesdýne . of ða burnan æt humelcýrre . frā humel-  
 cyrre . . . . . to heregeres heafode . frā heregeres  
 heafode æft ðā ealdan hege to ðare grene æc . þon forð  
 þ hit cýmð to þare stan stræte . of þare stan stræte  
 7lang sorybbe þ hit cýmð to acantune frā acýntune þ  
 hit cýmð to rigendune frā rigindune æft to þara burnan .  
 7 þær is . landes fif hida . þis sind þa land gemæra to  
 hwifer mircse 7 to polestede . of loppandýne to scelfleage  
 frā leage to mercýl 7lang mercýle into sture . 7lang  
 sture to leofmannes gemære 7lang leofmannes gæmære  
 to amalburnan frā amalburnan to norðfelda . ðon forð

to bind hæce . frā bind hæce to <sup>t</sup> dudan hæce . frā  
tudan hæce to giddineƿforda frā giddineƿforda to hnut-  
stede frā hunt stede to hwitineƿhó frā hwitingho to  
wudemannes tune . frā wudemannes tune to cæresige  
gæmære . frā cæresige gæmære to hædleage gæmære . frā  
hædleage gæmære to hlighā gæmære . frā hlighā gæmære  
eft to loppandýne . to hwifræmera . . landes 7 . . . g .  
. . . . . ðe sex . . . . .  
. . . . .

\*\*\* *Endorsed in a 12th century hand, 'Ælfæd Ceorlesworðe and  
Cokefelde.'* B.

<sup>1</sup> This will is by T. dated 'circa 972'; by B. 'after 991.' But if  
the Byrhtnoð so often named is the hero of Maldon, then the date  
must be before or in 991, unless we take 993 as the date of that battle.

<sup>2</sup> *mimne* MS.

<sup>3</sup> *ofæ* MS.

<sup>4</sup> The -n final is dropped.

<sup>5</sup> *fullafreod* MS. <sup>6</sup> *fulfreod* MS.

## VII.

THIS group is from a Manuscript in the Parker Library  
at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: No. cxi. described by  
Wanley, p. 149; the contents of which are as Kennett  
says 'principally matters appertaining to the Monastery of  
Bath.' I add some particulars for which I am indebted to  
Professor Skeat. The book is in good early writing to p.  
129, of which the earliest part is pp. 55-129; at p. 116  
(back) is the date 1136. On p. 131 is the date 1258. At  
the end are some paper leaves which go to the 15th century.

C. C. C. Camb. cxi. 139.

About 988.

K 356.

### Athelstan

granting to Ælfheah his faithful thane land, ubi ab incolis  
nominatur Feornbeorgan, of which the bounds are as follows.

Ðis sindan ða landgemæro ðe tó Fearnbeorgan



gebyriað. Of Fearnbeorge west on ðone weg tó ðám stánnum; of ðám stánnum súð on ðone weg oð ða andheáfa; of ðám andheáfdum on ða hlincræwe úp tó ðære díc be norðan stódfaldon; ðonne forð on ða díc tó mærflóðan be eástan lillingleá; ðonne forð andlang ðæs súðeran weges oð ðæt lang tréw; ðonne forð west on ðone weg ofer Beocumb tó ðám stáncrundle; ðonne norð on ðone smalan weg wið eástan brócenan beorg tó ðám wege ðær eást ligð; ðonne forð on ðone weg tó cytelflóðan be westan múles cumbe ðær ða wegas twisligað; ðonne forð tó Scyldmère; ðonne forð on ða furh tó furcumb; andlanges furcumbes middeweardes tó ðære dene; ðonne forð on ða denu tó ðæra wega gemýðan; ðonne forð tó ðám hwítan wege tó ðám háran þorne; of ðám hwítan wege on Fearnbeorg, and se leág be eástan catmère ðe ðærtó gebyreð; ðæt is on ðone wege ðe líð tó Stánleáge; ðonne forð síððan súð on ðone stánihtan weg; of Stánmériinga gemære; ðonne forð on ðone smalan weg tó ðám fúlan wege se hátte stifc weg; ðæt is Catmériinga gemære and ðæs landes tó Fearnbeorgan; ðonne forð andlang ðæs weges út on ðone felde; and ðonne ealle ða hangran betweenan ðám wege and ðám ðe tó Stánleáge ligð gebyriað ealle tó Fearnbeorgan.

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C. C. C. Camb. cxi. 143.

A.D. 949.

K 424 (App. vol. vi.)

### Eadred

his confirmation of land granted to Æpelmær. This document has much that is curious and suspicious; e.g. the signature, "Osulf ad Bebbanburh heahgerefa" (Freeman,

*Norman Conquest*, i. p. 292): the name of Cædmon, which occurs in one other record, viz. K<sub>411</sub>.

✠ PERPETUAE prosperitatis priuilegium quod constat coelesti paradiso sublimatum sanctae Trinitatis dei monarchia gubernat magnopere: quae quoque deitatis essentia terrenae haereditatis patrimonium cunctis praestat, prout uult, promerentibus. Hoc apparet proculdubio in rege Anglorum gloriosissimo beato dei opere praetio Eadredo; quem Norðhymbra paganorumque seu caeterarum sceptro prouinciarum rex regum omnipotens sublimauit, quique praefatus imperator semper deo grates dignissimas larga manu subministrat. Cuius regis largitatem Æpelmærus praeses iam prouulgat de perenni usurpatione terrarum, quem denique honorifice locupletat, sibi suisque haeredibus liberaliter largiendo, praeter urbis atque pontis constructionem expeditionisque obsequio. Ast sequitur terminatio uiginti manentium ad Cétwuda 7 æt Hildes dūne hoc modo. Ðis seond ða londgemæru ðæs londes æt Cetwuda and æt Hildesdūne. Ærest on ða hálgan æc; swá ollonc ðæs gemærheges tó ðæm sló æt ðæm móre úfewerdan; of ðám móre on dūnes pyt; ðonon þurh Wippan hōh; ðæt swá be ðæm grétan wyrtruman on ðone holan weg; on ðone ôðerne weg tó ðám rugan hláwe; ðonan on gerihte on ðæt lytle riðig; ðæt swá on Offan pól; úp ollonc streámes on bylian pól; ðonan úp ofer ða mæd ðæt swá be ðára andheáfdan on ðæt síc; úp of ðæm síce tó Cufanleá, on ða díc tó ðám reádan sló; ðæt swá on ðane lytlan díc; ðonon on ðone ôðerne díc; ðæt swá ollonc ðæs gemære heges onbútan Hreódlége; ðæt swá on ðone mærzege ðe sceót tó ðære hálgan æc. þis lond ælfstan sald æpelflede wið þæm. Huius certe codicis conscriptio peracta est anno dominicae incarna-

tionis DCCCC.XLVIII et tertio praefati regis anniculo, tali optimatum stabilitate conscribentium.

✠ Eadred rex et rector. ✠ Oda aercabiš. ✠ Wulfstan archiepiscopus. ✠ ðeodred pontifex. ✠ Ælfheh praesul. ✠ Ælfrie et Wulsige episcopi. ✠ Ælfred antistes. ✠ Æpelgar pontifex. ✠ Koenwald monachus. ✠ Wulfhelm biš. ✠ Cynsige consul. ✠ Aldred episcopus. ✠ Æpelwald praesul pontificale cum augusto eulogiam cum iubilando dogmatizauī. . . . . o Eadgeofu felix. ✠ Howel regi. ✠ Morcant . . . . . ✠ Cadmon. ✠ Osulf ad bebb. hehgŕ. ✠ Æpelstan dux. ✠ Urm eorl. atque Coll.<sup>1</sup> ✠ Alhhelm comes. ✠ Uhtred eorl. 7 grim. ✠ Æpelmund alderman. ✠ Eadric princeps. ✠ Scule eorl. ✠ Ælfgar comes. Ælfstan miles 7 Eadmund þegn. Ælsige miles 7 Wulfrie þegn. Berhferð miles regis. Wigstan abbud 7 Aldredus. Dunstan abbud. ✠ Eadhelms 7 Æpelgeard. Berhtsige miles. ✠ Æpelmær praeses. Ælfheah miles 7 Eadsige. Hi porro praefati primates regale prae-rogatium scribendo consignabant cum triumphali uexillo solidantes. Omnes sancti dei beatificent hoc beneficium stabiliter conseruantes. Si qui uero fraudulenter hanc regalem libertatem minuendo denihilent, ad nihilum redigantur, nisi digne coram deo satis et satis faciant, emendantes in melius quod neeligenter deliquerant. Adtendat unusquisque fidelium quod imperat auctor Christus, Date et dabitur uobis: amen. Contulit nempe hic mäs én<sup>2</sup> magno regi IIº cornua auro argentoque decorata ut eo liberius hoc praerogatium roboretur.

\*.\* *Endorsed.* Lond æt Cendeles funtan 7 eft Eadred cing hit ageaf Æpelmere wið þæm ilcan land & on ece yrfe þæm þe him leofast seon.

<sup>1</sup> 7 Coll. Error of the copyist for the proper name Andcol. (K.)

<sup>2</sup> Sic in MS. (K.)

C. C. C. Camb. cxi. 155.

A.D. 951.

K430.

**Eadred**

grants æternaliter to Wulfrie his faithful thane 25 mansæ in a place called æt Cifanlea (Chieveley 4 m. N. of Newbury. Berks) with pasture quæ in quodam monte habetur, for his life and with power to will it. It is perpetually free of all but the three burthens.

ISTIS terminis prædicta terra circumgyrata esse uidetur. Ðis sint ða landgemāra tó Cifanleā. Ærest of catbeorge andlang weges on Æðelunes þorn; ðonon andlang weges on sealhangran eástewarde; ðonon andlang weges on ða byrgelsas; ðonon andlang Byðen-hāma gemāres on ða hāran apoldre; ðonon on Orhūma gemāre; andlang ðæs gemāres on Ciltewudes gemāre, tó ðán stāne; ðonon west andlang weges tó ðán hæcce; ðonon andlang gemāres tó ðán crundele; ðonon andlang gemāres tó ðán ôðrum crundele; ðonon tó ðán wónstocce; and ðær tó wuda; ðonon on ða syrfan; ðonon ofer heán hrycg; ðonon on ðæs cinges hāgan; ðonne ðær west andlang hāgan on Hnæfleāge sūðe-wearde; ðonon andlang hāgan tó ðám bæce; of ðám bæce ðær norð út an ðone lytlan hæðfeld; ðonon andlang weges be Winterburninga gemāre be westan ðære ealdan byrig on ðone stānihtan weg; of ðán wege tó ðán stāncystlun; ðonon on ða andheāfda; ðonne ðær west on ðæne burnan būtan .vi. æcrun; ðonne ðær norð án furlang; ðonne ðær west ofer ða twēgen beorgas tó ðán hearpaðe; norð andlang herpaðes on brāðan ford; ðær west andlang burnstowe tó Ibban stāne; ðonne ðær ést andlang weges on standene; ðonon west tó ðán wurtwalan; ðonon norð on sceaphammas; ðonon on gerihta ðær túnwegas útscettað; ðonon on gerihta tó

ðære háran apoldre; of ðære háran apoldre þurh ðone  
tún tó ðán ruwan crundele; ðonon andlang gemæres on  
ðone lytlan beorh úp on mûles dune; of ðán beorge  
andlang gemæres on hrycgweg; andlang hrycgweges  
oð catmæres gemære; ðonne ðær ést andlang gemæres  
on Puttan pyt; of ðán pytte andlang gemæres eft on  
catbeorh.

\*.\* These bounds, which are printed in K vi. 234, are from another MS., namely Cott. Claud. B. vi. 39: and they seem full of promise for an enterprising club like that which has its headquarters at Newbury.

C. C. C. Camb. cxi. 147 and 153.

A.D. 956.

K 441.

### Eadwig

to abbot Æðelwald and the monastery at Abingdon 'restores' with the consent of his nobles twenty mansiunculæ of which the bounds are such as to encourage local investigation. It is near Oxford, and the names of Bagley and Sunningwell are conspicuous.

Et his limitibus hæc telluris particula circumgyrari uidetur. Ærest on Temese be súðan fordwere ðære úp on ða díc on Eocenes gærstun súðweardne; ðonne ondlang díc tó Eoccen; ondlong Eocenes tó abbodes díc; ondlong díc tó ceáldanwylle; of ceáldanwylle on ðæt risc slæd middewearð oð Beorhtwoldes mór; ðæt ðær on ða díc; ondlang díc tó mearcforda; ðonne úp ondlang bróces oð hyt cymð tó emnes ðæm ealdan lāghrycge; ðonne on gerihte betweoh Pottesles treow on ðone ellenstyb; ðæt ðær on wuduford on Sunninga wylles bróc; ondlang bróces tó dunnanforda; ðæt ðær on ðæt wiðigbed; ðonne on ðone healfan æcer norðe-weardne; ðonne andlang fyrh tó ðon heáfdon; ðæt ðær súð ofer ðone healfan æcer; ðæt ðær eást on ða

furh; ðæt tó ðám sceortan lond; ðær on ðone háðe-  
 nan byrgels; ðonne ðær on ða seofon aceras west-  
 wearde; ðæt ðær norð tó lippan dīc: ondlang dīc tó  
 sugan gráf; ðæt on ðone ellenstyb; ðonne on ða  
 brembel pyrnan on ða dīc; andlang dīc tó horspytte;  
 ðonne þurh Mádoces leāh on ða ealdan dīc; ðonne on  
 ða æcerdīc; ðonne on hæseldīc; of hæseldīc on ðonne  
 gemærweg on bāgan wyrðe<sup>1</sup>; andlang weges tó hig-  
 wege; ondlang hiweges tó Ecguines wyrðe; ðonne  
 on bacgan leāh; ðæt ā be wyrtwalan; ðæt on bacgan  
 bróc; of bacgan bróc on hafoces oran; ondlang ðæs  
 gemærhagan ðæt út on rigewyrðe westewardne on ða  
 caldan dīc; ðonne ondlang dīc tó ðær hangran; ðonne  
 on Wulfrīces bróc; ðonne on gerihte ofer hyrd yige<sup>2</sup>  
 tó ðām greātan welige; ðæt ðær út on Temese; ðonne  
 ondlong Temese ðæt eft on occenes gærstundīc sūðe-  
 wardne. Ðis syndon ðæs londes gemāro tó Abban-  
 dūne ðe Eādwig cyning syleð Gode tó lofe intó ðām  
 mynster and himsylfum tó écere āre.

<sup>1</sup> There is Bayworth a hamlet of Sunningwell.

<sup>2</sup> There is Herd Eyot below Sandford.

C. C. C. Camb. cxi. 57.

A.D. 956.

K 452.

### Eadwig

granting land æt Dyddenhame (Tidenham) ad monasterium  
 Sci Petri quod situm est in Bathonia, ubi thermæ amoenæ  
 calidis e fontibus deriuantur, xxx mansas in hæreditate  
 tribuo perhenne, ex quibus meo videlicet sacerdote Wulf-  
 garo qui praeest supradicto monasterio, pro eius fideli  
 obsequio et deuotione, tres tantum cassatos perpetuum  
 impertio, etc.

Istis terminis praedicta terra circumgyrata esse  
 uidetur. Ðis synd ða landgemāra tó Dyddanhāme.

Of Wægemuðan tō iwes heāfdan; of iwes heāfdan on stānræwe; of stānræwe on hwītan heal; of hwītan heale on iwdene; of iwdene on brādan mōr; of brādan mōre on Twyfyrd; of Twyfyrd on æstege pul<sup>1</sup> út innan Sæfern.

\*\*\* *Translation of the Boundaries*:—These are the land-meers at Tydenham. From Wye-mouth to Yew's head, from Yew's head to Stone-row, from Stone-row to White heel, from White heel to Yewden, from Yewden to Broad moor, from Broad moor to Twyfyrd, from Twyfyrd to Astey pool out in Severn.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Seebohm, *E. V. C.*, p. 150, identifies Æstegepul with Ashwell Grange Pitt, which is now the northern limit of Tidenham.

Diuisiones et consuetudines in Dyddanhamme<sup>1</sup>.

On Dyddanhamme synd .xxx. hida .ix. inlandes and .xxi. hida gesettes landes. To Stræt synd .xii. hida .xxvii. gyrda gafollandes; and on Sæuerne .xxx. cytweras; to Middeltune .v. hida .xiiii. gyrda gafollandes .xiiii. cytweras on Sæuerne; and .ii. hæcweras on wæge; to Cinges tune .v. hida sind .xiii. gyrda gafollandes and .i. hida bufan dic ðæt is nu eac gafolland, and ðæt utan hamme is gyt sum inland, sum hit is ðan scipwealan to gafole gesett; to Cynges tune on Sæuerne .xxi. cytweras, and on wæge .xii. to Biscopes tune synd .iii. hida, and .xv. cytweras on wæge; on Landcawet synd .iii. hida. and .ii. hæcweras on wæge. and .ix. cytweras. Ofer eall ðæt land gebyrð æt gyrde .xii. pænegas, and .iiii. ælmes penegas, æt ælcum were ðe binnan ðam .xxx. hidan is gebyrð æfre se oðer fisc ðam land hlaforde, and ælc seldsynde fisc ðe weorðlic byð, styria, and mere-swyn, healic oðer sæfisc; and nah man nænne fisc wið feo to syllanne ðonne hlaford on land byð ær man hine him gecyðe. Of Dyddanhamme gebyrð

micel weorcraeden. Se geneat sceal wyrcan swa on lande, swa of lande, hweðer swa him man byt, and ridan, and auerian, and lade lædan, drafe drifan, and fela oðra þinga don. Se gebur sceal his riht don. he sceal erian healfne æcer to wiceworce, and ræcan sylf ðæt sæd on hlafordes berne gehalne to cyrescette sa hweðere of his agenum berne to werbolde .xl. mæra oððe an foðer gyrda; oððe .viii. geocu byld .iii. ebban tyne, æcertyninge .xv. gyrda, oððe diche fiftyne; and dicie .i. gyrde burhheges, ripe oðer healfne æcer, mawe healfne; on oðran weorcan wyrce, a be weorces mæðe. Sylle .vi. penegas ofer estre, healfne sester hunies to Hlafmæssan .vi. systres mealtres to Martines mæsse an cliwen godes nettgernes. On ðam sylfum lande stent seðe .vii. swyn hæbbe ðæt he sylle .iii. and swa forð a ðæt teoðe, and ðæs naðulæs mæsten-rædene ðonne mæsten beo.

<sup>1</sup> This seems the natural place for this Memorandum; which is printed in K vol. iii. p. 450, referring to the MS. C. C. C. Camb. cxi. 71.

C. C. C. Camb. cxi. 74.

A.D. 1061-1065.

K 822.

### Ælfwig

abbot of Bath lets to Stigand 30 hydes of land at Tidenham (see above K452) for rent in money and six porpoises and 30,000 herrings.—K's date 1060-1066 is not exact; Aldred did not become archbishop, nor Gisa bishop until 1061; Tostig was banished in 1065.

✠ HER swutelað on ðisum gewrite ðæt Ælfwig abbud, and eall seo geferræden on Baðan, hæfð gelæten to Stigande archebisceop .xxx. hyda landes æt Dyddenhamme his dæge wið .x. marcan goldes and wið .xx. pundon seolfres; and æfter his dæge ga hyt



eft into ðam halegan mynstre mid mete and mid mannum, swa full and swa forð swa hit ðænne byð; and .i. marc goldes to eacan and .vi. merswin and .xxx. þusenda heryngys ælce eare. Ðis ys to gewittnyssse, Eadweard cinincg, and Eadgyð seo hlæfdige, and Ealdryd archebisceop, and Hereman bisceop, and Gisa bisceop, and Harold eorl, and Tosstig eorl, and Æðelnoð abbod, and Ægelwig abbod, and Ægylsige abbod, and Ordric abbod, and Esegar steallere, and Roulf steallere, and Bondig steallere, and manega oðre gode menn ðe heora naman her awritene ne syndon. And gyf ænig mann si swa dyrstig ðæt wylle ðis awendan, si he amansumod fram Criste and fram sancta Marian and fram sancte Petre ðam halegan apostle and fram eallum Cristes halegum æfre on æcnysse buton he hyt eft ðe raðor gebete.

\*.\* Mr. Seebohm, *E. V. C.*, p. 154, suggests that this was an arrangement for mutual convenience whereby the Abbot of Bath got herrings from the east, and the Archbishop got salmon from the west. The porpoises are seen in the western no less than in the eastern sea; but they do not now, and probably never did, come up the Severn estuary as they do up the Thames. My friend Mr. Mayhew was in a school of porpoises in the Thames as high as the Medway. As I write this (Dec. 1884) the papers tell us of a porpoise getting up the river to Westminster, where he was shot and landed. The cured porpoise and herrings would travel down west on the cattle that was to bring back the salmon. For porpoise as an article of food, see Hawker, "Footsteps in Far Cornwall."

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## VIII.

THE eighth group (which largely concerns Berkshire) is from the Chartularies of Abingdon, namely Cott. Claud. B. vi. of the latter part of the twelfth century, and Cott. Claud. C. ix., of the thirteenth. Still some feeble tokens of that scholarly taste which we noticed in the sixth group. Such

form at this date affects us somewhat as when we first learn that the staircase to the Hall in Christ Church is a work of the seventeenth century.

Cott. Claud. B. vi. 29.

A.D. 944.

K 1151.

### Eadmund

Angligenarum rex granting to Bp. Ælfrie, presumably of Ramsbury, 100 mansæ at Blewbury in Berkshire. The boundaries are interesting and include mention of the Icenild way. But they are suspiciously fluent, not to say poetical.

Ðis sindon ða landgemæro tó Bleóbyrig. Ærest on eástewardum ðám lande æt Amman uelle; ðæt swá súð on gerihte on wæterslædes dīc; ðæt andlang dīc oð ðone súð ende on ðæt riht landgemære; ðæt up tó ðám miclan beorge beneoðan Hrames leá; ðæt of ðám beorge up andlang stánweges tó ðám langan cyrstel mæleæt hafucðorne; ðonne of hafucðorne tó ðán langan þorne æt Ichenilde wege; ðæt swá tó ðán þridan þorne æt wirhangran; of ðám þorne tó ðám feorðan þorne on wrangan hylle foreweardre stent; ðæt swá forð tó ðám fiftan þorne<sup>1</sup>; tó ðám elebeáme; ðæt west andlang ðæs lytlan wegēs up tó ðon þorne; up tó teonan hylle; ðæt swá west on ðone ruwan hlync; andlang ðæs rowan linces tó ðon hæðenum byrgelsum æt ðære ealdun dīc; ðæt andlang oð ðæt treów steall; ðonnon of ðán treów stealle on gerihte tó ðon brádan beorge be eástan wrocena stybbe; ðæt swá tó wrocena stybbe; ðonne of wrocena stybbe on meoces dūne on ðone byrgeles; of ðám byrgelse tó ðære flóðan æt swin wegēs sló æt ðære wegegelæton; ðæt up tó ðám eorð geberste tó foxes beorge; of ðám beorge west andlang drægeles bæces oð ðone hricgweg; andlang

weges oð ða reádan hane; of ðære hane norð andlang  
 ðæs smalan weges tó Totancumbe; æt ðám beorge;  
 ðæt swá norð on gerihte andlang ðæs smalan weges  
 tó ðon herepaðe; ðæt tó ðæs linces ende; ðæt swá  
 forð norð andlang weges oð Ordstánes díc; ðæt andlang  
 díc; of ðære díc wið norðan ðæt yrðland; ðonne bi  
 ðám yrðlande tó ðære lace ðe lið on Stocwelle; ðonne  
 of Stocwylle norð andlang bróces tó ðære díc ðære  
 se æðeling mearcode; ðæt andlang díc tó ðære sceap  
 wæscan on haccan bróc; ðonne andlang haccan bróces  
 tó huddes ige; ðæt swá forð norð andlang bróces wið  
 westan hunddes ig; ðæt úp andlang ðæra andheáfda tó  
 ðære lytlan díce ende, and ðám norð andlang ðára and-  
 heáfda tó ðán langan cyrstel mæle æt hæðdúne; ðæt swá  
 norð andlang ðæs smalan paðes on ðá díc stice ea tó  
 ðon stóðfalde; ðæt swá eáð andlang ðære ealdan díc oð  
 Æðelstánes treow steal tó ðære díce byge; ðæt swá  
 sūðeást andlang díc be Byrgwylle gemære; ðæt swá  
 sūðeést ofer ðone mór tó Mæringes þorne; of Mæringes  
 þorne tó sulgeate; of sulgeate be wyrtwalan tó ðon  
 reádleáfan mapuldre; of ðám mapuldre on ða lace;  
 ðæt on gerihte on Westwylle; ðen on óðre naman  
 hæð æt Ammanwylle.

<sup>1</sup> These five thorns with their numerical designations remind Mr. Plummer of an old grass road in his father's neighbourhood (Stratford Tony, Wilts), on which the miles are marked by trees. In K 554 the boundaries contain a similar series of five stones.

Cott. Claud. B. vi. 37.

A.D. 947.

K1159.

### Eadred

rex Anglorum, &c., cuidam mihi fidelissimo comitique dilecto nomine Eadrico, granting bis denas mansas, quod Anglice dicitur twentig hida, in a place called æt Wassinga-

tune. The grant is in perpetuity, and free of all but the inevitable burdens.

The bounds are so rich in bold terms that if the place is Washington near Steyning in Sussex, it ought to be capable of identification by local enquiry.

Is this the same, or a conterminous property, with that which Edgar grants to bishop Æðelwold in 963, K1250?

Ðis syndon ða landgemære tó Wasingatúne. Ærest on duhan léa; of duhan léa on reádan wylle; of reáddan wille tó Lydgeardes broge; of Lidgeardes beorge tó Tatmonnes apoldre; of Tatmonnes apoldre tó Deneburge hleáwe; of Deneburge hleáwe tó stánbeorge; of stánbeorge tó Haðeburge hleáwe; of ðám hláwe tó heregráfe; of heregráfe tó twám beorgum; of twám beorgum tó hremnes dúne; of heremnes dúne tó bidan holte; of bidan holte ðæt tó wigan campe; of wigan campe tó bennan beorge; of ðám beorge tó bláccan póle; of ðám póle tó ðære apuldre; ðonne tó dúnan heáfde; ðæt tó Hunes cnolle; ðonne eft on duhan leá. Ðis synt ða den ðe ðærtó gebyrigeað; Wynburgespær, and þreó crochyrsta, and Horshám, and Yffeles leáh, and Hæslwíc, and Gatawíc, and Ridanfald, and Scacalwíc, and Hundsædingfald.

Claudius B. vi. 33.

A.D. 955.

K 1171.

### Eadred

restoring to the monastery at Abingdon the vill of Abingdon which had been lost to the monastery in the troublous times of his grandfather Alfred, tempore quo archipiratæ totam hanc insulam devastantes pervagati sunt. Also lands at Cumnor and other places, of which however the king is to have a lease for his life. The bounds are as follows.

ÆREST on Eoccenforda; úp andlang Eoccenæs tó

abbes dīc; ðæt tó cealdan wulle; ðæt tó mearcforda; andlang bróces oð ðene grēnen weig; andlang weiges tó bróce; ðæt tó Wuduforda; ðæt ádúne be bróce oð Pippelriðiges útscyte; ðæt þurh ðæt denemór á be riðige tó guman grāue; ðæt tó Pippelbricge; ðæt on ðene sīc æt ðære fūlan æc; ðæt tó hægleá on ðæne brádan mére; ðæt á be wyrtwalan tó brómcombess heáfod; ðæt on gerihtum tó Abbendúne tó ðære portstréte; ðæt andlang strét on hiwege; ðæt tó Ecrgunes wyrðe; ðenne on bacgan leáh; ðæt on scæceling æcer; ðæt út on Stánford; ðæt tó Mægðe forða andlang lace út on Temese; ðæt on forð mid streáme wið úfan miclan ige on Cearewyllan; eft wið neóðan berige on Temese; ðet ðér úp be streáme; ðæt on bacgan broc; ðæt on heáfces oran; ðæt on holan dene; ðæt on Tidewaldes wylle; andlang bróces út on Temese; ðæt forð mid stréme oð geafling lace; andlang lace eft út on Temese; ðæt úp be streáme on Occenes grestúndīc; ðet á be dīc on Eccen; ðæt ðér úp eft on Eccenforda. Æðeleáinguude, Colmanora, and Geatescumbe hýren intó ðys twentigum hídum, ða ic sylf stundum gerád stundum gereów, and rúmodlice gescarode me sylfum and mīnum foregengum and eftyrgengum tó écum rýmete, for Gode and for worulde. Gyf hwá þurh deóffles láre genyrwe ðæt ic Gode and sancta Marian meaglum móde on éce yrfe geseald hæbbe, drihten his andweald genyðrige hér and on écnesse, nymðe he mid fulre dædbóte geinnige ðæt he on úrum drihtne gereáfod.

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MS. Cott. Claud. B. vi. 40.

A.D. 955.

K 1172.

## Eadred

to his thane and relative, Ælfheh 8 cassati at Cumton by Ashdown. Among the landmarks are the Icenhild way and Weland's smithy.

✠ ANNO ab incarnatione domini nostri Ihesu Christi .DCCCC.LV. Ego Eadred, diuina gratia fauente, rex et primicerius totius Albionis, aliquantulam ruris particulam Ælfheho ministro meo, mihi propinquitate coniuncto, sub aestimatione .VIII. cassatorum in loco qui dicitur æt Cumtune, iuxta montem qui uocatur Æscedune, libenter admodum concessi, eo tenore huius munificentiae donum perstringens, ut post obitum suum in perpetuum ius cuicumque uoluerit haeredi derelinquat. Quod si quisque, quod non optamus, huiusce donationis cartulam infringere temptauerit, ni prius in hoc saeculo digne castigetur, in futuro perenni cruciatu prematur. Et his limitibus haec telluris particula circumgyrari uidetur. Dis sint ðæs landes gemære æt Cumtúne. Ærest of hricgwege on ðæt wíde geat; of ðán wídan geate on Æðelmes hlinc; on forwerde dún of Æðelmes hlince on Icenhilde weg; of Icenhilde wege on bican díc; of bican díce inon swýnbróc; of swýnbróce on ðone brádan þorn be westan mære; of ðán þorne on ða reádan díc; andlang ðære díc on Hildes hláew; of Hildes hláewe on bláecpyt; of bláecpytte andlanges ðære westran riscráewe innan swýnbróc; of swýnbróce on reád; of ráde on Hwittuces hláewe; on Icenhilde weg; of Icenhilde wege on máeres crundel; of máeres crundelle on dinra beorh; of dinra beorge on hricweg; of hricgwege on fearnhylles sláð; of fearnhylles sláde tó hælshylle súðeweardre; of hælshylle west on ðone

grēnan weg; andlang weges tó ðære gedrifonan fyrh; andlang fyrh oð hit cymð on ðæt wīde geat be eāstan Welandes smiððan. Huius doni constipulatorum nomina inferius notata uidentur.

✠ Ego Oda archiepiscopus consensi. ✠ Ego Wulfstan archiepiscopus roborauī. ✠ Ego Ælfsige episcopus roborauī. ✠ Ego Ælfwold episcopus corroborauī. ✠ Ego Wulfsige episcopus suppressi. ✠ Ego Osulf episcopus annui. ✠ Ego Byrhtelm episcopus constitui. ✠ Ego Cenwold episcopus conspexi. ✠ Ego Cynsige episcopus subscripsi. ✠ Ego Leofwine episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Æðelstan dux. ✠ Ego Eadmund dux. ✠ Ego Ælfsige minister. ✠ Ego Æðelsige minister. ✠ Ego Ælfnōð minister. ✠ Ego Ælfgar minister. ✠ Ego Byrhtferð minister.

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Cott. Claud. B. vi. 45.

A.D. 955-6.

Cott. Claud. C. ix. 110.

K 1216.

### Eadwig

granting to Æðelwold abbot of Abingdon 20 cassates at three places, whereof two bear the familiar names of Hinksey and Wýtham, but the third is called Seofocanwyrð<sup>1</sup>.

ISRIIS terminis circumgyrata asseritur ante, scilicet, supra dicta terra. Ðis sindon ða landgemæro ðæses burlandes tó Abbendūne, ðæt is gadertang on þreō genamod, ðæt is Hengestes ig and Seofocanwyrð and Wīthām. Ærest on Meagðe ford; ðæt mid streāme on Stánford; forð mid streāme wiðútan Cytanigge on ða landlace; of ðære lace on scæcyling æcer; ðæt on hīwege tó yfemestan leāge; ðæt on preōsta leāge; ðæt tó Catleāge; ðæt tó cybban stāne; of ðām stāne

on ða þrið gemæru; ðæt innan ruwan leáge tó brógan gete; ðæt tó sundran edisce on ðone greútan þorn: of ðán þorne on cotan healas; ðæt on Tiddancumb; of ðæn cumbe on Tetanhylle; of Tvtanhylle tó ðæn heáfodwege; ondlong cumbes tó ðám hecce; of ðám hæcce tó paðe stocce; ðæt tó plum leáge; ðæt on Friðela byrig; ðæt tó ydyr leáge; of ydyr leáge tó ðám stáne; ðæt on Temese æt Eanflæde gelade ðæ amid streáme ðæt hit cymð eft on Mægða ford. His autem uocabulis diuulgari uidentur termini agrorum, uidelicet, praedictorum.

\*.\* The date of this document, if genuine, is fixed to a few months. For Eadred died 23 Nov. 955; and Dunstan (who signs went into exile early in 956. Stubbs' *Dunstan*, pp. lxxxvi, lxxxix. The bishops' signatures are in agreement.

<sup>1</sup> I am informed by Mr. Mowat of Pembroke College that there is near Botley a farm now bearing the name of Seacourt, and that this is apparently a disguised form of Seckworth, the name (according to Professor Hussey) of a lost Saxon village, which can only be our Secfo-canwyrð.

Cott. Claud. B. vi. 46.

13 Feb. 956.

Cott. Claud. C. ix. 111.

K 1208.

### Eadwig

ruler of all Albion, grants abbot Æðelwold a wood at Pangbourne of somewhat over 60 acres, to build the church of St. Mary at Abingdon. The bounds are as follows—

ÆREST on Panganburnan; ðæt on ða dīc; ðæt ā be dīc on ðæne hagan; ðæt on cristelmælbeām; ðæt andlang hagan on ða þornihtan leáge; ðæt forð on Brygford; ðæt ā be hagan on stánwege; of stánwege ā be weortwalan on ða flexæcyras; ðæt ā be weortwalan on masan mére; of ðám mére on Cuðulfes cot stowe;



of ðám cot stowum on Panganburnan ; ðæt úp mid streáme eft on ða díc.

Cott. Claud. B. vi. 75.

A.D. 958.

K 1218.

### Eadgar

rex et primicerius Merciorum grants to Eanulf a thane 14 mansiunculæ at Duclingtun.

Dis sindon ða landgemæro tó Duclingtúne .XIII. hída and ða ealdan cyricean æt Æstleá and ðærtó .XL. æcera and Byrnan leá eal intó Duclingtúne. Ærest of Duclingtúne on wenric ; andlang wenrices on ðone byge ; of ðám byge on ða ealdan lace ; andlang lace on ða norðeá ; andlang streámes on Folgorhyrste neoðe-wearde ; ðonon on ða ealdan díc ; andlang díc ðæt súð eft on wænric ; úp ongear streám on ðone ealdan ford ; of ðone forða úp on ða ríðe án furlang wið súðan ða cyrican ; andlang ríðe on ða wurtwalan ; ðæt út þurh ðone hagan on burhdíc úfeuearde ; of ðære díc on ða ealdan róde ; of ðære róde on Scottes healh<sup>1</sup> ; of ðám heale on Uuenburge byrgge ; of ðære brucege on ða díc ; andlang dices on Eástháma gemære ; on ðone bige ; tó ðán heáfdan ; on gateþyrnan ; of ðære þyrnan on bláce þyrnan ; on ða díc ; of ðære þyrnan tó uurtwalan tó ðán furan ; andlang fura on ða ealdan díc tó ðán ellene ; andlang dices tó ðán oðern ellene ; of ðán ellene tó ðære apoldre ; ðanon tó Æglesuullan bróce ; úp ongear streám on stánford ; of ðán forða on fúgel slæd ; of ðám slæde on cōluullan bróc ; andlang bróces on swyllan healas ; of ðán healan on Hastings lace ; andlang lace on ðone eá streám : and twégen hammas æt Loppedeðorne hýrað intó Duclingtúne.

<sup>1</sup> Scottes healh. An old Irish chapel? and at a short distance an old-fashioned Irish cross?

Cott. Claud. B. vi. 63.

A.D. 959.

K 1221.

### Edgar

gives to St. Mary's, Abingdon, a charter of restitution for certain lands.

Ðis sind ða landgemæra tó Gaing. Ærest of Lillan læwes crundle middewærdan tó Lodderebeorge; ðonon tó grénan lince westewardan; of ðán lince tó carnes dúne westewærde; ðonon tó holan dīc eástwærde; andlang ðære dīc twá furlang norðweard; ðonne eást be heáfdan twá furlang andlang fura on ðone lytlan wyl; andlang wylles on Lacing bróc; andlang bróces eft on Gæing bróc; andlang bróces on ða æwylma; ðonne andlang hearpaðes on Frigedæges treów; of ðán treówe andlang weterdene west tó ðære deópan dene; of ðære dene tó ðán reádan stáne; of ðæn stáne eft on Lillan læwes crundele. Ðis sind ða landgemæra tó Gosige. Ærest on ða mærdīc éstwærde; ðæt innan Tealeburnan; andlang Tealeburnan ðæt innan Eccen; andlang Eoccen ðæt innan ða mærdīc; of ða mærdīc ðæt innan ða furh; of ða furh ðæt innan ðæt riðig; of ðám riðige ðæt innan landbróc; andlang landbróces forð onbúten ðone ham; eft on ða mærdīc éstewearde. Ðis sind ða landgemære tó Wyrðe. Ærest of Eoccen on ða gemærlace; andlang lace be westan Cearna gráf be ðán andheáfdan tó Eádulfes pytte; ðonne andlang slædes tó ðán heáfodæcere norðeweardon; ðonon ondlang æceres tó ðán andheáfdan; ðæt tó ðán hæðan byrgeles on ða ealdan dīc; andlang dīc tó ðæn portwege; ðonne on ða deópan furh; ðonne on ða stán-

bricge on Temese; andlang Temese tó ðán þornstybbe æt Cingtúninga gemære; ðonne tó ðán heáðan byrg-elese; ðonne on ða meárdic be eástan Ælfsiges cotan; andlang díc á tó ðán pæðe; ðonne ofer ðone mór on ða heáfda; ðæt on ðone wænweg; andlang weges tó ðæm þornstybbe wið ðone weg; ðonne on Eoccen on ðæt mórsláde éstwærde; andlong Eoccen ðæt eft on ða mærlace. Ðis sind ða landgemæra tó Earmundes leá. Ærest of Sandforda on ða fúlen lace; andlang ðæs gemærhagan út tó ðán coten; ðonan andlang gemæres on heaseldíc, andlang stráete út on styrian pól; andlang ðære díc eást tó Wasan; ðonon on Hrocan-leáge norðewærde, andlang díc on úfewearde hægdúne; ðæt úp on Snoddes hylle úfewearde tó ðán háran stáne; ðonon tó ðæn ealdan wulfhagan; ðonne andlang sládes ðæt tó læces forda; ðonne andlang Luccinges eft on Sandford.

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Cott. Claud. B. vi. 75.

A.D. 962.

K 1238.

### Eadgar

to his faithful thane Eadwine 20 mansæ æt Mordune in perpetuity and utmost freedom. The bounds would probably afford good entertainment to the archæologists of Bridge-north. It was Mr. Oswald Cockayne who first pointed out (Shrine, p. 161) the true locality, which Kemble had mistaken. This terrier is repeated with variations, below, Æðelred, A.D. 1008.

Ðis sind ða landgemæro tó Mórdúne. Ærest on higford; of higforda andlang Hreódburnan on Uuorþ; andlang strémes on Purtanige uuestwerdne; on Purtanige norðeuuerdan eft út on Worfe streám; andlang streámes on wudebricge; ðanon út on æsclace ðær æsclace

fylð út on Wuorf; ūp ongean streām on ðæs langan furlanges eástende; ðanne eást on ða ealdan dīc; of ðære ealdan dīc on Grindewylles lace ān furlang; ðanon on Ætten pæn on ðone ellenstylb; ðanon ā be ege on ða mēdemunga; of ðære mēdemunge niðer on ðone ealdan uuiðig on Ættan pennes læce; ðonon on hortan ford; of ðon forde on filican slād; andlang slādes on ðone ealdan wylle; ðonne út on heāddan dūne slād; andlang slādes oð brādan weg; of brādan wege andlang slādes út on hagford.

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Cott. Claud. B. vi. 70.  
K1252.

A.D. 964.

### Eadgar

gentis Anglorum et barbarorum atque gentilium rex ac prædux grants to his queen Ælfðryð land at Easton in or near Blewbury, Berks.

Dis sind ða landgemæra tó Eāsttūne. Ærest of hæce bróce on rugan dīc; ðonne andlang weges on ðone fūlan forda; of ðān fūlan ford on Eānulfing þorn; of ðān þorne on ðone hwītan holan weg; of ðān hwītan wege andlang langan dūne ðæt eft on ðone stānihtan weg; of ðān wege on ðone crundel; ðonon on gerihta on bróchylle slād; of ðān slāde on hieccan þorn; ðonon ofer Bleōbyrigdūne on hæccleās dīc; ðonne andlang ðære dīc ðæt eft on hæce bróc.

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Cott. Claud. B. vi. 86.  
K1276.\*

About 977.

### Eadweard

giving to Ælfstan (fidelis antistes) 13 mansæ at Kingston Bagpuze on the Ock near Abingdon. The Si quis clause is

even more than usually anathematic, and recalls the Inferno of Cædmon.

Dis sind ða landgemæro tó Cyngestúne æcer onder æcere. Ærest of Eocene on méreþorn; of mæreþorne on ða heáfodæceras; ðannon on Swanesig on ðone ealdan gáran middewearde; of ðan ealdan gáran andlang riht gemæres on Ælfre[de]s beorh; ðæt andlang riht gemæres innan Cyngestún; andlang riht gerið on ðone pyt beneoðan Cyngestún; swā andlang riht gemæres on ðone þorn; út on Temese; andlang Temese on ðe ealda gemæra; úp andlang gemæres on Ælfðryðe stān; of ðane stāne andlang dīce; of ðære dīc andlang riht gemæres; ðæt eft on Eocene.

*Translation* :—These are the bounds at Kingston, field by field. First from Ock to meer-thorn: from meer-thorn to headacres: thence to Swansey in the middle of the old gore: from the old gore right along the meer to Alfred's barrow: so along the meer into Kingston: right along the brook to the pit below Kingston: so right along the meer to the thorn: out on Thames: along Thames to the old meers: up along the meer to Ælfthryth her stone: from the stone along the dyke: from the dyke right along the meer, and so back again to Ock.

\*.\* The same bounds are given in another grant of land at Kingston, K1277.

Cott. Claud. B. vi. 96.  
K1289.

A.D. 995.

### Æðelred

grants to Æðelwig 5 mansi in Eardulfes lea, that had come into his hands by forfeit. The story is told in the deed of gift. There were three brothers living together, and a man of theirs stole a bridle; the owners of the bridle captured the thief and found it upon him, and being assaulted by the masters of the thief (the three brothers), they fought, and two of the brothers were slain; the third brother with the thief escaped and got into the church of St. Helen<sup>1</sup>. Æthelwig the sheriff of Buckingham and Winsige the sheriff of Oxford allowed the slain men to have Christian burial, but Leofsige the ealdorman went to the king about it, and charged the

sheriffs with miscarriage of justice. Ego autem nolens contristari Æðelwig, quia mihi erat carus et præciosus, una simul et sepultos cum christianis requiescere permisi, et prædictam terram eidem in hæreditatem concessi perpetuum.

Ðis sindon ðára fif hída landgemæra æt Eardulfes leá. Ærest of ðære gréatan díc ðæt tó Æðeluuoldes leá tó ðán landgemære; of ðán gemære swá æfter dene in sexig bróc; of sexig bróce ðæt intó Uffewylle bróce; of ðán bróce ðæt on ða grénan díc; of ðære díc be súðan ðære eorðbyrg ðæt on Cwicelmes hlāw; of ðán hlāwe ðæt on ða portstræte; of ðære portstræte ðæt wið lytle Ciltene án æcer bræde; ðæt on ðæne grénan weg<sup>2</sup> ðe scyt tó hegforda; æfter ðan grénan wege ðæt foran ongen Cynewynne wylle; of ðære wylle ðæt intó ðære gréatan díc; andlang ðære díc ðæt intó bunon; andlang bunan ðæt tó ðán ealdan forda; of ðán forda ðæt intó Eardulfes leá; of ðán lea ðæt eft tó ðære gréatan díc.

<sup>1</sup> Sanctæ Helenæ. Probably the church at Abingdon.

<sup>2</sup> on ðæne grenan weg. "Still called by the neighbours 'the Green Way'; being a part of what is called the Drover's Road, by which, until outdone by the rail, cattle from the west were driven, for many miles, turnpike free, and with peripatetic grazing" T. Kerslake, *Vestiges of the Supremacy of Mercia*, p. 55.

Cott. Claud. B. vi. 100.

A.D. 1002.

K 1296.

### Æðelred

basileus Anglorum granting 10 mansæ called 'Hæseleia æt ðan nyðeran tune,' to a faithful thane named Godwine, with all uses and rights and liberties, save the threefold obligation.

Ðis sind ða landgemæra tó ðán .x. hídan æt Hæseleá tó ðán nyðran túne. Ærest on roppan forda; ðæt andlang wicgan díc ðæt hit sticað on wearra ford; swá

andlang móres oð ðene bráðan herepað ; ðæt on ðára æcera heafada ðæt hit sticað on Humba ; andlang Humba ðæt on roppan bróc foron ongean stángedelf ; andlang ropan bróces on hafocgelád ; eft andlang roppan bróces ðæt hit cimð on roppan ford ðær hit ær onfeng.

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Cott. Claud. B. vi. 92.

A.D. 1008.

K1305.

### Æðelred

restores to the monastery of Abingdon an estate at Mordun which Ælfgar his agent had wrested from that society for the king ; and he moreover adds thereto the gift of a homestead at Crocgelad. See above, Eadgar, A.D. 962.

Ðis sind ða landgemáru tó Mórdúne. Ærest on higford ; of higforda andlang Hreódburnan on Worf ; andlang stréames on wurtanige westewardne ; of wurtanige norðewardan eft út on Worfe streám ; andlang stréames on Wudebricge ; ðanon út on æslace ðær easclacu fylð út on Worf ; úp' ongean streám on ðæs langan furlanges eást ende ; ðanon eást on ða ealdan díc ; of ðære ealdan díc on Grindewylles lace án furlang ; ðanon on ætten pen, on ðone ellenstub ; ðanon á be ecge on ða médemunga ; of ðære médemungæ niðer on ðone ealdan wiðig on ætten pennes læce ; ðanon on hnottanford ; of ðán forða on filican slæd ; andlang sládes on ðone ealdan wylle ; ðonon út on heáddandúne slæd ; andlang sládes oð bráðan weg ; of ðán bráðan wege andlang sládes út on higford, and ænne hagan on Crocgelade ðe se cyncg ðærtó forgifen hæfð.

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Cott. Claud. B. vi. 105.

A.D. 1015.

K 1310.

**Æðelred**

grants to the bishop of Sherborne, episcopo qui ab ipsis suacunabulis infantie Bearhtuuold nuncupatur vocitamine, some land at Cildatun (Chilton, Berks) which had been forfeited by Wulfgeat, a thane. For the career of this man see Freeman, N. C. i. 355.

HIS nam confiniis prædicta cingitur terra. Ærest of Wáddúne andlang weges tó ðán grestúne; swá andlang ðæs grestúnes díc tó ðán wege on eástanwyrðe ðæne tún; swá andlang weges tó ðære díce hyrnan; swá andlang díc innon ðæne æsc; of ðane æsce innon ðane ealdan mære; of ðane ealdan mære innon ða bræce; of ðán bræce andlang beces innon ródstubban; swá of ródstybban tó loddere þorne; swá of loddere þorne tó flecge stáne; of flecge stáne tó ðán ferngáren; of ðán ferngáran eft on Wáddúne tó ðán ealdan bece. And ðis sind ðære wudubære landgemáru æt ðæclége ðe hértó hýrað. Ærest of ðám hæcce tó Dudemæres hele; of Dudemæres hele tó merclége; of merclége on stánlége; of stánlége tó ðære dúnlége; of ðár dúnlége swá eft innon ðane hæcc.

Cott. Claud. B. vi. 107.

A.D. 1033.

K 751.

**Cnut**

rex et primicerius tocius Albionis, grants to abbot Siward and his brethren at Abingdon, aliquantulam ruris particulam tribus comparatam cassatis in a place called Mytun (Mitton, Worc. K.) with all legal exemptions.

HIS metis præfatum rus hinc inde gyratur. Ðis sind ðára .iii. hida landgemæra æt Mytúne. Ærest on



leomenan á be healfon streáme; swá of leomanan on doddan láw; of ðam lúwe on ðone háran þorn; of ðam þorne on ðone brádan mére; of ðám mére on tæceles bróc; á be healfon stréame on Auene; andlang Auene á be healfon stréame eft on leomene.

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Cott. Claud. B. vi. 110.

A.D. 1050.

K 792.

### Eadweard

rex et primicerius totius Albionis regni, grants to the church at Abingdon eight mansæ near the river Kennet, which Eadric quidam rusticus once had. See Coote, *Romans of Britain*, p. 372 sqq.

ISTIS terminis prædicta terra circumgyrata esse uidetur. Ærest on Cynetan æt Sceolles ealdcotan; ðæt úp andlang strémes oð Eádgife gemære; swá norð innan Hyddene; ðanon norð on lámburninga mærcce; swá ést andlang mearce oð Ælfwiges mære; swá súð andlang gemæres on Hyddene; swá súð be gemære ðæt eft innan Cynetan strém.

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Cott. Claud. B. vi. 115.

A.D. 1054.

Cott. Claud. C. ix. 130.

K 800.

### Eadweard

granting 3 mansæ at Sandford to St. Mary of Abingdon; 'in communi terra,' a Latin term for folc land (F. Pollock, *Land Laws*, p. 194); here rendered in corrupt Saxon by 'on ðam gemannan lande.'

Ðis sind ða landgemæra tó Sandforda on ðám gemánnan lande. Ærest of stubbucwere; swá norð æfter ðære Temese be healfan stréme intó Sandfordes læce; swá andlang ðære lace intó Sandforda; of Sandforda

eást andlang ðære lace úp tó fernniges heáfdon : [of fernniges heáfdon] úp þurh ðone mór eást intó ðære stræt; and swá súð andlang ðære stræt intó bealdan hēma gemære; and swá west andlang gemāres intó niwanhēma gemære; and swá andlang gemāres on súðewearde hōchylle; of hōchylle swá west on gerihte eft on stubbucwere.

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## IX.

THE ninth group is from the Cotton manuscript Nero, D. i.; a book of well-defined date. It was written at St. Alban's, most of it under the direction of Matthew Paris the historian, who died in 1259, and it has corrections by his hand. We learn from Mr. Luard (*Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series, vol. vi.) that this book contains the Lives of the two Offas in its earlier part, and that the remaining part was used by the historian for the insertion of any document, so that the volume became a kind of commonplace book, and continued to be so used in the monastery after the historian's death, even down to the 15th century. His own title for the book was *Liber Additamentorum*. Kemble took 15 documents from it; they are all in Latin, mostly with a strong family likeness in certain features; particularly they are apt to be narrative and explanatory. As to their form, they are transparent fabrications; but it is a separate question, how far the claims which they advance are sound.

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Cott. Nero. D. i. f. 148.

May 792.

K 161\*. Birch 264.

### Offa

granting to St. Alban's land in divers places. After exalting the merits of the saint, he proceeds:—

UNDE ego Offa gratia dei rex Merciorum, cum filio

meo Ecgfrido, pro amore omnipotentis dei et huius sancti intercessionem, terram xxx. manensium in locis quorum subinferuntur nomina, domino meo Iesu Christo ad ecclesiam sancti Albani, ubi ipse tyro primus in passione uictima effectus est, iure perpetuo perdonabo. Eoque delectabilius hanc donationem perficio, quia superna proteccio tam nobile temporibus nostris thesaurum quod diu fuit clausum et huius terrae indigenis abditum, reuelare dignata est. Haec itaque sunt supradictarum uocabula terrarum, aet Uineshaune xii. manensium cum terminis suis; et Scelfdune, siue Baldinigeotum, trium manensium; quorum scilicet trium manensium terminati sunt hec, Suanaburna, Heortmere, Stretuuealebroc. Item uero x. manensium ubi dicitur Seuccanhlaue, uel Fenntuun cum silua quae cognominatur Horwudu, cum terminis suis; Æt Lygetune, v. manensium; quam uidelicet terram Alhmundus abbas, expeditionem subterfugiens, mihi reconciliationis gratia dabat . . .

Perscripta est autem huius donationis cartula anno dominicae incarnationis dccxcv. indictione v. et regni Offanis xxxv. sub iiii. nonas Maias, in loco qui dicitur Æt beranforda.

Cott. Nero. D. I. 148.

A.D. 793.

K162\*. Birch 267.

### Offa

founding the Abbey of St. Alban's.

✠ REGNANTE domino nostro Iesu Christo in perpetuum! Decet igitur ut regalis benignitas omnipotentis dei et sanctorum martyrum quantum ualeat honori preuideat. Quia honor dei, et pia in sanctis eius

deuotio, stabilitas est regni terreni, et prosperitas longae uiae et indubitata aeternae mercedis retributio. Unde ego Offa rex Merciorum, cum Egfrido filio meo, et omni consensu synodali, pro remedio et salute animarum nostrarum, terram quinquaginta mansionum in locis infra dictis, id est, ubi dicitur act Caegesho, mansiones xxxiiii., on daet Heanhamstede, vi. mansiones et Stanmere .x. mansiones, cum segitibus, pratis, pascuis et siluis, et omnibus rebus mobilibus uel fixis, ad ea prenominata loca rite pertinentibus, domino meo Ihesu et sancto Albano martyri, cuius reliquias, in spem prosperitatis praesentis et futurae beatitudinis diuina ostendit nobis gratia, in ius monasteriale tradens donabo; quatinus perpetuo iure prefata terra, sancti martyris Albani ecclesiae deseruiat. Et per magnum omnipotentis dei nomen et terribile eius iudicium adiuro, immo et impero, quod nullus superuenientibus temporibus, seu rex seu episcopus aut aliqua magna uel parua persona, aliquid de his meis donis quae deo et sancto martyri eius dedicauero, immutare, seu auferre, seu imminuere praesumptuose audeat; ne aliquam molestiam aut ecclesiae aut siluis ad eam pertinentibus inferre presumat, sed sit libera omnino ab omni tributo, et necessitate, seu regis, seu episcopi, ducis, iudicis, comitis, exactorum etiam, et operum quae indici solent, necnon et expeditionis et omni edicto publico, perpetuo eam libertate donabo. Sed obsecro quatinus studeant superuenientes reges auxiliare, defendere, et curam illius ecclesiae habere in omni bonitate, sicut et ego habeo: ut sit illis et regno eorum benedictio et protectio a domino deo et sancto eius martyre in perpetuum. Si autem quisquam loci huius curam non habuerit uel eum malitiose tractauerit, sciat et sentiat sancti martyris seipsum benedic-

tione priuari et rationem ante tribunal Christi redditurum. Hoc uero monasterium cum his prefatis terris Willigoda presbiter habeat et regat dies suos, et monachicam in eo uitam uiuat doceat, et quantum ualeat erigat. Post dies autem illius, eligant sibi fratres cum consilio illius episcopi<sup>1</sup> qui super eos erit, si habent dignum et monachicae uitae eruditum, ex semet ipsis quem uoluerint. Si autem, quod non opto, acciderit quod ibi dignus nequeat inueniri, preuideat ille episcopus, cum consilio fratrum, qui illud monasterium digne secundum regulam monachicae uitae gubernare sciat et uelit.

Iam iamque, iterum iterumque, in nomine domini precipio et adiuro, quatinus in eo loco regula sancta Benedicti abbatis doceatur et exerceatur, quantum possibile est, perpetuo iure. Etsi ipsa elemosina oret ad dominum pro faciente, tamen obsecro ut assiduae intercessionibus pro anima mea, et amicorum meorum, canonicis horis semper in ea ammoneantur ecclesia: quatinus omnipotentis dei clementia, quae tale thesaurum temporibus meis, gentibus et populis Anglorum aperire dignata est, mihi quoque aeternum coelis thesaurum cum sanctis suis donare dignetur. Scripta est haec cartula anno dominicae incarnationis DCCXCIII. indictione III. anno uero Offani regis Merciorum xxxvi. in loco celebri qui dicitur Celchyth, praesente synodali conuentu, testibusque infra nominatis confirmata. Data die regnante domino nostro in perpetuum.

✠ Ego Offa hanc donationem meam signo crucis Christo confirmo. ✠ Ego Ecfridus similiter consentio et subscribo. ✠ Ego Ceoluulfus rex ad ipsum consentio. ✠ Ego Cennulfus rex consentio. ✠ Ego Beornulfus rex. ✠ Ego Ludecha rex. ✠ Ego

Unilaf rex. ✠ Ego Ecgbirhtus rex. ✠ Ego Beor-  
 tulfus rex. ✠ Ego Burhredus rex. ✠ Ego Aelfredus  
 rex. ✠ Ego Higberetus archiepiscopus consensi et  
 subscripsi. ✠ Signum Aepelheardi archiepiscopi.  
 ✠ Signum Ceolwulfi episcopi. ✠ Signum Hunwone-  
 episcopi. ✠ Signum Ceolmundi episcopi. ✠ Signum  
 Ealcheardi episcopi. ✠ Signum Aelfhuni episcopi.  
 ✠ Signum Heaberti episcopi. ✠ Signum Heathoredi  
 episcopi. ✠ Signum Cyneheardi episcopi. ✠ Signum  
 Deneferdi episcopi. ✠ Signum Cenwalchi episcopi.  
 ✠ Signum Wermundi episcopi. ✠ Signum Wiht-  
 huni episcopi. ✠ Signum Wynberhti episcopi.  
 ✠ Ego Wicga dux. ✠ Ego Aepemundus dux.  
 ✠ Hearbertus dux. ✠ Brorda dux. ✠ Binna dux.  
 ✠ Esne dux. ✠ Heaberht dux. ✠ Cudberht dux.  
 ✠ Ceol. ✠ Aemund dux. ✠ Ceolweordus dux.

<sup>1</sup> The measure of respect and submission here accorded to the bishop may be a clue to the date of the composition.

Cott. Nero. D. 1. 153.

A.D. 1008.

K 672\*.

### Æthelred

conveying land to St. Alban's. This is a specimen of historical argument, with an archæological tinge. I omit the preamble which is formulated upon the approaching end of the world, and only give the body of the piece.

QUAPROPTER ego Æðelredus, sceptrigera ditione An-  
 glis, caeterisque sistentibus in circuitu gentibus, uoce  
 habitu morumque uarietate distantibus rex subthroni-  
 zatus, ob meae remedium animulae et ob stabilimen-  
 tum regni coelitus mihimet concessi, atque etiam ob  
 maximae pecuniae pretium mihimet pro hoc ipso col-

lato, condono ad sancti et eximii huius patriae protomartyris Albani coenobium, quandam iuris mei portiunculam, cassatas equidem senas, binis in locis remotas, unam scilicet, ubi ab accolis usitato nomine dicitur Fleamstede, et quinque ubi noto uocitamine ob olim castellum iam pene dirutum Ausonica lingua dicebatur Uerulamium, quod nos uulgariter dicimus Wætlingaceaster, ubi et ipse sanctissimus Christi agonista uaria pro fide Christi sustulit tormentorum cruciamenta. Hoc sagaciter meo reuoluens animo iustius fore multo, locum in quo passus est, suo aeternaliter mancipari coenobio almifico, quam diutius fisco regali uel cuilibet terreno audacter subiacere negotio. Decens est enim ut locus quem suo sacratissimo agonizans pro Christo aspersit et sacrauit cruore, ad ipsum perpetualiter reuertatur locum, ubi et ipse martyrio expleto, capite truncato, brauium coeleste et immarcessibilis uitae meruit coronam. Hoc nempe meae dapsilitatis emolumentum libens sub aeternali libertate liberum concedo, sicut abauus praedecessor meus Offa, scilicet, rex inclitus, omnia quae ipse ad ipsum coenobium contulit libertate ditauit. Eadem inquam libertate non solum hanc possessiunculam liberam libens statuo, sed etiam quicquid a meipso uel a qualibet persona maiori siue minori ab heri et nudiustertius, et exin usque ad terminum istius transitorii regni, uitaeque labantis extrema datum fuerit ad supradicti martyris tumbam, sub hac libertatis et renouationis cartula aeternali libertate permaneat liberum. Et ne forte quis praesentium uel magis futurorum ambiget quae sit illa libertas, qua ipsum coenobium rex beneuolus Offa ditauit, et egomet nunc confirmando renouaui, dicam plane, quod omnimodis cuncta illius monasterii pos-

sessio nullis est obnoxia fiscis, scilicet, nec expeditionis, nec pontis et arcis aedificamine, nec iuris regalis fragmine, nec furis apprehensione, et ut omnia simul comprehendam, nil debet exsolui, uel regis praeposito, uel episcopi, uel ducis, uel ullius hominis, sed omne debitum exsoluant iugiter, qui in ipsa possessione fuerint, ad praedicti martyris mausoleum, secundum quod ordinauerit abbas, qui ipso praefuerit coenobio. Notum etiam uobis cupio fore quantum pretium pro hoc ipso abbas ipsius coenobii nomine Leofricus mihimet contulit, quando illud graue uectigal Danis exsoluebamur; praestitit nempe mihi ducentas libras auri et argenti, ex appensione Danorum, et pro foenore ipsius pretii accepit a me uillam quae dicitur Eadulfinctun, quinquaginta quinque mansas habens, et has etiam sex mansas. Et nunc gratanter ipse mihimet mente beneuola reddit praedictas quinquaginta quinque mansas, et contentus est in ipsis sex mansis, pro ducentis libris; ideoque hanc libertatis et renouationis scedulam facilius adeptus est. Permaneat itaque praedicta possessio, cum omnibus utensilibus ad se rite pertinentibus, sub praedictae libertatis chirographo noti compos. Et quisquis nostrae hoc liberalitatis donum augmentare mente maluerit iocunda, sentiet se donis per hoc locupletari diuinis. Si autem, quod absit, uspiam quis laruarico attactus instinctu mente hoc subdola machinatus fuerit adnullare, uel quippiam in peius quam constituimus transuertere, sua pro audacia a coetu in hac uita anathematizetur fidelium, et in tremendo dei examine astantibus coelorum agminibus hominumque turmis, necnon et horrendis Erebi uernulis palam cunctis damnetur cum haedis, auerni cruciamenta sine fine luiturus, ni ante obitum condigne emendauerit. Scripta est autem huius libertatis cartula decursis annis



ab incarnatione Christi .DCCCC.XC. nouenis terque binis  
in cursu millenario equidem sexto, his testibus fauenti-  
bus quorum hic dignitates cum onomate contemplari  
ualebis.

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Cott. Nero D. i. f. 148b.

A.D. 996.

Cott. Nero D. i. f. 152b.

K 696.

### Æðelred

king of all Albion, &c., reendows the monastery of St.  
Alban's and appeals to an old charter given by Offa.

✠ OMNIPOTENTIA diuinæ maiestatis ineffabiliter  
uniuersa gubernante! Licet regalium dignitatum de-  
creta, et antiqua priorum temporum priuilegia, per-  
manente integritatis signaculo fixa iugiter ac firma  
perseuerent; attamen quia plerumque tempestates et  
turbines sæculi fragilem humanæ uitæ cursum puls-  
antes contra superna dominicæ sanctionis iura illidunt,  
iccirco stili officio renouanda et cartarum suffragiis sunt  
roboranda, ne forte successura posterorum progenies,  
ignorato præcedentium patrum chirographo, inextrica-  
bilem horrendi barathri uoraginem incurrat; nec inde  
libera exire queat, donec iuxta ueritatis sententiam  
cuncta usque ad nouissimum quadrantem debita plenis-  
sime reddat. Quapropter ego Æðelredus, totius  
Albionis cæterarumque gentium in circuitu persisten-  
tium, munificente superno largitore basileus, incertum  
futurorum temporum considerans euentum, cunctisque  
succedentibus desiderans esse consultum, et ut ipse in  
tremendo magni iudicii die, sanctorum patrociniis  
suffragantibus hæreditatis supernæ cohaeres effici merear,  
deo omnipotenti, et sancto Albano gentis Anglorum

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succedentibus desiderans esse consultum, et ut ipse in  
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protomartyri, Christoque seruienti monachorum familiae celebri in loco qui solito æt Uueatlingaceastre nuncupatur uocabulo, octo mansarum portionem, duobus in locis aequa dimensione sitam, .iiii<sup>or</sup>. uidelicet æt Byrstane, similiter et .iiii<sup>or</sup>. æt Uuincelfelda, cum nouem praefatae ciuitatis habitaculis, quae patria lingua Hagan appellari solent, octoque iugeribus æt Westuuican, ad idem monasterium aequè pertinentibus, deuota mente secundum pristinum renouando restituo, et restituendo in nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi praecipio, ut nullius altioris aut inferioris dignitatis persona, aut in nostris siue successorum nostrorum temporibus, hanc quam praefatus sum portionem de praedicta sancti martyris aeclesia auferre uel minuere qualibet occasione praesumat; sed hoc meae renouationis inuiolabili iugiter permanente, et contra omnia aemulorum machinamenta praeualente chirographo, praedictum monasterium ab omni mundanae seruitutis iugo, sicut continetur in ueteri cartula quam Offa rex Merciorum dictitando composuit, et fecit esse priuilegium ob monimentum omnium succedentium regum de omnibus rebus quas deo tradidit et sancto martyri Albano pro remedio animae suae. Iccirco, ego tali prouocatus exemplo, renouare cupiens, statuo ut quaecumque praedictus rex decreuit, inconcussa et firma perpetualiter perdurent; et nostra auctoritate, omnia a nobis tradita, una cum omnibus quae ad sanctum ipsum locum pertinere dignoscuntur, campis, pascuis, pratis, siluis, eatenus sint libera, eadem libertate qua praediximus, ut inibi deo famulantes, tam pro meis quam pro omnium praedecessorum meorum deliquiis, sine ulla terreni potentatus molestia, cotidie saluberrima missarum solennia omnipotenti deo celebrent, et dulcissimas psalmorum modulationes ore et corde decant-

antes, armis spiritualibus contra uisibiles et inuisibiles hostes, pro nobis et pro omni populo christiano dimicare non cessent, quatenus eiusdem beati martyris intercedentibus meritis, siue in praesenti, siue in futura, siue in utraque uita, Christo pro nobis uirtutem faciente, uictoriam quandoque de inimicis nostris, uoti compotes adipisci mereamur. Si quis autem, maligno spiritu instigante, huic decreto repugnare temptauerit, sciat se alienum esse a consortio sanctae dei aecclesiae, et participatione sacrosancti corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Ihesu Christi; et in nouissimo tremendi iudicii die, nouerit se in inferno inferiori, et in aeterna damnatione mergendum, et per auctoritatem praefati martyris, sciat se absque ullo termino sine fine cruciandum, nisi digna et congrua satisfactione citius emendauerit quod contra deum et sanctum martyrem eius delinquere non timuit. Anno dominicae incarnationis .DCCCC.XCVI. indictione .VIII. scriptum et renouatum est huius libertatis chirographum, his testibus consentientibus quorum inferius nomina secundum uniuscuiusque dignitatem ordinata caraxantur.

✠ Ego Æðelredus Anglorum basileus hanc renouationis et libertatis cartam scribere iussi. ✠ Ego Ælfricus Dorouernensis aecclesiae archiepiscopus huic sceculae signaculum sanctae crucis imposui. ✠ Ego Ealdulfus Eboracensis aecclesiae archiepiscopus huic diffinitioni consentaneus extiti. ✠ Ego Ælfheah Uintoniensis aecclesiae episcopus huic chirographo similiter assensum praebui. ✠ Ego Uulfstan episcopus consensi. ✠ Ego Ælfheah episcopus corroboraui. ✠ Ego Aðulf episcopus consignauit. ✠ Ego Wulfsize episcopus consolidauit. ✠ Ego Ordbriht episcopus consigillaui. ✠ Ego Goduuinus episcopus confirmaui. ✠ Ego Ealdred

episcopus conclusi. ✠ Ego Ælfðryð regina. ✠ Ego Ælfuueard abbas. ✠ Ego Ælfsige abbas. ✠ Ego Uulfgar abbas. ✠ Ego Leofric abbas. ✠ Ego Ælfhere abbas. ✠ Ego Ælfuold abbas. ✠ Ego Brihtnoð abbas. ✠ Ego Kenulf abbas. ✠ Ego Æðelweard dux. Ego Ælfric ✠ dux. Ego Ælfhelm ✠ dux. Ego Leofsige ✠ dux. Ego Æðelmær ✠ minister. Ego Ordulf ✠ minister. Ego Wulfricus ✠ minister. Ego Wulfgeat ✠ minister. Ego Wulfheah ✠ minister. Ego Brihtmær ✠ minister. Ego Leofwine ✠ minister. Ego Æðelweard ✠ minister.

\*.\* If this is a genuine document, or the representative of such, it is probably the source from which the two preceding have been derived.

Cott. Nero D. i. f. 150 b.

T.R.E.

K 945.

### Oswulf and Æðelgyð

arrange to enter into fraternity with abbot Leofstan and the monks of St. Alban's. This is one of those charters of fraternity which by the fourteenth century had become a mark for the satirist. See Piers P. (C) iv. 67 and Skeat's note. A much older example than this may be seen in K 226. The arrangement is that the estate is to be vested at once in the abbey, but the donors are to enjoy it for their time, paying a yearly acknowledgment to the abbey, which has it entirely after their death. As a seal of this covenant planted on the soil of the place, a church under the name of St. Alban is to be built in the village, and the abbot is to grant the timber for the structure. The witnesses are not only certain persons by name, but also the whole congregation that assembled to the dedication of this church and said Amen to the conveyance.

✠ HÆC est cartula quae demonstrat conuentionem

illam quam fecerunt Oswulfus et Æðiliða uxor sua cum domino abbate Leofstano et monachis aecclesiae sancti Albani, quando introierunt in fraternitatem illorum. Dederunt autem inprimis Oswulfus et Æðeliða uxor sua domino abbati Leofstano et monachis aecclesiae sancti Albani ad introitum fraternitatis eorumdem propter caritatem .xx<sup>ti</sup>. solidos, obtuleruntque deo ac sancto eius martyri Albano cum magna deuotione illam terram quae dicitur æt Stodham sicuti ipsi illam ea die melius possiderent. Idque factum est cum consensu ac licentia regis Eadweardi atque reginae Eadgyðae, scilicet ut et ipsi participes essent istius doni et retributionis eiusdem consortes in regno coelorum. Ipsi autem, scilicet Oswulfus et Æðeliða, hoc donum deo et sancto fecerunt Albano pro animabus eorum cunctorumque consanguineorum suorum, quatinus in futuro iudicio ueniam mereantur percipere peccatorum; specialius tamen illa nobi[li]s matrona, uidelicet Æðeliða, hanc donationem fieri obtinuit a praesente domino suo, hoc est Oswulfo, pro anima prioris domini sui Ulfi qui sibi illam tribuit uillam. Postea autem rogauerunt ambo dominum abbatem Leofstanum ut dedisset eis ligna ad aedificandam in eadem uilla aecclesiam in honore domini nostri Ihesu Christi et sancti Albani, ut et haec aecclesia sibi in specialissimum fieret proprietatis signum, et ut ex illa die ob nullius euentum causae eam ullo modo amplius sanctus perdere posse Albanus; ea tamen conditione, ut quamdiu illi uiuerent terram illam in suum usum haberent, cum licentia domini abbatis Leofstani simul et monachorum; et hoc tali pacto, quod ob istius rei agnitionem unoquoque anno ad uictum proprie monachorum .xx. solidos darent quamdiu superstites ipsi fuissent. Huius rei testes sunt,

Wulfwius episcopus, Bondius stabulator, Burhredus, Eadwinus eiusdem filius, Godricus tribunus, Ælfstanus uicecomes, Leofwinus de Cadendune, caeteraque innumerabilis multitudo utriusque sexus ac diuersae aetatis qui ad dedicationem supradictae aecclesiae fuerunt, coram quibus omnibus utique dixerunt: 'Notum uobis cunctis omnibusque hominibus esse uolumus quod nos hodie, uidelicet ego Oswulfus et Æðeliða uxor mea, deo sanctoque eius martyri Albano istam terram uidelicet Stodham, damus in perpetuam haereditatem, in praesentia domini Wulfwii episcopi et fratrum aecclesiae sancti Albani qui hic assunt modo nobiscum.' Ad quorum uocem, imposito silentio, coram omni populo episcopus Wulfwius alta uoce respondens dixit, 'Quicumque hoc dono sanctum priuauerit Albanum sciat se in futuro dei iudicio cum Iuda saluatoris nostri proditore perpetualiter condemnaturum fore; nosque illum tamen tamque praesumptuosum ex auctoritate dei omnipotentis, patris et filii et spiritus sancti, et sanctorum canonum et nostri ministerii excommunicamus et a consortio totius christianitatis et a liminibus sanctae aecclesiae sequestramus, donec terram sancto martyri reddat Albano.' Cui cuncti qui aderant 'Amen' responderunt.

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## X.

This group is from MS. Lambeth 1212, which is described by Kemble as 'an ancient Abstract from the registers of Christ Church, Canterbury.' It is in writing of the time of Edward I., perhaps near the close of the 13th century. With this group is joined (provisionally) a document on a separate sheet, Cott. Aug. ii. 67.

MS. Lamb. 1212, p. 305.

A.D. 687.

K 993\*.

**Ceadwala of Wessex**

grants land to Christ Church at Canterbury.

✠ ANNO dominicae incarnationis .DC.LXXXVII. Ego Ceodwala rex cum coniuge mea Kenedriða concedimus tibi pastor Theodore archiepiscopo et familiae aecclesiae Christi in .Dorobernia terram iuris nostri nomine Geddingge et Uudetun, scilicet terram .IIII. aratrorum pro spe salutis aeternae, liberam ab omni saeculari seruitio, exceptis expeditione, pontis et arcis constructione. Si quis eas a iure praedictae aecclesiae auferre conatus fuerit, nisi deo et hominibus satisfaciatur, perpetuo anathemate feriatur; ad cumulum autem confirmationis ego Cenuualh cespitem praedictae terrae super sanctum altare saluatoris posui, et propria manu, pro ignorantia litterarum, signum sanctae crucis expressi et subscripsi.

Ashburnham (Stowe), No. 1.

July 697.

MS. Lamb. 1212, p. 305.

K 43. Birch 97.

**Wihtred**

king of the Cantware, grants land to the church of St. Mary at Lyminge. The ancient deed exists as above.

✠ IN nomine dñi dī nostri ihu xpi Ego wihtredus rex cantuariorum prouidens mihi in futuro decreui dare aliquid omnia mihi donanti et consilio accepto bonum uisum est conferre bassilicae beatae mariae genitricis di quae sita est in loco qui dicitur limingae terram .IIII. aratrorum quae dicitur Uuieghelmes . tun . cum omnibus ad eandem terram pertinentibus iuxta notissimos termi-



nos id est bereueg et meguines paed et stretleg . quam donationem meã uolo firmam esse in perpetuum ut nec ego seu heredes mei aliquid minuere praesumant. Quod si aliter temptatum fuerit a qualibet persona sub anathematis interdictione sciat se praeuaricari ad cuius confirmationem pro ignorantia litterarum ✠ signũ sc̃ae crucis expressi et testes idoneos ut subscriberent rogauit id est berichtualdum archiepiscopũ uirũ uenerabilẽ.

✠ Ego berichtualdus epiſc̃ rogatus consensi et subscripsi. ✠ Signum manus uihcredi regis. ✠ Signum manus aedilburgae reginae. ✠ Signum manus enfridi. ✠ Signum manus aedilfridi. ✠ Signum manus hagana. ✠ Signum manus botta. ✠ Signum manus bernhaerdi. ✠ Signum manus theabul. ✠ Signum manus frodi. ✠ Signum manus aehcha. ✠ Signum manus aessica. ✠ Signum manus adda. ✠ Signum manus egisberichti. actum in mense iulio indictione . x ma.

*Endorsed* :—"Dæs landes boc æt berdelhames wicum nunc wigelmignctũn." and "Wichtredus rex Ca'. ad ecclesiam de Liming Wielmestun .IIII. arat'." Birch.

MS. Lamb. 1212. p. 310.

A.D. 747.

K 1004\*. Birch 173.

## Eadbert

king of Kent granting to the abbot of Reculver the dues of one ship at Fordwich.

✠ ANNO dominicae incarnationis .DCC.XLVII. ego Eadbertus rex Cantiae cum consensu optimatum meorum, Bregowini archiepiscopi et caeterorum principum meorum, concedo aecclesiae quae est apud Raculfe, et tibi Deneheah abba tuaeque familiae, pro salute animae meae, uectigal et tributum unius nauis in portu

ac uilla quae dicitur Forduic, ad opus, ut praefatus sum, familiae sanctae Mariae quae in iamnominata aecclesia deo seruiunt. Simulque praecipio in nomine omnipotentis dei praefectis, praepositis, et actionariis, et omnibus fidelibus qui in illo portu habent uel habituri sunt aliquam potestatem, ut haec mea donatio sit stabilis et firma imperpetuum. Quod si aliquis, quod absit, hoc meum donum uiolare praesumpserit, a deo et sanctis eius separatus, diabolo et angelis eius sit coniunctus. Quod si una nauis praedictae familiae perierit collisione, fractione, aut uetustate, iterum restituant aliam, et eadem conditione habeant, et sic in perpetuum.

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MS. Lamb. 1212, p. 323.

About 747.

K1005. Birch 176.

### Eardulf

king of Kent to Eadbert, abbot of Reculver, granting land at Perhamstede.

✠ Ego Eardulfus rex Cantiae tibi uenerabilis Eadberte abba, tuaequae familiae consistenti in loco qui dicitur Raculf, concedo terram unius aratri in loco qui nominatur Perhamstede, cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, liberam ab omnibus saecularibus seruitiis.

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MS. Lamb. 1212, p. 310.

A.D. 784.

K1013. Birch 243.

### Ealhmund

king of Kent to Wetred, abbot of Reculver, land at Scildwic.

✠ ANNO dominicae incarnationis .DCC.LXXXIII. Ego Ealhmundus rex Cantiae do tibi Wetrede honorabili abbati tuaequae familiae degenti in loco qui dicitur

Raculfcestre terram duodecim aratrorum quae dicitur Scildwic, cum uniuersis ad eam rite pertinentibus, liberam ab omni saeculari seruitio et ab omni regali tributo, exceptis expeditione, pontis et arcis constructione. Si quis, quod absit, contra hoc donum meum facere temptauerit iram omnipotentis dei incurrat, et cum impiis et peccatoribus flammis ultricibus sine fine dampnetur.

✠ Ego Iambertus archiepiscopus Canciae hanc regis donationem et excommunicationem consentiens et subscribens confirmo.

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MS. Lamb. 1212, p. 310.

A.D. 791.

K 1014. Birch 263.

### Offa

granting to Christ Church land of his right in the province of Kent.

✠ ANNO dominicae incarnationis .DCC.XCI. Ego Offa rex concedo aecclesiae Christi Cantuariæ terram iuris mei quindecim aratrorum in prouincia Cantiae, in hiis postnominatis locis, id est, Soham, Perhamstede, Rociuga, et in saltu qui dicitur Andred ad pascua porcorum in hiis locis Dinuualingden, Sandhyrste, Suuiðelmingden, et in siluis quae dicuntur Bocholt et Blean Heanhric, et aliud inter torrentem nomine Norðburnan et Hagenatreou, et pastum unius gregis iuxta Deningden, et .L. porcorum binnan Snæde. Hanc praedictam donationem uobis concedo, cum omnibus ad eam rite pertinentibus, quamdiu tibi uita comes fuerit, liberam ab omni regali tributo; et post obitum cuicumque placuerit danda cum praedicta libertate. Si quis uero hoc donum meum infringere temptauerit, perpetuo anathemate feriat.

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MS. Lamb. 1212, p. 315.

A.D. 809.

K 1025. Birch 329.

**Cenulf of Mercia**

conveying to Abp. Wulfred land for a sum of money weighed ; and other land for the church.

✠ ANNO dominicae incarnationis .DCCC.IX. Ego Cenulfus rex Cantiae concedo Wlfredo archiepiscopo dilecto mihi terram iuris mei septem aratrorum quae dicitur Bereham, pro eius competenti pecunia, id est triginta libris denariorum. Item in alio loco in Cantia dedi eidem uenerabili uiro ad opus praefatae Christi aecclesiae et monachorum ibidem deo seruientium terram uiginti quinque iugerum nomine Ibbinctun liberas ab omnibus saecularibus anxietatibus, exceptis communi expeditione, pontis et arcis constructione.

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MS. Lamb. 1212. p. 320.

A.D. 835.

K 1043. Birch 414.

**Abbess Cyneuara**

grants to Hunbert land at Wirksworth, for which he is to pay a yearly rent in lead for the church at Canterbury.

✠ ANNO dominicae incarnationis .DCCC.XXXV. ego Cyneuara abbatisa concedo Hunberto duci terram iuris mei nomine Wyrcesurðe, ea conditione ut omni anno det aecclesiae Christi in Dorobernia pro gablo plumbum trecentorum solidorum ad opus aecclesiae eiusdem archiepiscopo Ceolnoðo et successoribus eius. Hoc donum meum de praedicta uilla praefata aecclesia in perpetuum omni anno habeat. Si quis hanc meam donationem Christi aecclesiae in Dorobernia abstulerit, perpetuo anathemate percussus, diabolus eum possideat in societate suorum.

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MS. Lamb. 1212, p. 320.

A.D. 844.

K 1047. Birch 446.

**Æðelwulf**

confirming a grant of land by Osulf to Christ Church.

✠ ANNO dominicae incarnationis .DCCC.XLIII. prae-sente Æðeluulfo rege et Æðelstano filio eius, Ceolonoðo quoque archiepiscopo, et Tatnoðo presbytero tunc quidem electo ad episcopatum Dorobreui, id est ciuitas Rofi, confirmatum est donum Osuulfi ducis quod dedit aecclē-siae Christi in Dorobernia, hoc est Estre Stanhamstede, quam terram praefatus rex Æðeluulfus proclamauit liberam ab omni saeculari seruitio, exceptis expeditione, pontis et arcis constructione.

MS. Lamb. 1212, p. 321.

A.D. 895.

K 1072. Birch 572.

**Plegmund**

the archbishop, granting land to Christ Church.

✠ ANNO dominicae incarnationis .DCCC.XCV. Ego Plegomundus, gratia dei, archiepiscopus concedo aecclē-siae Christi terram quae uocatur Wefingemerse, iuxta flumen quod uocatur Rumenea, liberam ab omni saeculari grauitate, exceptis expeditione, pontis et arcis constructione.

MS. Lamb. 1212, p. 321.

A.D. 923.

K 1098. Birch 637.

**Wulfhelm**

archbishop; his purchases of land.

✠ ANNO dominicae incarnationis .DCCCC.XXIII. Wlfel-mus archiepiscopus comparauit undecim agros mille

denariis puri argenti iuxta stratam quae dicitur Ealdanstrate, in occidente Hæuuningland, in aquilone Cingesdic. Item comparaui quosdam agros qui ab incolis nominantur Wadland, et Wlfreðingland, iuxta locum qui nominatur Riðerceap. Hiis terminis circumdatur prænominata terra. In oriente, publica strata; in australi parte, terra Brihtulfi; in occidente, ciuitas Doroberniae; in aquilone, Burhuuare bocaceras.

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MS. Lamb. 1212, p. 323.

A.D. 948.

K 1160.

### Eadred

grants to the Metropolitan Church the manor of Twickenham.

✠ ANNO dominicae incarnationis .DCCCC.XLVIII. Ego Eadredus rex, pro amore dei, ad profectum animae meae, offero munusculum sanctae metropolitanae aecclesiae in Dorobernia ciuitate, uillam scilicet nomine Tuuicaham, in prouincia Midlesaxonum, super fluuium Tamisiam sitam, cum omnibus ad eam rite pertinentibus, liberam ab omni saeculari grauitate et fiscali tributo, exceptis expeditione, pontis et arcis constructione. Si quis cuiuslibet sexus, ordinis, uel dignitatis, hoc memoriale meum corrumpere temptauerit, deleatur memoria eius de libro uitae, et robur eius sine refrigerio aeternaliter conteratur.

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Cott. Aug. ii. 67.

Pentecost, 966.

Canterbury Chart. C. 207.

K 519\*.

T. p. 218.

### Eadgar

granting to the monks of Canterbury the vill of Sandwich with all its liberties and royalties. This is a forgery, and yet it claims no more than actual right. Here we see the

studious insertion of scraps of history which the artist had got up for the occasion. He had learnt that Acemanceaster had a famous Pentecost in the days of Eadgar; and that Eadgar had been waited upon by subject kings at Chester; and accordingly he brings in Kenneth king of Scots; Maccus king of the Isle of Man and the Hebrides; Dufnal king of Strathclyde; and Iukil king of Westmoreland: and he dates his composition, Whitsuntide, Bath. He has managed to avoid mistakes in the signatures of the bishops.

✠ IN nomine sanctae et indiuiduae Trinitatis! Ego Eadgarus rex et basileus totius Angliae diuino instinctus admonitu, et sanctae Dorobernensis aecclesiae antistitis Dunstani precibus saepius exhortatus, reddo et concedo sanctae Dorobernensi aecclesiae et monachis ibi seruientibus deo, in puram elemosinam, portum et uillam de Sanduic, eisdem monachis olim ablatam, cum omnibus libertatibus et consuetudinibus regiis ad Sanduic pertinentibus, quae ego aliquando habui, uel aliquis antecessorum meorum, ex utraque parte aquae cuiuscumque terra hinc uel inde fuerit. Praeterea confirmo eis omnes mansiones quas habent in uilla de Sanduic, quae eis collatae sunt in puram elemosinam a fidelibus. Unde uolo quod nullus ibidem habeat aliquod ius nisi tantum monachi nostri de Dorobernia. Quicumque autem hanc meam largifluam munificentiam interrumpere aut uiolare praesumpserit, indignationem domini nostri et sanctae Mariae et sanctorum omnium, qui in Dorobernensi aecclesia requiescunt, sentiant, nisi ante mortem emendati fuerint.

Ego Eadgarus rex totius Angliae huic codicello meo signum sanctae crucis propria manu apposui ✠. Ego Kinath rex Scotorum subscripsi ✠. Ego Maccus rex insularum uidi ✠. Ego Dunstanus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus subscripsi ✠. Ego Æðelwoldus Uuin-

toniensis antistes consensi ✠. Ego Malcolm rex Cumborum subscripsi ✠. Ego Dufnal uidi ✠. Ego Oskitellus Eboracensis archiepiscopus subscripsi ✠. Ego Osualdus Uigorniensis episcopus consensi ✠. Ego Kineuuardus abbas Mideltunensis subscripsi ✠. Ego Iacob subregulus signum apposui ✠. Ego Iukil subregulus signum apposui ✠. Ego Siferch subregulus signum sanctae crucis apposui in festo Pentecostes in ciuitate Acamanni ✠. DCCCCLXVI.

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## XI.

THIS group is from a roll in the British Museum, marked Cotton Roll ii. 11; it is nearly five feet long, and contains twenty-one documents, all relating to Crediton. The writing indicates the close of the thirteenth century, and the documents here printed are the first five upon the roll. They are not in Kemble or Thorpe; but the whole roll was commented upon in the Journal of the Archæological Association, vol. xviii; and later Mr. Davidson made these five the subject of a study in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association for 1878. It is from his pages that the text, translations, and notes are here reproduced, with alterations.

### 1.

**A.D. 938-9.**

A declaration by Æðelgar, the second bishop of Crediton (934-953); of the pardons or indulgences which he had obtained for all benefactors of Crediton minster. The manner of his procuring them was remarkable; and it happened in the days of king Athelstan (as so many other apocryphal benefactions did); and he was much assisted by pope Leo. There were two popes of that name during the reign of Athelstan.

Hich<sup>1</sup> egger bischob be bude<sup>2</sup> alle míne afther comende to cridintones mínístre . þat þe geuenísse<sup>3</sup> þat



hich be het<sup>4</sup> afther þat þat hich for soc saínte maríe  
 ministre for mire príde and to rome hy wende<sup>5</sup> . and  
 þar hich hontromede<sup>6</sup> sove yer and more an thar me  
 bífore hylomp . þe reue quene on heuene maríe . ãd ne-  
 dede me to scrifte go . to þan holiapopa leon and be his  
 lore do. And he me radde anbidia ones similissamuís<sup>7</sup>  
 on rome . and behithe<sup>8</sup> to gíuenisse to bote mire mere  
 leuedie<sup>9</sup> and to míre cherche. And þar hich be geth<sup>10</sup>  
 of souentíne archebíschobes to þousent dages to gíuenesse  
 of hure sínna . alle þane mínistre críditones agínn'as  
 an godíeras of bute hende heuereche day to coñde . and  
 the worke bítrende and for adþelston synge<sup>11</sup>. And of  
 oþer bischopes on estende romes burg and on westende  
 of þas mountes mougeus<sup>12</sup> feour þousent dages . and  
 sonne dages . ƿ . of hoþer archebíschopes . ƿ . bissopes on  
 þísser side þas mountes on wale londes þe ích alle hí  
 sogte hoþer bí wíse sende . so mí scríft was . þru þousend  
 dage . ƿ . souene. Of þru archebischopes on bruthude .  
 ƿ . of hyre onderbischopes . on þousent dages . ƿ . sixsti  
 dages. Of feour archebíschopes of hírlonde . ƿ of hire  
 ondersetetele bischopes nunhenne honderd dages . ƿ . tín  
 dages. And þo hich com hom to þan gete on þan  
 cherchay . hich silf sínfol hí astahede þar on hondred  
 dage ín helf þan gete euemore wo so bith<sup>13</sup> for wrecche  
 edger. And þo hich halgede þane cherichay at hechere<sup>14</sup>  
 hurne at hondréíd dage. And eft hich buspide<sup>15</sup> to rome  
 for míre lathere<sup>16</sup> to bote . ƿ . se holiapopa líon þay  
 geuenisse íuasnede<sup>17</sup> . ƿ morede hít míd on þousend dage .  
 ƿ a wirgede alle þaye þe hit aspide . ƿ . þáne mínístr of  
 crídíantone wíp sette. Sūma diez xii cccc. lxxx.

*Translation*:—I, Egger (Æthelgar), bishop, declare to all my suc-  
 cessors at Crediton minster concerning the indulgence which I obtained  
 after that I quitted St. Mary's minster (i. e. Crediton) for my pride,

and went to Rome. And there I fell sick seven years and more, and there there appeared before me the compassionate queen in heaven, Mary, and hade me go to shrift to the holy Pope Leo, and act according to his direction. And he told me to continue one half year at Rome, and obtain indulgence for the mending of my great sickness and for my church. And there I obtained from seventeen archbishops two thousand days' indulgence of their sins for all the founders and benefactors without end of Crediton minster, who should day by day come and aid the work; and for King Athelstan. And from other bishops on the east of the city of Rome, and on the west of Mons Jovis, four thousand and seven days. And from other archbishops and bishops on this side of the mountains in foreign lands, whom I sought, or to whom I otherwise sent—so my shrift was—three thousand and seven days. From three archbishops in Bruttia (?), and from their under-bishops, one thousand and sixty days. From four archbishops of Ireland, and from their under-bishops, nine hundred and ten days. And when I came home to the gate of the church enclosure, I, my sinful self, established there one hundred days for the benefit for evermore of him whosoever shall pray for the wretch (exile) Edger. And when I consecrated the church enclosure—at each corner, one hundred days. And again I journeyed to Rome for amends of my guilt; and the holy Pope Leo confirmed the indulgence, and increased it by one thousand days; and cursed all those who should reject it, and oppose the church of Crediton. Total of the days, 12,480.

\*.\* That this document is a forgery in its details, as in dating the indulgences from the time of Athelstan, there is no room to doubt; but it does not follow that the minster had *no* title to the indulgences enumerated. Migne, *Nouvelle Encyclopédie Théologique*, vol. xxvii, gives A.D. 1005 as the date of the first authentic document conveying indulgences as an endowment to a church. These were all partial, and limited in time, as in our documents; the first plenary indulgence is that of Pope Urban to promote the first Crusade in 1095.

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|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <sup>1</sup> Ic.      | <sup>2</sup> bebeode.   | <sup>3</sup> forgifennes.    | <sup>4</sup> begeat.  |
| <sup>5</sup> gewende. | <sup>6</sup> untrumode. | <sup>7</sup> semissis annus? | <sup>8</sup> begitan. |
| <sup>9</sup> Plefeðe. | <sup>10</sup> begeat.   | <sup>11</sup> cynge.         |                       |

<sup>12</sup> *mougeus*. The Alps where Hannibal crossed are in Alfred's *Orosius* (in MS. Lauderdale only) called 'Munt Jof,' and there is nothing answering to this in the original text. Æðelweard says that Ælfgifu, daughter of King Athelstan, was married to a king 'juxta Jupitereo montes,' i.e. near the Alps.

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|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| <sup>13</sup> bit.       | <sup>14</sup> ælcere. | <sup>15</sup> besifðode. | <sup>16</sup> leahtere. |
| <sup>17</sup> afæstnode. |                       |                          |                         |
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## 2.

After 1049.

Grants of indulgence by nine bishops who are named. The last name seems to mean Lifing, who was bishop of Crediton 1027-1046; and the confirming pope, Leo IX, who was elected in 1049. So the document must be supposed later than 1049.

Hondret bíschoc gíef on hondred dage. <sup>u</sup>Porte bíschop on hondreid dage. ƿ bi het þrou hondreít dage. Leueger bíschop bi het to hondreít dage. Eadþ bíschop bi get frou hondreít dage. and tín dage. Eansþ bíschop bi get sonne hondreít dage. Ealnod bíschop bi get and hondreit dage. Alger bíschop bi het þru hondreit dage. ƿ. souentí and þru dages. Eadluf bíschop bi get sixstí dage. Luhíng bíschop to hondreit dage. and on oþer leon popa hít ivasnode on echenisse ant aywilday. Sūma diez. <sup>M</sup>ii. d. xl. iij.

*Translation* :—Bishop Hondret gave one hundred days. Bishop Porte one hundred days, and procured three hundred days. Bishop Leveger procured two hundred days. Bishop Eadberht procured four hundred and ten days. Bishop Eansberht procured seven hundred days. Bishop Ealnod procured one hundred days. Bishop Alger procured three hundred and seventy-three days. Bishop Eadulf procured sixty days. Bishop Living two hundred days. And another Pope Leo confirmed it for ever and aye. Total of the days, 2,543.

\* \* Mr. Davidson said :—‘The list reads like a random compilation, with the names of Eadulf and Lifing, the first and last bishops of Crediton, thrown in at the end to give an air of probability to the whole.’ Of the previous names, the only identification he could suggest, was that of Leofgar, consecrated to Lichfield in 1020. It would be favourable to the *bona fides* of the document if the names had less of an English air, for people went to foreign bishops not uncommonly, when they wanted indulgences for churches.

## 3.

Lifing appears in this document as leaving Crediton for Exeter, and solacing the bereaved minster by confirmation of old and addition of new indulgences. As we know nothing

of Lífing's quitting Crediton, and as the see was not transferred until after Lífing's death, this document seems to approach very near to the character of a mere false invention.

Her kied on þíse íwíte þat hích luuíg<sup>1</sup> bíchop at míne fuyrsípe<sup>2</sup> wram editoñ hích minístre to þare cherche of examchestre for míne leue broþeren to h wreyrighe at míne out gánhes íuasnéde þay geuenísse þat egger þe luf minetheude bíchop bí tende into cđíamtones mínístre and heg þat alle oþere bíchopes sídþe of míne dages were ígeue and bí gíte<sup>3</sup> of oþer bíchopes hek<sup>4</sup> hích habbe out ígadere<sup>5</sup> of bokes fale<sup>6</sup> . ƿ . idó<sup>7</sup> in on oþe masse boc at saínte maríe<sup>8</sup> weuede to gadre hích broght<sup>9</sup> þar ma hích schel í sú<sup>10</sup>. And ín on oþer boke þat hatte penítencíalis bodde<sup>11</sup> to houre and ich hit ítrímde míd on hondreit dages of bute ende and ích on cursíe þat hit oþeruísse ísette . ƿ . hek alle þare churcha yvo. Summa toscí' veníe xlí ann' cc. dies . ƿ . xví dies. Et þ̃ hoc dñs W Exoñ ep̃s dedít ad colibꝫ<sup>12</sup> altare ec̃c̃e xííí díes ín remíssíonẽ p̃c̃c̃oꝝ.

*Translation* :—Here is made known by this writing that I, Living, at my exit from Crediton minister to the church of Exeter, feeling at my departure compassion for my dear brethren, confirmed the indulgence which Egger (Æthelgar), the bishop dear to my people, bestowed upon Crediton minster, and also (the indulgences) which were given by other bishops since, (and) of my day, and which were procured by other bishops; also I have gathered out of many books, and have done (copied) into the mass book at St. Mary's altar, brought together, where it may be seen. And in another book that is called Penitentialis book. . . . And I confirmed it with one hundred days without end. And I invoke curses on those who shall otherwise appoint, and also on all the Church's foes.

Total of the whole indulgence, forty-one years, two hundred and sixteen days.

\*\*\* Concerning the above three documents Mr. Davidson wrote as follows in 1878 :—'The first question which arises is this: Irrespective of the subject-matter of these declarations, inasmuch as, if genuine, they must be renderings of real compositions of the dates ascertained, is it possible to believe that there ever existed Anglo-Saxon originals,

which by repeated copying, or by having been written from dictation, could have become distorted into the singular forms which appear here? This is a question upon which only experts are qualified to speak. Some have suggested that the peculiarities of this composition are due to a Devonshire dialect of Anglo-Saxon, or to the west-country mode of pronouncing the Old English tongue. Again, it has been noticed, and must be admitted, that some of the expressions which seem the strangest are not the most unaccountable. Nothing is at first sight more monstrous than the phrase, "To than holiapopa leon." Yet this is not very far off in sound from the words. "Tó thán hálgan papan Leon." Worse distortions of spelling than this occur in the names in Domesday. "Adþelstan syng" again may have been written from the dictation of some one who, seeing "cyng" in the charter, read it with a soft c, as we pronounce "cincture." Still, when every allowance has been made, the verdict is on the whole unfavourable. Professor Earle, though desiring not to speak confidently on a matter of such obscurity, thinks it impossible there ever could have been genuine originals of which these sentences can have become perversions. This judgment, however, does not extend to the fourth—the land charter—which, in Mr. Earle's opinion, does show traces of having been derived from a genuine source.\* Mr. Davidson has passed away (1885) since our last sheet was printed, and I cannot recall on what data my then opinion was founded. But now, after careful examination, I think it possible that they all (excepting perhaps No. 3) represent older writings.

<sup>1</sup> Liuing.      <sup>2</sup> forðsiðe.      <sup>3</sup> begiten.      <sup>4</sup> eác.      <sup>5</sup> utgegadrod.

<sup>6</sup> feala.      <sup>7</sup> gedón.

<sup>8</sup> The dedication saint of Crediton minster was B. V. Mary, as may be seen above, p. 170, in a genuine charter.

<sup>9</sup> gebróht.      <sup>10</sup> þær man hit sceal geseon.

<sup>11</sup> 'bodde to hourde.' I cannot translate this, and I have not thought Mr. Davidson's translation probable enough to reprint. But one thing strikes me upon the manuscript view of *bodde*. The letters *dd* are not in the scribe's natural hand; they look like half-imitation, as if the scribe was halting between the two notions, of either expressing some half-caught sense, or of drawing the characters after his obscure copy. It seems to me probable that what he had before his eyes was *boc*, completing the description of the book as 'Penitencialis boc.' For the rest I have nothing to suggest. This is important as bearing on the question of the original composition of these strangely corrupt pieces.

<sup>12</sup> adcolentibus. ?

#### 4.

A.D. 1018.

Eadnoth, bp. Crediton (whose signature is found in deeds, A.D. 1012–1019), borrowed money of Beorhtnoth, and pledged to him certain land by the river Creedy.

In noīe dñi nři ihū xpístí. Ich eadnod bíschob kípe on þis wríton þat ihe onborgede .xxx. marca goldes be lead wígte<sup>1</sup> to mínre lond reddínges at beorhtnoðe . and ich ge sealde him ane gurde londes to underwedde bí cridía to þan foreword þat he habbe hís deís . ou’ hís deís be queþe þane . schuch þā þe him luest bu<sup>2</sup> . þe in þan londe stent . þís hís sánt þalondes ímeara . þare gurd bí cridía. Erest on schokebrokes ford . þanne east on þan pape . on þā litel gore . estward suð . on þā dede lake on c’día. Opon gen strem . on þan elpenían aker<sup>3</sup> . þanne est on þā h’pape eft on schokebroces ford . þís her is towítnesse cnut chíng wolstan archebischop . ē . luwing archebischop . ē . britgloþ bischop, and gednod bischop, and burthloþ bischop . ād adþelwíne bischop and brístyne<sup>4</sup> bischop . and adþelword elþerne man . and adþelwold abbot . and þat hyred of exancestre . and þat híred of cđihamtoñ . and þís íþidde þe bischop þane borg ton to exancestre and to tottenesse . and to lidauorde . and to beardestaple. Pax sit hoc s’uantibz . ē . ínfñ sit hoc frangentibz. And þisses iwrites ídoua ís on cridíamtone . mid hure elder boken.

*Translation* :—In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I, Eadnoð, bishop, make known by this writing that I borrowed thirty marks of gold, of public weight, for the management of my land, from Beorhtnoð; and I delivered to him a tenement of land by the Creedy in pledge, on the understanding that he should have it for his day, (and) after his day bequeath it to whomsoever might be dearest to him so far as stands in the land. These are the boundaries of the land—of the tenement by the Creedy. First at Schokebrook ford; then east along the road to the little gore; eastward south to the still lake on the Creedy; up against the stream to the solitary oak; thence east to the high road that (leads) back to Schokebrook ford. There are to witness: Cnut, king; Wolfstan, archbishop; Living, archbishop; Brihtwold, bishop; Eadnoð, bishop; Burhwold, bishop; Æðelwine, bishop; Brihtwine, bishop; Æðelweard, ealdorman; and Æðelwold, abbot; and the household (monastery) at Exeter; and the household (monastery) at Crediton. And of this the bishop sent notice to the

city of Exeter and to Totnes, and to Lidford and to Barnstaple. Peace be to those who maintain this, and hell be to those who break it. And of this writing there is a copy at Crediton amongst their old charters.

\*.\* A corrupt form of a genuine document; the bounds are traced and illustrated with a map by Mr. Davidson in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association, 1878.

<sup>1</sup> Be leódgewiht; i. e. by national or common-law, as opposed to customary, weight. In a charter of Cnut, K745, mention is made of silver marks measured by 'hustings' weight.

<sup>2</sup> þám þe him leofost beó. <sup>3</sup> ænlipigan æc. ?

<sup>4</sup> bristyne = Brihtwine, bp. Sherborne. All these names occur, with others, in K728.

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5.

21 Dec. 1236.

Here we emerge into full historic light; we have before us an unaltered original, of which the date is only about fifty years older than the manuscript from which we take it. It is a copy of a deed of confirmation, executed at Crediton, by William Brewer, bishop of Exeter, confirming to the church of Crediton the indulgences (presumably those of our Nos. 1-3) which, as is carefully stated, the bishop saw with his own eyes and caused to be read before him; and which were transcribed upon the original parchment of this deed.

Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis hanc præsentem paginam visuris vel audituris, Willelmus Briwer, miseratione divinâ Exoniensis episcopus, æternam in Domino salutem. Noverit universitas uestra quod nos, divinæ caritatis intuitu, indulgentias suprascriptas per diligentiam prædecessorum nostrorum episcoporum Creditoniensium et Exoniensium diversis temporibus ecclesiæ sanctæ crucis et ipsius crucifixi genetricis semper virginis Mariæ de Crediton, ad piam et perpetuam consolationem fidelium adquisitas, quas oculis propriis inspeximus, atque coram nobis recitari fecimus, et sicut ex antiquis dictæ ecclesiæ instrumentis veraciter suscepimus, ipsas a summis pontificibus misericorditer fuisse confirmatas, dictorum prædecessorum nostrorum

facta per omnia in hâc parte illæsa conservare volentes, et perpetuâ permanente auctoritate nobis a Domino creditâ, dictas indulgentias, necnon et sententiam quam memorati prædecessores nostri in perturbatores seu violatores earundem provide tulerunt—confirmavimus. Nos itaque, de Dei omnipotentis misericordiâ, et omnium sanctorum meritis confisi, gratiam gratiæ accumulare cupientes, omnibus dictæ ecclesiæ benefactoribus, sive piæ devotionis causâ illam quocunque tempore visitantibus, de injunctâ sibi pœnitentiâ quadraginta dies misericorditer relaxamus. Et, ne istud futuris temporibus aliquibus vertatur in dubium, præsentem paginam, secundum consuetudinem temporis moderni, sigilli nostri impressione duximus roborandam.—Datum Criditonæ, anno gratiæ m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>xxx<sup>o</sup>vi<sup>o</sup>. xij<sup>o</sup>. kal. Januarii, scilicet die sancti Thomæ apostoli.

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## APPENDIX TO GROUP XI.

C. C. C. Oxf. No. 449.

2 June 1194.

The following bull of Celestine III supplies a good historical illustration to this section. It is here printed for the first time by the kind permission of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, from their manuscript Cartulary of St. Frideswide; and I am indebted for my acquaintance with it to the Rev. S. R. Wigram, who is engaged in editing that book for the Oxford Historical Society.

Celestinus Episcopus servus servorum Dei universis Dei fidelibus per totam Angliam constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quoniam ut ait apostolus omnes stabimus ante tribunal Christi recepturi prout gessimus in corpore sive bonum sive malum oportet nos diem messonis extreme misericordie operibus prevenire



et eternorum intuitu seminare in terris quod reddente<sup>1</sup> Domino cum multiplicato fructu recolligere valeamus in cœlis certam spem fiduciamque tenentes quoniam qui parce seminat parce et metet et qui seminat in benedictionibus de benedictionibus metet vitam eternam. Cum itaque dilecti filii nostri Canonici sancti Frideswide de Oxenfordia Ecclesiam domos et officinalia necnon et ornamenta ecclesie vehementis ignis incendio combusta<sup>2</sup> inceperint reparare et ad consummacionem ejusdem operis eis non proprie suppetant facultates universitatem vestram rogamus et exortamur in Domino et in remissionem vobis injungimus omnium peccatorum quatinus divini amoris intuitu et vestre salutis obtentu eisdem Canonicis vel eorum nunciis pias elemosinas conferatis ita ut ipsi vestra et aliorum fidelium subvencione adjuti inceptum opus feliciter consummare valeant vosque per hec et alia bona que feceritis Domino inspirante ad eterne felicitatis gaudia mereamini pervenire. Nos vero de Dei misericordia confidentes omnibus elemosinam eis et ecclesie sue tribuentibus vere confessis et penitentibus de injuncta eis penitencia xx dies condonamus. Datum Laterano iiij Non. Junii pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. redeunte.

<sup>2</sup> MCXC. Combusta est ecclesia sanctæ Frideswidæ cum maximâ parte civitatis Oxenfordiæ. *Chronicon Thomæ Wykes. Ann. Monast. Rolls Series*, vol. iv. p. 43.

## XII.

THIS small group of boundaries is offered as a specimen of a chartulary of the fourteenth century, Bodl. Wood i, a chartulary of Glastonbury, written about 1350. The terriers have all been collated, and the peculiarities of the writing (normalized by Kemble) have been studiously kept.

Such are mis-spellings, and mis-joinings of words, which show that the scribe did not understand what he was copying.

Bodl. Wood i. fol. 183.

A.D. 681.

K 20\*. Birch 61.

### Baldred

granting to abbot Hamgisl land at Pennard (Somerset).

Of Obanleighe up end Lang brokes to catanLeighe panen est endlang Slades of pan slāde on þon bourne so to collamburi and est to standelue panen north endlang weies to þere stanene brugge on þen olden pil and soa endlang mores out on bru.

\*\*\* In S. ii. there is a facsimile of an older form of this deed on a single parchment, the property of the Marquis of Bath. It is a writing of (or, in imitation of) the early part of the ninth century. The boundaries are thus given:—Of eobbanlege up anlang broces to totanlege . thonon east andlang slēdes . of thā slēde on thone burnan . sua to cullanbyrig . ʒ east to stangedelfe . thonon north anlang uueges to there stenenan brycge . on thone aldan pyll . ʒ sua andlang mores ut on briuu.

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Bodl. Wood i. fol. 191.

A.D. 725.

K 74\*.

Birch 143.

### Ini

granting to Glastonbury Abbey xii manentes at Souuig (Sowey), Somerset.

Erest of Wilbrittispathe on midde pedredistrem a doun endlangestrēmes on Bridweres mere panen northriȝt endelang midmores on kari panen up endlangkari on hamelondes mere on poholte panen south bi line endlang-midward mores est on Wilbrithes pathes mores.

\*\*\* F. H. Dickinson Esq. (of Kingweston, Somerset), says that this Sowey is a tract of land once surrounded with water, and comprising the modern parishes of Middlezoy, Weston Zoyland, and Othery.

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Bodl. Wood i. fol. 191 b.

A.D. 963.

K 505.

**Eadgar**

granting to Wulfhelm land at Otheri.

þis beth þe landmere Erest of þan welle þar on Othere endlangstremes on þe rede cliue northward þare op on ameput of þan putte on an withi of þan withi on anstonberwe of þan berwe est up on þe rigge on hothurne stanberwe þanen to þan herpowe endelang herpothes on þe stanbrugge þar up on landscherlake on holangcombe heued þanen up on dich þanen on midde þe doune endlangdoune on iffingknep medeward þanen on iffengberlake of þer lake on þe dich of þan diche on þe ifre northward eft on þe welle endlangrewe þare eft on Otheri.

\*.\* In the manuscript this deed follows the previous one, and seems to be associated with it by the name Otheri. In the Marquis of Bath's Chartulary of Glastonbury, at Longleat, the two documents are likewise in the same order. It is pretty clear that the Glastonbury archivist regarded this deed as one that concerned their property in Somersetshire. But Mr. Dickinson points out that the bounds apply to Gittisham (Devon) by the river Otter, where Glastonbury abbey had never any land.

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**XIII.**

THIS group is from a manuscript written early in the fifteenth century, which Kemble describes as 'a very ill-executed register of the Abbey of Shaftesbury.' The specimens of this text have been collated with the manuscript by the kindness of Mr. Walter de Gray Birch of the British Museum.

MS. Harl. 61. fol. 12 b, 16 b.

A.D. 955.

K 435.

**Eadred**

grants land to his thane Wihtsige, quodam in loco priscorum uocabulo æt Corf and æt Blechenhamwelle. There are two descriptions of the boundaries; the briefer is here given.

Dis sand pa land i mare to Corf and tō blechenenwelle  
 pare .vii. hide. Arest of wikenforde. anlang wiken of  
 scylenford. of Scylenforde? on richt wege. of panne  
 weie on olle discan. panen? on blechene of panne  
 welle. on pane hlinc. anlang hlīnkes on anne dich;  
 panen one po calde rode. onlang rôde? onne po alde  
 stodfald. of panen falde? on anne dich. suth anlang  
 dic on pare herepap; of panne herepap suth anlang  
 sawendune on anne dich onlang dich? ope clif. panen ut  
 on se. Panen sant pis pat westrene landimare of se one  
 pe stod dic panen forð be wertrumen on anne stanweal.  
 of panne walle þweres ouer smalencumbe of pa þorne  
 upwarde panen forð be eusc one pat Northene stod  
 dich. of pare dich? on anne stanen wal nord on lang  
 walles? on stan wege; an lang weies? on anne dic. pañ  
 norp anlang dich of pare dīche? on Wīcean. of Wīchen?  
 on anne þorn 7 panen? on anne diche. of pare diche?  
 on anne þorne; 7 panen north on iricht wege. of pane  
 i wege? on alfstanes pað. pane forð be efclif on aueres  
 broc<sup>2</sup> adune anlang brakes? op pane bige. of pane bige?  
 on anne þorn. panne suth on irichte on anne mor  
 a dune. anlang mores. on wicean. up anlang wicean?  
 eft on Wīchenforð?.

<sup>1</sup> of = oþ; or perhaps on, through intermediate ou.

<sup>2</sup> aueres broc. The other terrier contains, though not with identical connection, the expression 'on Auenes bróc' and perhaps we should correct 'aueres' to 'auenes.'

MS. Harl. 61. fol. 13 b.

A.D. 966.

K 522.

### Eadgar

grants to the nunnery of Shaftesbury certain land which his grandmother Winflæd had given long ago, but the deed of conveyance had been lost, and therefore this new one is written.

Ðis sanden pe landimaren at uppidele. of pidelen  
streame? on hlosstedes crundles sup ecge? of pane crundle  
on pat mere sled. of pat mere slede on ðeo herepape.  
anlang herepapes? on mearhhilde mere. of mearhhilde  
mere? on pane hapene berielese on midde pane punfald.  
of panne punfalde? on pidelenstream. of pidelenstreame  
anlang burnstowe on greten linkes. suth ecge of pane  
gretenlinke on chellenberghe? þ eft on pidelen streame.  
and se made be frome pat to panne tune ibereth.

\*\*\* The place Uppidele is one of the numerous places on the Piddle in Dorset, which are named after that river. It would be interesting to verify the spot more nearly, if only for the light which this deed might throw on the term 'crundel,' in case it signifies any permanent object.

MS. Harl. 61. fol. 2 b.

A.D. 984.

K 641.

### Æthelred

assures to the convent of nuns at Shaftesbury certain lands at Tissebiri (Tisbury, near Hindon, Wilts) which his predecessors had granted in ancient days, but which had been resumed by his grandfather Eadmund. He had given to the convent Bucticanlea (Butleigh, Somerset) in place of it, and then dowered his queen Ælfifu with Tisbury. Ælfifu wanted to leave Tisbury also to the convent for her own part, but after the death of Ælfifu king Eadwig 'jus mutavit, hoc ipsum sibi uidelicet Bucticanlea accipiens, sanctoque coenobio prefatam terram æt Tisseburi perpetualiter attribuens.'

Rus uero praeftatum hiis metis in circo rotatur. Ðis  
sant pa landimare. pare twen tiwe hiwe at tissebiri.  
arest pe cigel marc scheth on nodre andlang stremes  
od gofesdene. pannen? to pere twichenen? of pere  
twichene? on Wilburge imare? on pane grene wei on  
Wermundes trew. of Wermundes tre? a dun richt inne  
pe imade. of pane mīpon? anlang stremes on pane ealde

Wdeforde: on pare grene wei onne pe heued stokes. of panne heued stocken: forp be twelf aceron pat it comet to wealwege. panen: to hig wege. pannen: to Wdesfloda; pannen: to suthames forde. Anlange hege reawe pat it comet to nodre. an lang Nodre. On semene. Anlang semene to rodelee. panen: on pere hwiten mercs. panen: on mapeldere hille pannen: on pa stigele. pannen: on sapcumb. pannen forder west on cures rigt. panne cyrder it north on poles leage; pannen: on mane broch. panen: on wipig broch. panen: on sidīnīc mor pannen forð on cnugel lege and on hiclesham. ðannen: on meare wei of pane wege anlang hrigces to inpedeforde. an lang weges pat it cumet to funt geal on pone herpoð. pannen: to gificancumb. an lang cumb. to stanweie. Anlang hrygges: to ðere litdenlege. pannen on leo-frīches ímare. forp be gemare: eft on funt al of fīntes brīge. anlang hrigces to alfgares ímare forder be his imare oþ heued stoccas panen: to cigel merc broke. an lang strcmes eft on nodre.

\*.\* A neighbourhood of old celebrity, that of Wardour Castle. In the terrier we recognize Chilmark (cigel marc), and the river Nadder (nodre), and a stream that runs into it called by a name (semene) that accounts for Semley and Semwick. Another historical place, Fonthill Abbey, is also here (funt geal), and probably the local perambulator would make out a great deal more.

## XIV.

THIS group, which is represented by one important document, is from the Liber Albus ii. of the Dean and Chapter of Wells. The codex contains documents of a date as low as 1493, besides transcripts of ancient things. It has been well explored by F. H. Dickinson, Esq., of Kingweston, Somerset; and our text is printed from his article in the 1877 Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural

History Society; vol. xxiii (New Series, vol. iii). The proof has been collated with the manuscript by the kindness of my friend Canon Church.

Liber Albus ii. Well. fol. 246 b.

A.D. 1068.

### William the Conqueror

confirms Banwell, and some other lands in Somerset, to Giso, bishop of Wells.

Ðis is ðære xxx hyda boc æt Banawelle þe Willhelm cyng gebocade Sancto Andrea apostolo in to þam bis-coprice æt welle a on ece yrfe.

✠ Regnante imperpetuum domino nostro Jesu Christo Ego Willelmus dei gracia tocius Brittanie monarches antecessorum meorum catholice et apostolice fidei integritatem colencium imitatus vestigia earum rerum que in hac convalle lacrimarum possidere videor datorem meum Jesum Christum participem facere proposui et ex terrenis atque temporalibus celestia et eterna ab eo commutare. Pulsatus quoque piis precibus Gisonis episcopi xxx mansas in loco qui a solicolis Banawelle dicitur quos antecessor ejus Dodoco episcopus pro anima sua Deo contulerat. Haroldus vero rex cupiditate inflammatus abstulerat. Sancto Andree Apostolo ad augendum ecclesiastice dignitatis commodum in proprium dominium episcopalis sedis et in sustentacionem fratrum Wellensis ecclesie in perpetuam libertatem restituo cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus id est silvis campis pratis piscuariis pro me et pro anima patris mei et pro antecessoris mei Edwardi Regis et pro omnibus mihi fideliter adherentibus. Hoc vero largitatis mee munus ab omni fiscali vectigalique jure absolvo tribus tantum exceptis expeditiione pontis et arcis edificacione. Si quis hoc custodire

et augere voluerit augeat ei Deus presenciam bonam et celestia gaudia consequatur. Siquis vero quod non opto instigante Diabolo hoc frangere vel minuere ausus fuerit dispareat de terra memoria ejus et nomen ejus deleatur de libro vivencium.

Termini vero predictae terre hi sunt.

✠ Dis syndan þa land gemæro æt Banawelle. Ærest æt hylsbrokes ea willme east on þone cumb eall abutan losa leh swa west on þone cumb & swa west of ðam cumbe to bibricge. of bibricge into ture broc. of ture broke into locxs of loxs into bridewell to pantes hyd ford. to fule welle ut on þone mære of ðam mære on ealden wrinn into catt widige up ford be cyng roda aest in þone wrinnæst streame ford. þat hyt cymð in þone hyls broc up þat hyt cymð aest inne þa eaa willme.

✠ Dis syndan þa land gemæru into Cumbtune Ærest on hryges torr of hrygestorre east on þone smalen weg &lang wæges on ealmes feald eastwearde swa &lang wæges on þone scyte swa on þone norðernna weg on þa stygela & swa &lang wegges on cearce rode of þære rode on ufe wearde calewen swa rihte nyðer on þa sand seapas þone rihte on þone holan weg &lang wæges on ceole broc &lang broces ut on reod ræwe on axa to wæde wær swa &lang eaa to wiht hyrste of ðære hyrste on þa blindan ea. swa aest on axa &lang streames on loxan &lang loxan up on cyrces gemæro & on bertunes gemæru swa up ofer duna est on hricges torr.

And æt hiwisc þæra v hida c æcere mæde be suðan heawican & et ceoddor mynster viiii heordas & þ gemena land uf bufen melc wæge & eall seo wyrð on sundran & se wudu of ðam forde up andlang ceodder cumbes on hean næss. of ðam næse on þa gemær ac on eadbrihtes cumbe andlang cumbes aest þ hyt cymð ut on þone feld.



Ut autem que agimus per posteritates sibi succedentes rata et inviolata queant esse Anno dominice Incarnacionis Mill. lx. vii. Indict. vi hac privilegii confirmamus kartula que apocrifas quaslibet vel anteriores si que huic forte non consenserint irritas faciat esse et multorum testium quorum consilio hec sunt diffinita subter annectimus nomina. Si quis hoc mee parvitatibus dono Deum sanctumque Andream spoliaverit inremediabili percussus anathemate eterne dampnacioni subiaceat ✠ Ego Willhelmus rex Anglorum crucis titulo meam confirmo donacionem ✠ Ego Mathyld regina eodem signo adhibeo confirmationem ✠ Ego Stigandus archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi

✠ Ego Aldrædus archiepiscopus confirmavi  
 ✠ Ego Odo episcopus frater Regis conroboraui  
 ✠ Ego Hugo episcopus consolidavi  
 ✠ Ego Goffrid episcopus consignavi  
 ✠ Ego Heremannus episcopus consensi  
 ✠ Ego Leofricus episcopus non renui  
 ✠ Ego Gilmær episcopus annui  
 ✠ Ego Willhelmus episcopus laudavi  
 ✠ Ego Egelricus episcopus confirmo  
 ✠ Ego Walterus episcopus favi  
 ✠ Ego Wulfsig episcopus confirmavi  
 ✠ Ego Remigius episcopus consignavi  
 ✠ Ego Æpelnof abbas ✠ Ego Leofweard abbas ✠ Ego Wulfwold abbas ✠ Ego Wulfgeat abbas ✠ Ego Willhelmus dux ✠ Ego Walpeof dux ✠ Ego Eadwine dux ✠ Ego Rotbertus frater regis ✠ Ego Rotgerus princeps ✠ Ego Walterus Gefehheard ✠ Ego Hugo De muntforz ✠ Ego Willhelm de curcello ✠ Ego Serlo de burca ✠ Ego Rotgerus Derundel ✠ Ego Richard filius regis ✠ Ego Waldtere fleminc ✠ Ego Rambriht

flæmīnc ✠ Ego þurstan ✠ Ego Balduinus de warten  
 beige ✠ Ego Othelheard ✠ Ego Heimericus ✠ Ego  
 Toug minister ✠ Ego Dinni ✠ Ego Ælfge arde thorne  
 ✠ Ego Willhelm de Walvile ✠ Ego Bundi stallere ✠ Ego  
 Rotbert stallere ✠ Ego Rotbert de ylie ✠ Ego Rogerus  
 pincerna ✠ Ego Wulfweardus ✠ Ego Herding ✠ Ego  
 Adzor ✠ Ego Brixi ✠ Ego Brihtric.

\*.\* In the Article already referred to may be seen Mr. Dickinson's translation of the boundaries, together with his comments which are full of local knowledge.

Mr. Freeman examined the signatures and came to the conclusion that the persons could all have met at one and only one particular time. 'The meeting of these bishops and these earls, together with the Queen, is perfectly possible in the summer of 1068; it is not possible earlier or later.' The date given in the deed is right according to the Indiction, but wrong Anno Domini, and Mr. Freeman attributes this to an error of transcription. He finds traces of an English scribe in the title 'dux' where a Norman would have used 'comes,' in the absence of a title from Robert of Mortain who was a Count in Normandy, and in the description of Robert of Montgomery as 'princeps.' Tofig, the sheriff of the shire concerned, signs as minister, i.e. *pegn*. The name of Walter Gifford is spelt in a very English way *Gefeheard*. The only suspicious expression is 'rex' applied to Harold, who is so carefully described as 'comes' by the compilers of Domesday; yet even these have once let slip the word 'regnavit' of him. Or may this 'rex' be due to the transcriber? This piece represents the Court of William as being as yet more English than Norman. No English Earl or Bishop has yet been removed from his post. A crowd of Englishmen are still called to the Assembly and sign its acts. (*Proceedings of Somerset. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* vol. 23, part 2, pp. 49 sqq.)

## XV.

In this group we have three specimens of that last stage in the descent of Saxon documents, in which they were cast into popular rhyme.

## 1.

MS. Lansd. 269. fol. 213.

N. Mon. ii. p. 129.

K 359\*.

T. p. 180.

Carta Adelstani Regis Sancto Johanni Beuerlaci data anno domini mcccc. xxv. de Privilegiis.

That witen alle that ever béen,  
 That this charter heren and séen,  
 That I the king Adelstan  
 Has yaten and given to seint Iohn  
 Of Beverlike, that sai I yow;  
 Tol and theam, that wit ye now,  
 Sok and sake over al that land  
 That es given into his hand,  
 On ever ilke kinges dai,  
 Be it all frée than and ay;  
 Be it almousend, be all frée  
 Wit ilke man and eeke wit mée.  
 That wil i (be him that me scop)  
 Bot til an ercebiscop,  
 And til the seuen minstre prestes  
 That serves God ther saint John restes.  
 That give i God and seint John  
 Her befor you ever ilkan.  
 All my herst corn ineldéel<sup>1</sup>  
 To uphald his minstre wéell:  
 Tha fourpreve (be heven kinge)  
 Of ilka plough of estriding.  
 If it swa betid, or swa gaas,  
 That ani man her again taas<sup>2</sup>  
 Be he baron, be he erle,  
 Clark, prest, parson or cherel;

Na be he ne that ilk Gome,  
I will forsaye that he come,  
(That wit ye wéol or and or)  
Til saint John mynstre dor;  
And thar i will (swo Crist me red)  
That he bet his misded,  
Or he be cursed son on on  
Wit al that servis saint John.  
Yif hit swa betid and swa es,  
That the man in mansing es: <sup>3</sup>  
I sai yow ouer fourti daghes,  
(Swilke<sup>4</sup> than be sain John laghes)  
That the chapitel of Beverlike  
Til the scirif of Everwike  
Send thair writ son onan,  
That this mansedman<sup>5</sup> be tan.  
The scirref than say i ye,  
Witouten any writ one me  
Sal nimen him (swo Crist me red)  
And into my prison lede,  
And hald him (that is my wilt)  
Til he bet his misgilt.  
If men reises newe laghes  
In any other kinges daghes,  
Be thay fromed, be thay yemed  
Wit yham of the mynstre demed,  
The mercy of ye misdeéd,  
Gif i saint John, swo Crist me red.  
Yif man be cald of limes or lif  
Or men chalenges land in strif  
Wit my bodlaik,<sup>6</sup> wit writ of right,  
Y wil saint John have þe might,  
That man tharfor noght fight in féeld,  
Nowther wit staf no wit shéeld:

Bot twelve men wil i that it telle  
 Swo sal it be swo héer ibelle.<sup>7</sup>  
 And he that him swo werne may  
 Overcomen be he ever and ay,  
 Als he in feld war overcomen,  
 The cravantise of him be nomen.  
 That yat<sup>8</sup> i God and saint John  
 Her befor iow and ever ilkon.  
 If man be founden slan idrunkend,<sup>9</sup>  
 Sterved on sain John rike,<sup>10</sup>  
 His aghen men withouten swike  
 His aghen bailiffs make ye sight,  
 Nan other coroner have the might:  
 Swa mikel fredom give i ye,  
 Swa hert may think or eghe sée.  
 That have i thought and forbiséen,  
 I will that ther euer been  
 Samening and mynstre lif  
 Last follike<sup>11</sup> witouten strif,  
 God help alle thas ilk men  
 That helpes to the thowen. Amen.

\*\* Printed after Kemble, who followed the Monasticon. The variations are those of the Lansdowne manuscript, a paper transcript of the 17th or 18th century. This I learn from Mr. de Gray Birch, who has kindly lent me his unpublished proofs of this and the two next pieces. The dialect is northern, but not so strong in this as in No. 3, where note especially the use of *at* as a conjunction. Dr. Murray in the New English Dictionary regards this as '*at*', a worn-down form of *that*; saying that it was very common in 14th-15th c., that it is rare even in Scottish writers after 1500; but still in regular use in northern dialect speech, as, 'I sed '*at* I wad, and I did.'

<sup>1</sup> MS. hest corne and meldrel.

<sup>3</sup> MS. that the mansings is.

<sup>5</sup> MS. his manserman.

<sup>7</sup> MS. swa here well.

<sup>9</sup> MS. founden dronken.

<sup>11</sup> MS. for euer.

<sup>2</sup> MS. saes.

<sup>4</sup> MS. whilke.

<sup>6</sup> MS. god lake.

<sup>8</sup> MS. hat.

<sup>10</sup> MS. St. Iohns rike.

## 2.

N. Mon. ii. p. 133.

K 358\*.

T. p. 179.

**Æthelstan**

confirming to the Chapter of Ripon their liberties and customs.

✠ In nomine sanctae et individuae trinitatis! ADELSTANUS rex dei gratia regni Angliae omnibus hominibus suis Eboraci, et per totam Angliam, salutem. Sciatis quod ego confirmo ecclesiae et capitulo RIPONENSI pacem suam<sup>1</sup>, et omnes libertates et consuetudines suas, et concedo eis curiam suam de omnibus quaerelis et in omnibus curiis de hominibus S. Wilfridi, pro ipsis et hominibus suis, vel contra ipsos, vel inter se ad invicem, vel quae fieri p . . . . . et iudicium suum pro Frodmortell; et quod homines sint credendi per suum ya, et per suum na; et omnes suas terras habitas et habendas, et homines suos ita liberos, quod nec rex Angliae, nec ministri eius, aliquid faciant vel habeant quod est ad terras suas vel ad socam capituli. Testibus G. archiepiscopo Eboracensi, et P. praeposito Beverlaci.

<sup>1</sup> pacem suam. This seems to mean their right of sanctuary. Compare the next piece. Cf. Ducange v. *Pax*.

## 3.

N. Mon. ii. p. 133.

K 360\*.

T. p. 182.

A popular version of the foregoing.

Wyt all that es and es gan

That ik King ADELSTAN

As gyven als frelich as I may

And to the capitell of seint Wilfrai,

Of my frée devotion,  
 Thair pees at RIPPON  
 On ilke side the kyrke a mile,  
 For all ill déedes and ylke agyle,  
 And within thair kirke yate  
 At the stan that Grithstole hate;  
 Within the kirke dore and the quare  
 Thair have pees for les and mare.  
 Ilkan of this stedes sal have pées  
 Of frodmortell and il déedes  
 That thair don is, tol [and] tem,  
 With iren and with water deme;  
 And that the land of seint Wilfrai  
 Of alkyn geld fre sal be ay.  
 At na man at langes me to  
 In thair Herpsac sal have at do;  
 And for ik will at tha be save  
 I will at thai alkyn freedom have;  
 And in al thinges be als free  
 As hert may thynke or eygh may se,  
 At te power of a kinge  
 Masts make free any thyng.  
 And my seale have I sett therto,  
 For I will at na man it undo.

\*\* Although these specimens are from writings which are (I imagine) no older than the sixteenth century; yet the diction savours of a much higher antiquity, and I would not venture to assume that rhyming records were a very late invention.

#### 4.

The following quaint record concerning Forests in Essex was communicated by Mr. Alfred Wallis to the periodical 'Long Ago.' I am not clear whether he meant to say that he found it among Judge Hale's collections in Lincoln's Inn.

*Nota.* Edward le Confessor graunt a un Raffe Peper-

king l'office de garder de son Forest de hundred de Chelmer et Dauncing in Com. Essex in taile appiert per Record in Lescheker escrie *modo sequente* :—

Iche Edward King

Haue yeven of my Forest the keeping  
Of the hundred of Chelmer and Dauncing  
To Randolph Peperking, and to his kynlyng,  
With Hart & Hynde, Doe and Bucke,  
Hare & Foxe, Catt & Brocke,  
Wyldfowle with his flocke,  
Partrige, Fezant Hen, & Fezant Cocke.  
With greene & wilde stub and stocke  
To keepen, & two yeomen by all their might,  
Both by day and eke by night,  
And Hounds for to hould  
Good, swift and bould,  
Four Greyhoundes, and sixe raches  
For Hare and Foxe & wyld Cattes:  
And therefore yche made him my booke—  
Witnesse the Bishop of Wolstone  
And booke ylerned many one  
And Sweyne of Essex our brother  
And tekyn him many other,  
And our Steward Howelyne,  
That besought me for him.

\*\*\* Far as these records are removed from any genuine documentary form, they do in all probability preserve (as J. R. Green, *Conquest of England*, p. 222 has said) the memory of actual grants. These rhymes can only have had vogue with the peasantry, and therefore they suggest a strong sense of attachment to the monastery under which they held their lands. I do not know whether it is possible that such rhymes could ever have had any sort of value as legal evidence in this country, though such a state of things is recorded of Ireland. Among the kinds of evidence admitted by the Brehon Law in disputes about land was '*laidh* (cantus) or history in the form of a poem publicly recited.' *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. 9. v. Brehon Law. A discussion about rhyming records took place in *Notes and Queries* about October 1885.



## APPENDIX.

AFTER much hesitation as to whether K 570 should be included in our selection or not, it was put aside. Had it been admitted, it would have been placed in the First Group of the Secondary Documents. Kemble stigmatized it, but Mr. Bond has passed it without remark; and Mr. Macray, who kindly examined it at my request, saw nothing suspicious in the handwriting. It was the difficulty of classing it (added to its great length) that kept it out; in the other scale were its many peculiarities, and its singular wealth of words. This last consideration has now prevailed. Much of Kemble's short Glossary was got from this one piece, and as we have embodied his words, we found in the revision of our Glossary that it would be better to print this piece than to make repeated references to a document which was not in the reader's hands.

Cott. Aug. ii. 6.

A.D. 972.

N. Mon. ii. p. 416.

K 570\*. B. iii. 30.

### Eadgar

granting to the monks of Pershore perpetual freedom in the choice of their abbot. To this is appended a terrier of the monastic lands, and the sanction. After which follows, in a much smaller hand, a series of boundaries; the larger hand is again resumed for the date and signatures.

†  
A Orthodoxorum uigoris æclesiastici monitu creber-  
w rime instruimur . ut illi oppido subiecti suppedi-  
tantes famulemur . qui totius mundi fabricam miro in-

effabiliq · serie disponens microcrosmum adam uidelicet tandem quadriformi plasmatum materia . almo ad sui similitudinem instinctum spiramine . uniuersis quę in infimis formauerat uno proband[i] causa excepto uetitoq · præficiens . paradisiacae amo'énitatis iocunditate conlatterana æua scilicet comite decentissime collocauit . laruarica pro dolor seductus cauillatione . uersipellis suasibilisq · tergiuersatione uiraginis plectus . anathematis alogia ambro pomum momordit uetitum . et sibi ac posteris in hoc ærumnoso deiectus sæculo loetum promeruit perpetuum . Vaticinantibus siquidem profetis \* et cælitus superni regis diuturna clandestino presagia dogmate promentibus nitide orthodoxis . eulogium ex supernis deferens . non ut iudæorum seditiosa elingue fatetur loquacitas . sed priscorum atq · modernorum lepidissimam ambiens facundiam . arrianas sabellianasq · proterendo nenias anagogico infrustrans famine nosq · ab obtunsi cæcitate umbraminis ad supernorum alacrimoniam patrimoniorum aduocans angelus supernis elapsus liminibus in aurem intemeratae uirginis ut euangelica promulgant famina . Stupenda cecinisse uidetur carmina . Cui æclesia tota catholica consona uoce altibohando proclamat . Beata es uirgo maria que credidisti perficientur in te quæ dicta sunt tibi a dño . Mirum dictu incarnatur uerbum et incorporatur scilicet illud . de quo euangelista supereminens uniuersorum altitudine sensuum inquit . In principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et dñs erat uerbum . et rñ . Qua uidelicet sumpta de uirgine incarnatione antiquæ uirginis facinus demitur et cunctis mulieribus nitidis præcluens taumatibus decus irrogatur . Intacta igitur redolente xpi diuinitate passaq · ipsius humanitate libertas addictis elementer contigit seruulís . Hinc ego EADGAR altithrono

āminiculante anglorum ceterarūq̃ gentium in circuitu  
 triuiatim persistentium basileus . ut huius libertatis  
 altithroni moderatoris clementia merear optinere con-  
 sortium . coenobio loco celebri qui ab huius prosapię  
 solicolis PERS'C'ORAN nobili nuncupatur uocabulo situm .  
 genetriciq̃ . dñi nři semper uirgini marię . necnon beato  
 petro apostolorum principi . eiusq̃ coapostolo paulo  
 dedicatum habetur monachis regulariter degentibus  
 monastici aeternam priuilegii concedo libertatem . qua-  
 tenus post decessum FOLDBRIHTI abbatis egregii cuius  
 temporibus hæc libertatis restauratio xp̃o suffragante  
 concessa est . quem sibi universa præfati coenobii con-  
 gregatio apto elegerit consilio secundum regularia beati  
 benedicti instituta abbatē iuste ex eodem fratrum cuneo  
 eligens constituat . Huius priuilegii libertas deinceps  
 usu perpetuo a cunctis teneatur catholicis . nec extra-  
 neorum quispiam tȳrannica fretus contumacia in præ-  
 dicto monasterio ius arripiens exerceat potestatis . sed  
 eiusdem coenobii collegium perpetuę ut prædixi libertatis  
 gloriatur priuilegio . Sit autem prefatum monasterium  
 omni terręne seruitutis eodem tenore liberum quo a  
 præcessore nřo a rege uidelicet coenulfo orthodoxę fidei  
 strenuissimo fuerat uti uetusto continetur priuilegio  
 BEORNOTHO duce optinente solutum . agri equidem qui ad  
 usus monachorum dño nřo iħu xp̃o eiusq̃ genitrici marię  
 priscis modernisq̃ [t]emporibus a regibus et religiosis  
 utriusq̃ . sexus hominibus et a me ipso restituendo iure  
 concessi sunt id est in PERSCORAN uidelicet \* mansi .  
 in BR'İHTULFINGTUNE . x . mansi . in CUMBRINGTUNE . x .  
 mansi . in PEDNESHAMME . v . mansi . in ECCYNGTUNE  
 . xvi . mansi . in BYRLINGAHAMME . x . mansi . in DEO-  
 PANFORDA . x . mansi . in STRENGESHO . x . in BETTESFORDA  
 . x . in CROMBAN . \* . in STOCE . x . in PYRITUNE

.x. in UUADBEORHAN .iiii. in CIUINGGTUNE .iii. in BROCTUNE] .iii. in PIPLINGGTUNE .x. in SNODDESBYRI .x. in NIUUANTUNE .vii. in EADBRIHTINGGTUNE .iiii. in UUIHTLAFESTUNE .v. in F'LÆFERTH .v. in GRAFTUNE .v. in DEORMODES EALDTUNE .v. in HUSANTREO .7 on MERETUNE .v. in BROCTUNE .iii. into 'H'LEOBÿRI .ii. [into] LANGANDUNE .xxx. in POINCUGUIC .vii. in BEORNOTHES LEAHE .iii. in ACTUNE .iii. in SUTHSTOCE .7 on HIL'L'EAHE 7 on TRESHAM 7 on CYLLINGCOTAN .7 on EALDANBYRI .7 DYDIMERETUNE .7 BADIMYNGGTUN .7 UPTUN .xl. in DEORHAM .x. in LONGANEGE .v. on LIDANEGE .vi. in UUIGGANGEATE .vi. in BEOLEAHE .v. GYRDLEAHE .v. in STURE .x in BRADANUEGE .xx. in COLTUNE .v. in UUIGUUENNAN .x. et ad usum conficiendi salis duobus in locis .xviii. doliorum situs on middelwic .x. 7 on neodemestan wic .viii. et duarum fornacium statio on UUICTUNE et uas quod dicitur westringce cum uno manso et dimidium mansi in loco qui dicitur HORTUN eiusdem perpetualiter sint libertatis \*

Tempore siquidem quo rura quae dño deuoto concessi animo iniuste a sc̃a dī æclesia ablata fuerant . perfidi quiq̃ nouas sibi hereditarias kartas usurpantes ediderunt sed in patris et filii et sp̃s sc̃i nomine precipimus . ut catholicorum nemo easdem recipiat . sed a cunctis repudiatę fidelibus in anathemate deputentur . ueteri iugiter uigente priuilegio. Si quis uero tam epilepticus phylargirię seductus amentia quod non optamus hanc nřæ munificentię dapsilitatem ausu temerario infringere temptauerit . sit ipse alienatus a consortio sc̃æ dī æclesię necnon et a [par]ticipatione sacrosc̃i corporis et sanguinis iħu xp̃i filii dī per quem totus terrarum orbis ab antiquo humani generis inimico liberatus est . et cum iuda xp̃i proditore sinistra in p[ar]te deputatus . ni prius hic

digna satisfactione humilis penituerit quod contra scām  
 dī æclesiam rebellis agere pręsumpsit . nec in uita hac  
 practica ueniam nec in theorica requiem apostata ob-  
 tineat ullam . sed æternis barathri incendiis trusus cū  
 anania et saphyra iugiter miserrimus crucietur .

Dis sindon þa lond gemæra þæra tun londa þe into per-  
 scoran belimpað ærest of piriforda on þa dic andlang dic on  
 þa pyrgan of þære pyrgan on þone longan apuldre of þam  
 apuldre on deap (?) morno (?) wyllan of ðære [wyllan] to þam  
 hlæwe (?) [b]e ðære h . . . . to bæning[es byrig] of bænin'c'ges  
 byrig to wealh geate of wealh geate to mæc enolle of mæc  
 enolle on lind hoh of lind ho on clottes mor of clottes more  
 on mæc pul on d'long pulles on afene of afene on caldan  
 wyllan of caldan wyllan on wyrð hline of wyrð hline [on hor]  
 pyt of hor pytte on culfran mere of þam mere on hag . . . . .  
 . . . . . broc hrycg of broc hrycge on þa ealdan dic of ðære  
 dic on swyne of swyne on reod dic of ðære dic on weorces  
 mere of þære mere on þa twycene of þære twycenan on þa  
 hæsel ræwe ondlong streames on hor wyllan of hor wyllan  
 ondlong dic on cymman leahe of ðære leahe on sæfern  
 ondlong sæfern to ham stede of ham stede on ropleah geat of  
 þam geate ondlong dic þ on east mor þær on þa rode of  
 ðære rode on heaðeburhe weorðyg of ðam worðige ondlong  
 hrycges to bysceopes swyn hege ondlong heges on beartan  
 weg of beartan wege on calfan leahe þ ondlong dic to hæð  
 halan of hæð halan on þa ealdan dic ondlang dic on piddes  
 meres weg of þam wege on þa ealdan dic of ðære dic on  
 wad beorgas of wad beorgan to þā hlyp geate of ðam geate  
 on sealtan mere of þam mere on suð mæduan of ðære mæde  
 ondlong sices þ on yrse ondlong yrse on hwitan dune of  
 hwitan dune on lusðor of lusðorne on fulan pyt of þā pytte  
 on beornwynne dene ondlong dene þ on hymel broc sæt wudu  
 forda andlang broces on oxan ers andlang sices to þan stan  
 gedelfe of ðam stangedelfe on þa dic ondlong dic on hunig  
 burnan 7lang burnan þ on hymel broc ondlang broces to

beccan leahe on þa ealdan dic 7lang mæc weges on ceafor  
 leahe of þære leahe on þa heg stowe of ðære heg stowe on  
 hennuc a[nɔl]ong hennuc þ̅ on þa ðoru ræwe eastrihte þ̅ hit  
 cyme to þan rah hege æfter 'þā' hege a be þam ofre þ̅ eft on  
 þa dic þ̅ on pidelan stream 7lang streames on afene andlang  
 afene þ̅ eft on piri ford. Þis sind þara feower tuna lond  
 gemæra wihtlafes tun 7 eadbrihtingc tun 7 niwan tun 7  
 ælfæde tun ærest of pidelan on þa ealdan dic of þære dic  
 7lang wura on þa heafða to winter burnan of winter burnan  
 on hina gemæran on þone ealdan weg of þan wege on tittan  
 dune of tittan dune on byligan fen of byligan fenne on  
 wixena broc ondlang broces on pidelan 7lang pidelan þ̅ eft on  
 wihtlafes gemæra. Ðis sind þa lond ge[mæ]ra into fleferð  
 ærest of þā ealdan slæde on winter burnan of þære burnan  
 on þane swyn hege 7lang heges on eomeres mæduan of þā  
 mæduan on hodes æc of þære æc 7lang heges to þæm wege  
 7lang weges on winter burnan 7lang burnan on hereferðes  
 mæduan þonan in þ̅ sic of þæm sice in þæne cumb of þā  
 cumbe on þa ealdan dic 7lang dice in pidelan 7lang pidelan  
 to bradan hāme abutan bradan hāme eft in pidelan 7lang  
 pidelan eft to þæm slæde. Þis sind þa lond gemæra to  
 husan treo ærest of þære stræt 7long dic to bradan forde  
 7lang burnan 'on' seale weorpan ondlang seale weorpan to cōl  
 forda of col forda 7lang þære miclan dic on alr broc 7lang  
 broces on ðeornan mor of þā more 7lang dic on feower  
 gemæra of þæ gemæron to þorn lehe of þorn lehe 7lang dic  
 eft on þa stræt. Ðis sind þæs londes gemæra into langan  
 dune ærest of sæfern on wiferðes mæduan hege of þā hēge'  
 on þone hricg of þā hricge on þone wulf hagan midne of þā  
 wulf hagan to þā ðrym gemæran. of þæm ðrym gemæran to  
 pis brece of pis brece to tidbrihticg hāme of þan hāme on  
 pyrt broc 7lang broces to pyrtan heale of peartan heal [to  
 ha]gan geate of hagan geate to twy forde of twy fyrde to luf  
 bece of luf bece betweenan dune of þære dune on 'h'witan  
 cumb of þā cumbe on swyn geat of swyn geate 7lang ecge þ̅  
 on hæð hricg of hæð ricge on senet ricg of senet ricge on sec

mor of secg more on alr of alre on orices pul of orices pulle  
 eft on sæfern. Ðis sindan þa lond gemæra into ceatewes  
 leahe 7 to yldres felda 7 to stan tune 7 to wynburhe edisce  
 ærest of an burnan to cumbran weorðe of cūbran weorþe to  
 þære mæran æc of ðære æc to stan hlincan of stan hlincan to  
 reade burnan of reade burnan to h'e'alre mere of healre mere  
 to þære æc of þære æc to hagan leahe of þære leahe on secg  
 broc of secg broce to þan hean dore of þan dore to bryd broce  
 7lang broces þ in glencing 7lang glencing þ in ledene 7lang  
 ledene to mæc broce of mæc broce to brycg geleagan of brycg  
 geleagan on bradan ford on glencing 7lang glencing to  
 blacan mores forda of blacan mores forda to þan halgan geate  
 of þan halgan geate to risc heale of hrisc heale to þam hó of  
 þā ho á be wuda to þā æsc of þam æsce to þære ecge of . . . .  
 to bradan leahe of bradan leahe to fæles græfe of fæles græfe  
 to cram pulle to þā mæc hege of ðæm hege on sæfern of  
 sæfern eft on án burnan. Þis sindon þa lond gemæra into  
 poincg wican ærest up of sæfern on beornwoldes sætan of  
 beornwoldes sætan on hagan geat of hagan geate on secg lages  
 strod of secg lahes strode on troh hrycg of troh hrycge on  
 tecles mor of þā more on baldan rycg of baldan rycge on  
 flotán rycg of flotán rycg'e' on þa smeðan ac of ðære æc on  
 lind rycg of lind rycge on abbandunes wican of abbandunes  
 wican in baldan geat of baldan geate on cust leahe of cust  
 leahe in eadwolding leahe middewearde of eadwolding leahe  
 on steapan leahe of steapan leahe in ða greatan lindan of  
 ðære lindan on cardan stigele of þære stigele in wearman  
 dene to hreod broc geate of þā geate on wæðe burnan 7lang  
 wæðe burnan þ wiðutan þone snæd hege þ to scirhyt geate  
 of scirhyt geate on codran ford ondlang codran on croma þ  
 to ðære ealdan stræt ondlong ðære stræt to maw pul 7lang  
 pulles on temedan 7lang temedan eft in sæ[fern.] Ðis sind  
 þa land gemæra into beornoðes leahe ærest of eadwolding  
 leahe án æcer of þæm æce . . . . hege 7long mer . . . on  
 sceanp[a]n hyl [of scean]þan hylle on wæðe burnan of þære  
 burnan on gundenling rycg of þā rycge on codran of codran

to syl beame of syl beame to crome of crome to hwitan  
 wyllan of þære wyllan to hagan geate of hagan geate to þære  
 blacan æc of ðære æc on þa sand seaðas of ðā seaðan in  
 temedel of temedel on þa lytlan becas þanan . . . . . e of  
 grindles bece swa þ gemære ligð in temedan of temedan  
 onbutan eldres ege þ eft in temedan andlang temedan þ eft  
 in maw pul . Þis sind þa lond gemæra into ac tune ærest on  
 horsa broc of horsa broce in heafoc rycg of heafoc rycge on  
 bilincg broc' of byling broce in atleahe geat of atleahe  
 geate in þa hlydan of þære hlydan in bycera fald of bycera  
 falde on sand ford of sand forda in scotta pæð of scottan  
 pæðe in gyslan ford of gislan forda on sond burnan of sond  
 burnan on scead wællan of scead wellan in lam seapan of lam  
 seaðan in ledene of ledene in lin leahe of lin leahe in saltera  
 weg of sealtera wege in hean ofer of hean ofre in suð broc of  
 suð broce in west broc of west broce in clæg wyllan of clæg  
 wyllan in æðelstanes graf of æðelstanes graue on hengestes  
 healh of hengestes heale eft in horsa broc . Þis sind para  
 . vii . land gemæra into suð stoce ærest of mæddene weste-  
 weardre on beaduc hyl 7lang dene on badan pyt of þā pytte  
 on æsc wyllan broc 7lang broces on afene 7lang afene on  
 broc hardes ford of þam forda on swyn burnan of swyn  
 burnan on funtnes burnan of funtnes burnan on bremer leah  
 of bremer lea 7lang dene on stan leah of stan lea on seonecan  
 dene 7lang dene on ehan feldes geat þonne on gate wyllan of  
 gate wyllan on cyneges crundlu of cyneges crundlan 7lang  
 dene on risc mere of risc mere on æsc dene of æsc dene  
 on hord dene of hord dene on þone holan weg on luhinc  
 wudu on fileð leahe of filet leahe on æðelan wyllan of þæ  
 wyllan adune on stream 7lang streames up on hyrde wyllan  
 of hyrde wyllan on cyninga crundel of cyninga crundele on  
 rycg weg 7lang wegges on þone stapol of þā stapole on þa  
 hlydan of þære hlydan up andlang streames of ðæm stre'a'me  
 be heafðan þ on .mihan lea eastweardne on þone garan up  
 7lang wegges of þā wege be heafðan þ eft on mæd beorh . Þis  
 sind þa land gemæra into deor hāme ærest of sulan forda on



loddra wellan þonon on bydynceþ bi abban grafe to bryde  
 wyllan þ swa on eccan treo þonon on miclan mædua þ on byd  
 ðonne on hygeredin'c'g æceras 7 swa bi clop æcere ufa in  
 sulig cumb þonon on mus beorh þ swa to æðeredes wellan  
 ðonon on clæg weg be ciric stede þ swa bi sadol hongran on  
 fearn beorh . . . . wuda on gemær broc þ eft on sulan broc .  
 ✠ Ðis sind þa land gemæra into beo leahe ærest of beo  
 leahe on cundincg æceras of cundincg æceran on fearn healas  
 of fearn healan on burh leahe of burh leahe on geahes ofer of  
 geahes ofre on stan geat of stan geate on wulferes wyllan of  
 þære wyllan on deawes broc of þæm broce on mapoldren  
 geat of þæm geate on beardyncg ford of bearding forda eft on  
 beo leahe . Ðis sind ða land gemæra into gyrd lea ærest of  
 gyrd lea on colle of colle on mærdic of mærdice on blacan  
 mearcan of blacan mearcan on þone hæð garan on dagarding  
 weg of dagarding wege on ac-wyllan of ac wyllan on bradan  
 apoldre of ðære apoldre on mæres ðorn of ðan ðorne on  
 smalan broc of smalan broce on cinctunes broc' of þæm  
 broce on dyrnan ford of dyrnan forda on brom halas of brom  
 halan on hwitan leahe of hwitan leahe on leommannincg weg  
 ðonan on colle of colle on meos mor of meos more on ciendan  
 of ciendan on spel broc ðonan on bulan wyllan of bulan  
 wyllan on þa langan æc of ðære langan æc [to] mundes dene  
 of mundes dene on colle of colle eft on gyr'd' leahe . Ðis  
 sind þa land gemæra þæs londes þe lymþ'ð' to sture þ is  
 ðonne æt ærestan denewaldincg hommes ende scyt on sture  
 þonne scyt se dic þ hit cymð foran to byrnan scylfe þonne  
 þonan 7lang þære ealdan stræte þ hit cymð on mærdic broc  
 7lang mærdic broces þ hit cymð to langan dune ende þonon þ  
 hit cymð to pos hliwan þonne of pos hliwan to sealt mere .  
 of sealt mere on fugel mere of fugel mere on steapan hline of  
 steapan hline on bara broc of bara broce ymb wydan cumb  
 of widan cumbe to hæð hylle þonon on stan hlines ende  
 þonon on rum beorgas þonne ðonan to cealc' seaðan of cealc  
 seaðan to tilðegnes triowan þonan to meox beorhym þonan  
 to pehtunes triowan frā pehtunes triowan to pioles clifan þ

7lang pioles clifes middeweardes to clop hyrste þonne of clop  
 hyrste on þa dic þe ligð on sture . Þis sind þa land gemæra  
 to bradan wege ærest of mære ende on pes broc þonon on þa  
 heafda æt west mæduwan of west medwan on þa heaf[dan] þ  
 on þistel mere of þæ mere 7lang slædes in pincan dene of  
 pincan dene þ up on þeorna dune ufewealde þonon on þone  
 stapol of ðæm stapole ofer þone ealdan feld þ on fugel hlæw  
 of þæm hlæwe on egsan mor of ðan more up andlang dune þ  
 on bæddes wellan of bæddes wellan on brer hlæw of þæm  
 hlæwe on norð ham onbutan norð ham 7lang þære ealdan  
 dic þ on sand broc of sand broce on bord riðig of bord riðig  
 on hor pyttes ripig of hor pytte 7lang fura þ on cadan  
 mynster þonon on þa ecge þ on þa sealt stræt 7lang stræt on  
 þa ealdan dic æt nanes mannes lande of ðære dic on asan  
 wyllan of asan wyllan on þristlinga dene of ðristlinga dene  
 ufewardne þ on þa ealdan dic æt wad beorhe 7lang dic eft o  
 mære cumbe

Anno dominicæ incarnationis . dccc . lxxii . scripta  
 est huius munificentie singrapha 'h'is testibus consen-  
 tientibus quorū inferius nomina scdm uniuscuiusq .  
 dignitatem utriusq . ordinis decusatim dño disponente  
 caraxantur .

Ego eadgar britannię anglorū monarchus hoc tau-  
 mate donū agie crucis roborauī

Ego dunstan dorobernensis æclesie archieps eiusdem  
 re'g'is beniuolentiam confirmaui

Ego oswold eboracensis basilicæ primas huic regali  
 dono adsensum prebui

Ego aðelwold wintoniensis presul edis canonica sub-  
 scriptione manu ppria depinxi

Ego ælfstan lundoniensis cathedre pontifex signum  
 scæ crucis lætus impressi

Ego alfwold scireburnensis cathedre antistes hoc in-  
 tepidus donum corroboraui

Ego brihtelm plebi ði famulus huius regis dapsilitati  
lætabundus aplausi

Ego alfwold legis ði catascopus testudinem agie crucis  
iussu regis impressi

. . . . . crucis agie  
hilaris imposui

Ego eadelm commissarum plebium speculator hoc  
eulogium gaudens firmaui

Ego kynsige ði allubescence gratia spiritalis ouilis  
opilio hanc largitionē consolidauī

Ego aðulf dño codr . . amminiculante hoc donum  
tropheo sçe crucis confirmaui

Ego alfðryð præfati regis conlaterana hoc sintahma  
cum sigillo sçe crucis subscripsi

Ego ælfric abþ subþ	Ego ælfweard m̃
Ego æscwig abþ conþ	Ego ælfsige m̃
Ego osgar abþ dicþ	Ego æðelsige m̃
Ego æðelgar abþ impþ	Ego wulfric m̃
Ego cineweard abþ deþ	Ego ælfwine m̃
Ego foldbriht abþ desþ	Ego wulfgeat m̃
Ego ælfæh abþ conf	Ego wulfstan m̃
Ego sideman abþ corþ	Ego æðelmær m̃
. . . . . conþ	Ego eanulf m̃
Ego brihteah abþ impþ	Ego eadwine m̃
Ego godwine abþ conþ	Ego æðelweard m̃
Ego brihtnoð abþ asþ	Ego ælfric m̃
Ego germanus abþ fir̃m	Ego aðelwold m̃
Ego ælfere dux	Ego alfwold m̃
Ego oslac dux	Ego wulfmær m̃
Ego æðelwine dux	Ego ælfweard m̃
Ego brihtnoð dux	Ego ælfelm m̃
Ego æðelweard m̃	Ego ælfric m̃
Ego wulfstan m̃	Ego leofwine m̃

Ego leofric m̃

Ego ælfeah m̃

Ego ælfelm m̃

Ego leofstan m̃

Ego leofsige m̃

Ego ælfric m̃

Ego wulfric m̃

Ego æðelweard m̃

Ego godwine m̃

Ego brihtric m̃

Ego ælfric m̃

Ego leofa m̃

Ego ealdred m̃

Ego brihtric m̃

Prefata quo`q' . . . . bis trium iugerorum quantitas  
 et duo predia in famosa urbe quæ ab accolis dicitur  
 wýgorne ceastre accidunt . quæ sub eiusdem condicione  
 libertatis perpetualiter in nomine dñi nři iħu xpi haberi  
 precipio .

\* *Erasures in the Charter.*

## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

28m. UUEBURGEUUC. This royal residence of the Mercian kings is mentioned again in K 217 thus: *in uillo regali qui dicitur werburging wic*. Both forms mean the same, the town of St. Werburg. Mr. Kerslake has maintained with great force that this place is 'Hoo St. Werburgh' on the estuary of the Medway, and this identification contributes something considerable to a more important contention of his, that Clovesho is Cliffe at Hoo. *Supremacy of Mercia*, pp. 47, 53. Werburg was the daughter of Wulfhere, king of Mercia.

35t. JURIS MEI. This formula occurs again 133m, aliquam partem terre juris mei; and 411l, and often. Kemble, *Saxons*, Book i. c. 11 explains it as 'the king's common of pasture'; a right of common enjoyed by the king, ealdorman and gerêfa in nearly every part of England; which right they could alienate to others, p. 293.

36b. IN LOCO CELEBRI UBI NOMINATUR CLOFESHOS. In the synod of Hertford, which was presided over by Theodore in the year 670, as related by Beda, H. E. iv. 5, it was ordained:

Septimum, *Ut his in anno synodus congregetur; sed quia diversæ causæ impediunt, placuit omnibus in commune, ut Kalendis Augustis in loco qui appellatur Clofeshock, semel in anno congregemur.*

Where this once famous place was, which is written *Clofeshock*, *Clofeshos*, *Clofeshoas*, has been much questioned. The similarity of the name has led to its identification with Cliffe at Hoo in the angle between the Medway and the Thames, and this opinion has lately been revived and strenuously maintained by Mr. Kerslake in his pamphlet on *The Supremacy of Mercia*. His point is that a road out of the centre of England came to the north bank of the Thames opposite Cliffe, that the river was there crossed by a ferry, that it was a highway out of Mercia to Canterbury, and hence the eligibility of the situation for a synod. After the two great synods under Theodore at Hertford and Hatfield, the synods were provincial and mostly under Mercian princes, and when not at Clovesho, were at Cealchyð, which is generally supposed to be Chelsea, though Sunning has also been suggested (*Hefele, Eccles. Councils*). Thus it seems necessary to find

Clovesho in Mercia, or somewhere convenient for Mercian kings. Somner suggested Abingdon, because Sheovesham was said to be the older name of that place, and he thought Sheovesham might be identified with Clovesho, c being put for s. But the time when c and s thus changed places was centuries later. However, Gibson adopted this view, in which the central position of Abingdon was perhaps of more weight than the etymology. Kemble said: 'I entertain little doubt that Cloveshoas was in the county of Gloucester and hundred of Westminster,' *Saxons*, ii. 15. In another place he suggests that it was not far from Deerhurst, Tewkesbury, and Bishop's Cleeve: perhaps at Tewkesbury itself, ii. 191. Stubbs says: 'Clovesho, a now forgotten place in the Mercian kingdom, probably near London,' *Const. Hist.* i. 231.

381. EGO OFA PATRICIUS. This is an interesting signature, because of the obscurity and curiosity which attends on the antecedents of the great king of Mercia. Lappenberg, i. 223.

901. AB AUSTRO SIGHEARDING MEDUUE OND EAC SUITHHUNING LOND; on the south side Sigheard's meadow and also Suithun's land. Here the simple and first meaning of the termination *-ing* is plainly seen; it signifies not only son of, but anything of. The patronymic usage, as in Ælfred Æðelwulfing, Alfred son of Ethelwulf, is only one special application of a form that differs little in its original sense from a genitive case. As a patronymic it occurs on p. 102, Eadwald Oshering, Eadwald son of Oshere.

951. þANON EAST ANDLANG MEAROE, &c.: *thence eastwards along the bounds to duck pool*. Here the *mearc* is plainly a line; and so again 179m, þONNE GÆÐ SIO MEARC FORÐ ANDLANG BLIDAN: *now the boundary proceeds along the Blithe stream*.

*Mearc* (f.) signifies very much the same as our word *mark* at present; a sign, a line of division. Thus we have a verb *mearcian*, to make a mark, and from this an oak with some well-known marks upon it was called (3551) seo gemearcode ác æt Alerburnan = the marked oak at Alerbourne. Just above in the same context we find seo gemearcode æfse = the eaves of the wood where the mark is.

The word signified a line of boundary, and also the belt of wild land around the cultivated area of a village, and thus it sometimes appears as if for a 'march' or width of neutral land between two communities. In this sense we have (210h), Bromleaginga mearc and Leofsnhæma = the march of the Bromley folk and the Lewisham folk. In this sense we have the compound *mearc-lond*, for the land lying in such a position.

But that the word *mearc* ever signified the area of an organised community, and further the community itself, as Kemble represents (*Saxons*, i. c. 2), there appears to be no adequate evidence; and on this point I must agree with Schmid, *Gesetze*, Glos. v. *mearc*. Kemble calls the community a Mark, each competent member a Markman, and the place of meeting a Markcourt. He lays great stress upon the word *mearc-mót*, 'which can only mean the place where such a meeting was held.' The only place he refers to is K 568\*, a document of very inferior character, which bears his stigma, and in which the word is written *mercemót*. Another word is *mearc-beorh*, which he renders Mark-hill, and considers too special a name to express some hill or other which happened to lie in the boundary, and accordingly he explains it as the hill or mound which was the site of the Markcourt. Now these evidences are the whole (apart from continental analogies) that he produces of a documentary kind; and they are hardly adequate to justify his conclusions.

For had the word Mark so widely signified the community and its territory, should we not have had evidences of the fact in some names of places compounded with -mark? There are no names even on the continent in which *mark* bears this sense; even 'Denmark' originally signified only the frontier of the Danes.

Mr. Kemble supports his theory of the Mark by a long list of local names containing the element *-ing*, a form used in patronymics, and so an evidence of the patriarchal organisation and family compact of the Marks. Had the existence of the Marks as organised communities been first demonstrated, this collection of names would have made a very striking and effective illustration of their tribal nature. But as the matter stands, the utmost they can be held to convey is this; that fellow-tribesmen who had been neighbours in the old country grouped together in the new. Cæsar says that the Germans occupied their lands *secundum cognationes gentesque* (B. G. vi. 22); and Tacitus says that they acted in war by *familie propinquitatesque* (Germ. vii.). Thus all inherited custom would tend to keep kinsfolk together; and that this deep-seated characteristic is represented by many of our *-ing* place names, seems highly probable.

. Of such names Mr. Kemble reckoned up 1329, and he further observed that out of this number there were 190 which stood simply in the nominative plural, like *Hastingas* (Hastings, Suss.), *Puningas* (Poynings, Suss.), without addition of *wic*, *ham*, *burh*, or any such termination. Of this 190, he found 140 on the eastern and southern coasts, and 22 more in parts accessible through navigable streams,

therefore he thought the *-ingas* witnessed to the original seats of the Marks, while names in *-ingaham*, *-ingatun*, &c. were due to filial settlements or colonies from the *-ingas*. These derivations have a substantial value of their own quite independent of the Mark-theory, and I am the more inclined to believe them real because they commend themselves to the historical judgment of my friend Mr. Boase of Exeter College.

103t. NIS EÐELMODE ENIG MEGHOND NEOR ÐES CYNNES ÐANNE EADWALD:—Ethelmod has not any natural heir nearer of kin than Eadwald. The term *meghond* has been written *meihond* just before. The first part is *mæg* (pl. *magas*) relation, and the second is simply the word 'hond' in that technical sense in which the Latin *manus* was used; Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 317. We have the word *hand* used by itself as an abstract term for party inheriting, as 148h, 'ac ic wille ofer hyra dæg ðæt hit gange on ða nyhstan hand me' = but I will that after their day it go to the competent party who is nearest of kin to me. And lower on the same page we have *hand* for the patron and protector of a monastery. The Society at Domesday is to choose its own protector, swylce hand to ceósenne swylce him leófast sý.

On p. 111m we read 'and se mann se to londe foe agefe hire erfe honda xiii pund pendinga' = and the man who takes to the land is to give her natural successor 13 pound of pennies—in compensation, as I suppose, for what that heir loses through this bequest to the monastery. I imagine that this compound *erfe honda* (which Thorpe did not understand) is constructed on the same principle as *meghond* above. In Alfred's Will we have the compound *wifhand*: 'gif ic gesealde ænigre wifhanda ðæt he gestrynde' = if I have given to any female inheritor property which he acquired (148m).

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109h. ÐE LONDES WEORÐE SIE AND LAND GEHALDAN CUNNE = as long as there is any one of my family who is qualified and legally able to hold land.

109m. SUB TO FARANNE = to travel south; i. e. go abroad, perhaps to Rome. See Vigfusson's Dict. v. *Suðr*.

110t. GIF HIE NE GESTRIONEN OÐÐE HIM SYLFUM ELLES HWÆT SÆLE, &c. = if they (my brothers) do not beget heir or somewhat else happen to him when he is there; i. e. or if they do beget heir who should die within a certain time.

112t. FORNACIBUS PLUMBIS. Anything to do with Chaucer's 'forneys of a leed,' *Prologue*, 202?



113m. Kemble thinks it probable that all estates of folcland were chargeable with payments to the ealdorman, and that these gifts to Sigred and Mucel were by way of indemnity for rights diminished by the privilege granted to Hanbury. *Saxons*, ii. 140.

122m. NIGEN HIGIDA LOND. Throughout the whole Saxon period the chief expression of quantity in land is *hīd*, and yet the greatest diversity of statement is found in regard to the measure of the Hide, not only in the writings of modern scholars, but also in the ancient authorities. Some of the difficulties will disappear of themselves if we follow the subject in historical order.

The word *hīd* is purely insular; it is not found in any of the kindred dialects. But the dialects offer a word which is a very close equivalent in sense, and perhaps near of kin too:—OHG. *huoba*, *huopa*, *hōba*, OS. *hōva*; German has the two forms, High Dutch *hube* and Low Dutch *hufe*. This word signifies a lot of land equal to 30 acres, and Weigand connects it with *haben* have, possess. A kindred idea lies at the root of our *higid* or *hīd*, if it is related to *hiw* family, whence *hiwisc* adj. for a family, a family's lot of land, the G representing the W, as in the doublet forms *hiwan*, *higan*, the members of a fraternity. Perhaps *hiw* and *hufe* are but two forms of one word, and the Latin *civ-is* another cognate:—it has the rule-right Lautverschiebung. It may be some confirmation that in the Shaftesbury Register (Group xiii) the xx mansæ at Tisbury are called the 'twentiwe hiwe.'

Bede affords strong evidence for the connection of *hīd* with *hiw*, inasmuch as he uses *familia* in the same statistical manner in which *hīd* is used, and Bede's *familia* was afterwards rendered *hīd*, *hiwscipe*, *hiwisc*, by Alfred in all but a few of the instances. Thus in E. H. iii. 25 singulæ (xii) possessiones decem erant familiarum = wæs pæs landes ealles cxx hīda; . . . possessio decem familiarum = tȳn hīda landes;—iv. 13 donavit terram octoginta septem familiarum = sealde seofon and hundeahtig hīda landes;—iv. 23 accepit locum unius familiaræ = onfeng anes hiwscipes stowe;—v. 20 donavit terram decem familiarum = sealde tȳn hīwisca [v.l. hīda] landes;— . . . monasterium triginta familiarum = mynster xxx hīwisca [v.l. hīda]. He does also (exceptionally) use the word *folc* for *familia*; iii. 24, speaking of the North Mercian kingdom, he says;—qui sunt, ut dicunt, familiarum quinque millium = fīf þūsendo folces;—and of the South Mercians, quorum terra est familiarum septem millium = þara landa is seofon þūsendo folces. When he in this form gives us the extent of entire districts by families, it is manifest that his numbers are not like those of a house to house census, but rather a statistical estimate based

therefore he thought the *-ingas* witnessed to the original seats of the Marks, while names in *-ingaham*, *-ingatún*, &c. were due to filial settlements or colonies from the *-ingas*. These derivations have a substantial value of their own quite independent of the Mark-theory, and I am the more inclined to believe them real because they commend themselves to the historical judgment of my friend Mr. Boase of Exeter College.

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113m. Kemble thinks it probable that all estates of folcland were chargeable with payments to the ealdorman, and that these gifts to Sigred and Mucel were by way of indemnity for rights diminished by the privilege granted to Hanbury. *Saxons*, ii. 140.

122m. NIGEN HIGIDA LOND. Throughout the whole Saxon period the chief expression of quantity in land is *hīd*, and yet the greatest diversity of statement is found in regard to the measure of the Hide, not only in the writings of modern scholars, but also in the ancient authorities. Some of the difficulties will disappear of themselves if we follow the subject in historical order.

The word *hīd* is purely insular; it is not found in any of the kindred dialects. But the dialects offer a word which is a very close equivalent in sense, and perhaps near of kin too:—OHG. *huoba*, *huopa*, *hōba*, OS. *hōva*; German has the two forms, High Dutch *hube* and Low Dutch *hufe*. This word signifies a lot of land equal to 30 acres, and Weigand connects it with *haben* have, possess. A kindred idea lies at the root of our *hīgid* or *hīd*, if it is related to *hiw* family, whence *hiwisc* adj. for a family, a family's lot of land, the G representing the W, as in the doublet forms *hiwan*, *higan*, the members of a fraternity. Perhaps *hiw* and *hufe* are but two forms of one word, and the Latin *civ-is* another cognate:—it has the rule-right Lautverschiebung. It may be some confirmation that in the Shaftesbury Register (Group xiii) the xx mansæ at Tisbury are called the 'twentwe hiwe.'

Bede affords strong evidence for the connection of *hīd* with *hiw*, inasmuch as he uses *familia* in the same statistical manner in which *hīd* is used, and Bede's *familia* was afterwards rendered *hīd*, *hiwscipe*, *hiwisc*, by Alfred in all but a few of the instances. Thus in E. H. iii. 25 singulæ (xii) possessiones decem erant familiarum = wæs þæs landes ealles cxx hīda; . . . possessio decem familiarum = tȝn hīda landes;—iv. 13 donavit terram octoginta septem familiarum = sealde seafon and hundeahtig hīda landes;—iv. 23 accepit locum unius familiarum = onfeng anes hiwscipes stowe;—v. 20 donavit terram decem familiarum = sealde tȝn hīwisca [v.l. hīda] landes;— . . . monasterium triginta familiarum = mynster xxx hīwisca [v.l. hīda]. He does also (exceptionally) use the word *folc* for *familia*; iii. 24, speaking of the North Mercian kingdom, he says;—qui sunt, ut dicunt, familiarum quinque millium = fif þūsendo folces;—and of the South Mercians, quorum terra est familiarum septem millium = þara landa is seofon þūsendo folces. When he in this form gives us the extent of entire districts by families, it is manifest that his numbers are not like those of a house to house census, but rather a statistical estimate based

upon the land-tenure. Thus of Thanet in i. 25: *Tanatos insula non modica, id est, magnitudinis juxta consuetudinem æstimationis Anglorum, familiarum sexcentarum*: and of the Isle of Wight in iv. 16 est autem mensura ejusdem insulæ, juxta æstimationem Anglorum, mille ducentarum familiarum.

Besides *familia* there are many Latin words which during the Saxon period represent *hid*, and all of the same aspect; such are *casatus* (from *casa* house) mostly written *cassatus*, *mansa* (seldom *mansus*), *mansio*, *mansiuacula*, *manens*, *terra unius aratri*. The expression *terra tributarii*, has been sometimes identified with the *hid*, as by Schmid v. *Hid*, but I think it belongs to a different species of tenure.

There is extant a memorandum of the hidage of districts, in the form of a brief and so to say tabular statement in 34 items. There are five several copies of it, one in Saxon and four in Latin. They are all published by Mr. de Gray Birch in the Proceedings of the British Archæological Association, 1884. The Saxon copy is not only the oldest of the five, being of the 10th or 11th century, but it contains traces of archaism which suggest a much higher antiquity.

1 Myrcna landes is þrittig þusend hyda þær mon ærest myrcna hæst.  
 2 Woen sætna is syfan þusend hida. 3 Westerna eac swa. 4 Pec-  
 sætna twelf hund hyda. 5 Elmed sætna syx hund hyda. 6 Lindes  
 farona syfan þusend hyda mid hæpfeldlande. 7 Suþ gyrwa syx hund  
 hyda. 8 Norþ gyrwa syx hund hyda. 9 East wixna þriu hund hyda.  
 10 West wixna syx hund hyda. 11 Spalda syx hund hyda. 12 Wi-  
 gesta nygan hund hyda. 13 Herefinna twelf hund hyda. 14 Sweord  
 ora þry hund hyda. 15 Gifla þry hund hyda. 16 Hicca þry hund  
 hyda. 17 Wihtgara syx hund hyda. 18 Noxgaga fif þusend hyda.  
 19 Ohtgaga twa þusend hyda. þæt is syx 7 syxtig þusend hyda 7 an  
 hund hyda. 20 Hwinca syfan þusend hyda. 21 Ciltern sætna feower  
 þusend hyda. 22 Hendrica þry þusend hyda 7 fif hund hyda. 23  
 Unecungga twelf hund hyda. 24 Avo sætna syx hund hyda. 25  
 Færþinga preo hund hyda... is in middelenglū Ferþinga. 26 Bilmiga<sup>1</sup>  
 syx hund hyda. 27 Widerigga eacswa. 28 Eastwilla syx hund hyda.  
 29 Westwilla syx hund hyda. 30 East engle þrittig þusend hida. 31.  
 East sexena syfon þusend hyda. 32 Cantwarena fiftene þusend hyda.  
 33 Suþ sexena syfan þusend hyda. 34 West sexena hund þusend  
 hida.

Ðis ealles twa hund þusend 7 twa 7 feowertig þusend hyda 7 syuan  
 hund hyda.

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps *Bilunga* (Birch).

We have nothing to do with the numerous questions suggested by this most interesting document: but one remark is of importance here. The list consists partly of those great divisions which constitute the geography of history, and partly of a number of utterly obscure, and, so far as research has yet gone (we must say, even after reading Mr. Birch's dissertation), altogether untraceable names. This suggests that the core of the piece is of very high antiquity. Since all this was in type, I have received from Mr. Kerslake his pamphlet on Giffa (15), which he has in a masterly manner identified with the valley of the Yeo, conquered by the West Saxons in 658. The Giffe of Alfred's Will is the same.

Under 1008 the Peterborough chronicle has a brief and unsatisfactory but still a most valuable notice of a great national effort at shipbuilding and arming, and the burden was distributed according to the Hidage.

In the Domesday record (1086) the land is throughout described by a duplicate description. It is stated in hides, and it is stated in carucates and other terms which indicate present value. The hidage is matter of record only; the carucates express the measurement of the time. Now for the first time the *hid* appears as an archaism.

Hitherto we get no definition of the *hid*: it is spoken of as the best known thing in the world, too well known for anyone to think of explaining it. All the light we get from authorities of the Saxon period is incidental and undesigned. But now we draw near to a time when authors hardly mention the hide, without thinking an explanation necessary. Thus Henry of Huntingdon (the Latin historian of the 12th century who had an archæological turn) could not compile the history of 1008 already mentioned, without giving a definition of the Hide: *Hida autem Anglice vocatur terra unius aratri culturæ sufficiens per annum*. This can hardly mean anything else but land enough for the yearly sustenance of a household.

And if the explanations vary, we must not be astonished, nor too much perplexed thereby. If we had the most incompatible statements from different authors and we had reason to suppose that they all knew perfectly what they were discoursing of, it would be hopelessly perplexing. But if we regard all the statements that we shall find as only so many efforts, more or less enlightened, to solve an antiquarian problem, the discrepancies will not disturb us. We may look for the cause why one man estimates the hide at a greater, and another at a smaller extent, and regard all the authorities as so many speakers in a discussion.

In the second part of the 12th century, the *Dialogus de Scaccario* says concerning the Hide: *Ruricolæ melius hoc norunt; verum sicut ab ipsis accepimus, hida à primitiva institutione ex centum acris constat.* Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 200. Spelman v. hida, quotes a Malmesbury codex which says: *virgata terræ continet xxiv acras, et iv virgatæ constituunt unam hidam, et v hidæ constituunt feodum militare.* According to this the hide would be 96 acres, but this is peculiar, and the authority is not clear. The most prevalent statement in medieval writers makes the hide 120 acres. The conflicting statements led to the inference (expressed by Selden) that the hide was never a definite superficial area at all, but an estimate, varying with places and circumstances, of land enough for the subsistence of a family, or suitable to be the unit of taxation. Against this however Kemble set himself to prove that it was a definite quantity, which he fixed at 30-33 acres. He accounted for the great diversity of statement, by the supposition of a large and a small acre.

Mr. Eyton (Dorset Domesday) has arrived at the conclusion that the average Hide in Dorset was between 200 and 300 statute acres. In certain instances where it is manifest that the Hide varied widely either way from this average, he treats it as anomalous and due to disturbing causes. He finds that in places where the land was more valuable or more desirable by reason of local advantages, such as water privileges or accessibility, a less quantity of land was assessed as a Hide, and this he calls *superhidation*, overstatement of hidage. The opposite extreme was when by royal favour towards an owner the extent of the land was rated at a nominal figure, which Mr. Eyton calls *beneficial hidation*, because it carried with it a relatively smaller taxation. Thus he quotes an instance in which the Domesday Hide is now represented by at least 4000 statute acres, and another in which it is represented by as little as 84 acres. Between these extremes there are great inequalities, but the area of the county yields a quotient of about 230 acres for the equivalent of the Hide in Domesday.

These conclusions are not so incompatible as at first appears, because Kemble proceeded on the theory that the 'hide' was only the arable, and that indefinite additions of pasture and wood were implied. Mr. Eyton on the other hand reckoned the whole area of the county, and divided it by the number of hides recorded in Domesday.

Other ways of explaining *hid* have been and still are current. Kennet, followed by Ellis, associated it with *hut*, and the verb *hydan* hide, shelter. Mr. de Gray Birch adheres to this derivation. This

changes the root of the word but not the essential idea of the thing. It implies a form *hȳd* (not *hid*) and so does another derivation, that of Grimm, who referred the origin of the word to a different association of thought. He derived it from *hȳd* corium, beast's hide; on the ground that the land was meted out with leathern thongs. This derivation is approved by Mr. Seeböhm, who finds further confirmation of this idea in the historical fact that the Frisians paid to the Franks a tribute in hides.

142m. AN CINGES BOCHOLTE = *in the king's beechwood*. There are other places in which the beech is mentioned, e.g. 284l. As to Cæsar's statement that there was no beech in Britain, see below, p. 473. It is remarkable that Dr. Daubeny in *Trees of the Ancients*, 1865, p. 7, thought that the beech 'was not known in Holland nor probably in England or Ireland at the time of the Norman Conquest'; an opinion which Cæsar had probably helped to form, and which is corrected by our documents. The Welsh name for the beech is *ffâ*, a word apparently borrowed from *fagus*, and dating from the time of the Roman occupation. 'Dwellers on or near the chalk districts of England are too familiar with the conspicuous and beautiful seedlings of the beech not to feel considerable doubt as to the accuracy of Julius Cæsar's statement that the tree, though present in Gaul, was wanting in Britain.' George Rolleston, *Scientific Papers, &c.*, edited by Dr. Turner, 1884; p. 324.

144m. WYT ÆÐERED. An old idiom for 'I and Æthelred'; literally 'we-two Æthelred.'

148l. ÐÆT MÍNRA MAGA NÁN NÉ YRFEWEARDA NE GESWENCE NÁN NÉNIÐ CYRELIF, &c. We may here notice as an interesting point in Grammar that the negatives are multiplied with a profusion hardly anywhere equalled except in Greek at the most perfect period of its prose. Moreover, what is rather a rarity, in *ne geswence nán* we see the adverbial pronoun which enforces the negation written in all its natural fulness, and not yet reduced to *ná*. The whole passage is so remarkable as to demand translation.

'And I pray in the name of God and his saints that no one of my kinsfolk or heirs disturb any *cyre lif* of those which I paid for, and the witan of Wessex warranted my right to leave them either free or unfree at my will; but I, for God's love and my soul's need will that they be worthy of their freedom and their choice; and I command in the name of the living God that no man molest them, neither in the way of property claim, nor in any way, so as to prevent their choosing what man soever they will.'

Kemble says '*Cyrelif* is a person who has a right of choice, or who has exercised a choice: these must have been poor men, free or unfree, who had attached themselves personally to Alfred, voluntarily or not.' He sees in their permission to choose what protector they will, a confirmation of his view that the manumitted serf did not become fully free, but was obliged to find himself a lord.

But I doubt about *cyrelif* being a person; I think it must be a condition of life. The compound *mynster lif*, which in the tenth century meant simply a monastery in its concrete form (as in Danish *munkliv*) had earlier meant 'monastic life' as we see it p. 1091, where *hire mynster lifes geunnan* means 'grant her admittance into the society and life of the minster.' So I think *cyrelif* here expresses the institution of a set of conditions, devised perhaps by Alfred himself (as the word occurs only here) whereby freedom should be either promoted or protected against the encroachments of powerful men.

148b. ON CWICUM CEÁPE, lit. *in live cattle*; which must mean in actual earnings, the year's produce, current income, as opposed to testamentary bequest, and corporate benefactions, which came afterwards to be called the dead hand.

1661. OÐ HIT CIMED TO DÆRE EFES. ÐONNE Á NORÐ BE WYRTWALAN &c.: *till it cometh to the edge of the wood, and then continuously north by the root-stumps till you come abreast of the great ash.* We meet with *wyrtwala* repeatedly in the boundaries. It signifies not a single object, but a continuous bank of old tree-roots (often much exposed) along the edge of the wood. It is often a conspicuous feature dividing the wood from the open field. They who perambulate or botanize or go out to hear the birds, or in any way love the country, know it very well.

The word is a compound of the rare word *wal*=rod, stick, staff, which occurs once in *Ulfilas*, Lk 9, 3 in acc. pl. *waluns* from nom. *walus*=staff) with the well-known *wyrt*, a generic word for tree or plant. In Friesic the rare word occurs in a compound *walubera*=staffbearer, i.e. pilgrim. In the poetic fragment 'The Ruin' *weall-walan* are the upright tree-stocks in a timbern house. The same word indicates horizontally built timbers in a ship's *gunwale*. In S.E. Somerset there is a district in which the name 'Wales' is very frequent as a designation of hamlets and obscure spots; thus Castle Wales, Hicknoll Wales, Shelf Wales, occur in the parish of S. Cadbury. The name recurs in this way through many adjoining parishes in a district that may be defined as lying between Bruton and Milborne Port; and in the same district the word *wales* is also a



common name for lynchets, those natural terraces which appear in an oolite hill-side; also the ridge of raked hay is called *weal* or *wheel*. In Lydford the term *whale* (pron. *wheel*) means an irregular strip of ground. I am indebted for this local information to the Rev. James Arthur Bennett, rector of South Cadbury. In Beowulf 1031 in the description of the helmet is a most vexed place, commonly edited thus 'walan utan heold'; where I would divide thus: 'wal an utan' = a rod or bar (of metal) on the outside.

This sort of edge to a wood is not inaptly termed an eaves (efese), the eaves of the wood. The word occurs in this usage in the Saxon Chronicle A in a very conspicuous place, A.D. 894. In 1661 we are led to the eaves of a wood, and continue along the wyrtwala. In 375h we pass along the wyrtwala of Bagley Wood. In 386l the line runs from a thorn-batch to the wyrtwala at the fir-trees. In 382h the path lies between a broad mere and the wyrtwala, where we should often be 'under an oak, whose antique root peeps out.'

173m. CURAGULUS TOTIUS BRITTANNIÆ. 'The oddest titles of all are *Primicerius* and *Curagulus* or *Coregulus*. Probably *Curagulus* meant *caretaker*, but with the idea of *rex* or *regulus* floating in the mind of the scribe.' Freeman, *N. C.* i. 552. *Primicerius* seems to have originally meant chief legatee in a Will, heres in prima tabula scriptus; *prima cera* being equivalent to *prima tabula*; also *præcipua cera*—'*præcipuam in tabulis ceram*,' Juvenal iv. 19, and Heinrich's note. The phrase outlived the use of waxen tablets, and became generalised to any priority in any list or catalogue upon whatever writing material.

178b. ON þONE LYTLAN BEORG þÆR SE STOC STOD. That *stoc* meant the stock of a tree, is certain. The Word Lists give us '*Truncus stoc*' repeatedly, and again '*Stipes stoc*.' And this sense will satisfy some of the places where the word occurs in the documents, as 'op þone calewan stoc' to the bald stock, 174h. In 385h 'paðe stoc' looks like a guide-post. Here also perhaps we may add 'wón stoc.'

But there are places where the word evidently bears a developed sense, such as may perhaps guide us to find its meaning in local names. Thus in the text 'on to the little barrow (or hill) where the stock stood,' I apprehend the stock here was the basis of an old cross. See 294l, Note. In 290b a be hearpaðe to heafod stoccum = continually along the high road to the head stocks; farm-buildings seem likely. In K383 (vi. 230) occurs the late form *heuedstock*, and this is now Headstock, a hamlet in the parish of Batcombe (Somerset).

In these latter instances the word seems to mean a superior house,

and one that is built on an artificial elevation, such as that which may still be seen in the Castle Field west of the churchyard at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Yorkshire. At first the word would designate only the timbern edifice, then the whole elevation would bear the honourable appellation of a stock. How honourable this name was is attested by the number of Stokes to which great family names became afterwards attached, as Stoke Courcy, Stoke Damerell (d'Albemarle), Stoke Gifford, Stoke Lacy, Stoke Mandeville. In Alfred's translation of Gregory's Dialogues, Casinum as the parent house of the Benedictines is called the 'stoc wic.' *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, by J. Earle (1884) p. 200. In K 1053 the bounds come innan þa heafodstoccas.

This word as a name element had that privilege which *hām* had, but which *tūn* never attained, of being a prefix as well as a suffix; thus we have not only Basingstoke, Halstock, Plymstock, Tavistock, Woodstock, but also Stockbury, Stockwell; and Stockton is almost as frequent as Hamton. The Saxons adopted the word *villa*, and popularized it into *wella*, and so we have *wella* and *hām* as interchangeable terms. I think that *stoc* made a third, and that it is combined with *wella* in the name Stocwella (380h).

Förstemann, whom I looked into after writing the above, gives the following illustration, and I may say confirmation. 'Ahd. *stock*, nhd. *stock* truncus geht zwar meistens auf die stehen gebliebenen Wurzelstöcke gefällter Bäume, doch ist in anderen Fällen, namentlich wo das Wort als Grundwort und im Singularis erscheint, eher an die Bedeutung von Berg zu denken (vgl. unter Gebirgstock).' From this it results, that I need not have been so careful to explain how a mound should be called a stoc, for it seems this figurative use was already established in the old homes before our people moved. These two views might easily be blended together, but I prefer to leave the investigation as it was written. I will only add the example of a *stock* of bees. I prefer to derive this from the figure of a house pitched on an elevation, rather than to adopt Weigand's explanation v. Bienenstock (mhd. *binestock*) 'urspr. hohler Holzklotz zur Aufnahme eines Bienen schwarmes, dann bevölkerter Bienenkorb.'

And I must further add that in the Blickling Homilies, Simon Magus contending with SS. Peter and Paul before Nero, proves his divine mission by flying off a tower, but he falls 'on þone stoc be þære stænenan stræte þe is hāten Sacra uia' = on the stock by the stony street called Via sacra. 'Ða genamon men eft þone stoc on weg, and feower syllice stanas on þære ilcan stowe alegdon' = Afterwards men took away the stock, and placed four huge stones on the

spot. Here the editor, Dr. Morris, translates *stoc* by 'scaffolding,' but I do not see what this means. I cannot think of any individual structure by the side of the road that could be called 'the stock'; and I suspect it must be the bonding masonry which held the road together, and of which our 'curb-stones' are a smaller example.

Since all this was in type I have seen the following passage in the Chapter on Construction of Roads in Mr. Middleton's *Ancient Rome* (1885) p. 478. 'The lava paving was bordered by a massive curb, usually of tufa, peperino, or travertine. The latter was used in the Forum Magnum along the Via Sacra.'

In K569 occurs a feminine *stoccen* which Kemble glossed 'perhaps a place full of stocks or logs.' The passage runs thus: to þære ealdan stoccene Sancte Andreas cyricean = to the old stokken of St. Andrew's church. I cannot accept K's gloss. The *stoccen* may be the enclosure of palisades around the church; but then the natural word was *tān* or *cyrcetān* or *lictān*; I think however it was the terrace which had been raised, on which St. Andrew's had stood, but it had decayed, and only the embankment remained. This word also enters into place-names, Stokenchurch (Oxf.), Stokenham (Devon). The latter is pronounced locally Stokkenham.

179m. þonne gæð, &c. *Now the boundary goes forward along the Blithe westward so far as where the lake shoots out into Blithe above the stone bridge; then north along the lake up to the dyke, and then along the dyke, &c. Compare 266l.*

It is important throughout these writings to observe that a 'lake' is not a pool, but a stream of running water. Thus a boundary often follows the course of a 'lake,' *andlang lace*, 382m, 386b, 394b, and such a stream is called a boundary stream, *gemærlacu* 387l.

The inland basin of water is at this stage of English *sæ*, as it still continues in German to be *See*; e.g. Scoffoces *sæ*, 95l.

Another word for the same is *mere*, 382h.

This 'lake' for running water is a genuine English word, and it is still widely current in the West of England, in Devon and Somerset, and probably Dorsetshire. If we are now more familiar with the word as meaning a pool, it is one of the thousand proofs of the deep tinge our language has taken from the Romanesque. Professor Skeat infers from a passage in the *Peterborough Chronicle* that the word was borrowed 'immediately' from the Latin; not through the French. The phrase occurs under A.D. 656 'meres and laces' (p. 31 of my edition); in a passage which (as I have shown in the Introduction) was written in the twelfth century; and though I do not think that

'laces' in this place is either Latin or French, yet if it is either, it is surely French.

196m. NITIMBRE. The form *ni-* is a good and established form for *niw* in composition. In the Benedictine Rule, ed. Schröer, p. 96, a chapter is thus headed:—Be nicumenra (v. *niȝcumenra*) *gebroðra andfenge* = Of the manner of receiving new-come brothers.

206l. TO þAM EALDAN STAPOLE. This word recurs again and again in the boundaries, where the course of perambulation comes to a stapol, and goes from the stapol. Thus on *ŷone stapol* 306b; to Ceotan stapole 353b. In K1053 the stapol is the point of outset and return; in K1131 (Group vi.) *gæges stapol* seems to mean *geaces*, i.e. cuckoo's staple; in K180 *bican* (? bitch) stapol. In a Stowe MS., A.D. 843, *æt stænan steaple*; Sweet, p. 436; and in our 1841, as if the material were usually timber.

The associations by which this term is accompanied are generally so vague that the frequent repetitions add little to our knowledge of it; but there are two or three exceptions to this. In K209 we have *sibbe stapol*, the stapol of kin or peace; in K592 *Ælfheres stapol*; and in K1177 we see that it is next the *herpað*; in K543 it seems to be at the line of a dyke: on *ða ealdan dic*, andlang dic on *ŷæne stapol*.

Kemble in his glossary explained the word as an upright post or pillar, and there can be no doubt that the word does occur in that sense, in passages which may be seen in Grein. Also in *Ælfric's* vocabulary we find '*patronus stapul*,' which indicates the king-post of a timbern roof.

A special interest surrounds this word from its occurrence in the *Beowulf* 926, in what is perhaps the most impressive scene of the whole poem; where king Hroðgar '*stōd on stapole*' = stood on the staple. This phrase has greatly exercised the editors and critics. Rask proposed an emendation *stapole*, and then the phrase would mean 'he stood on the terrace, on the high bank which ran round the Hall.' He was supported by Grundtvig, but this emendation has not been generally approved; the modern books keep the reading *stapole* of the manuscript. The renderings have been various: *stund an der Stufe* (Ettmüller); *an der Schwelle stehend* (Simrock); *stand an der hölzernen Mittelsäule Heorots* (Heyne). The prudent Grein however, though he knew of no other signification of *stapol* than *stipes*, *columna*, yet indicated his suspicion that this sense will not do for the place in *Beowulf*. Nevertheless, the latter rendering is now in possession of the field, 'stood by the pillar.' Strange, that

anyone could ever have been contented with a rendering that agrees neither with the phrase 'on' nor with the dramatic situation!

Problematical as this passage is, it is the passage out of which alone there is a chance of our getting at the meaning of *stapol*. The king 'stood on the Staple' when he was about to utter solemn words in his patriarchal and regal character, giving thanks for the great and strange deliverance. I imagine that it was an erection in the open air, standing in the area in front of the Hall; upon which the king alone (or his representative) might stand, it being the platform of his sovereign jurisdiction.

The word (if native) is from *stapan* to step, the *stapol* being ascended by steps, and being perhaps sometimes pitched at the head of the steps by which the terrace in front of the hall was ascended. In the twelfth century we find *stapl* used simply for step. We read of a flight of fifteen steps before the Temple; 'biforen þe temple on þe steire of fiftene stoples.' Early English Homilies, ed. Morris, (E. E. T. S. MS., Trin. Coll. Camb.) p. 165b. The German analogue is *Staffel*, which signifies step, rung of ladder, and easel. The German language has also adopted the Low German form, *stapel*, which is applied to the slips for ship-building; so that both the High and Low forms indicate framed erections of timber. The French adopted this latter word too, but in a peculiar sense; that namely of 'staple' for a mart, or marketable commodity. The French forms are *estaple*, *estape*, *étape*. This suggests a scaffolding for the holding of a market, of which the surviving representative is the market cross, and market house.

In the sense of judgment seat, seat of judicature, we see the *stapol* still surviving in the elevated seats of the judges in the Law Courts. Grimm, *Rechtsalterthümer* 804, quotes in three places from *Lex Ripuaria* 'regis staplus (stapfolus)' as a seat of judgment; in one place it runs thus:—'ad regis staplum, vel ad eum locum ubi mallus est.' The Frisian *Asega* book mentions in two places the 'thingstapul' as the block at which sentences were executed. And this *stapulus* is connected with steps. Grimm quotes from Gudenus 'judicium in castro Landskrone circa gradus.' Haltaus is quoted for 'staffel-gericht' in Alsace, and 'grad-gericht' in Saxony.

When the word occurs in our documents there is perhaps the two meanings combined, that of a seat of judgment, and a place of market. Perhaps our crosses at the meeting of roads with a mass of masonry in the form of steps, may have some architectural affinity with the old *stapol*. Such a one may be seen in Cheddar, Somerset. This

would explain such local names as Staple, Stapleford, Staplegrave, Staplehurst, Stapleton. In Sussex there is the Hundred of Staple, which in Domesday 6b, is the Hundred of Stapleham, and in this Hundred there is a Four Cross roads called Staple Cross, perhaps the place of the old stapol. Upon the whole it seems that *stupol* in our documents embraces the ideas of Market and Court.

210t. BROMLEAGINGA MEARC AND LEOfSNHĒMA. This phrase, 'the march of the Bromley folk and the Lewisham folk,' is parenthetical; an adjectival phrase descriptive of the 'lang leah' just named. I cannot explain the *n* in Leofsnhæma; below p. 289, in another copy of this perambulation, it stands Liofshema.

226l. AND ÞÆS MÁLSWYRDES ÞE WIDAR AHTE=*and the monumental sword that Withar owned*. In the poetry *mál* is a poetic and honourable designation for a sword, and it is also used for the Cross, which is *cristen mæl*. It has been sometimes supposed that the term thus used had reference to inscriptions on swords, but this would not explain the transference of it to the Cross. It seems rather to stand in its most elementary sense of token, emblem, and so monument, perhaps keepsake: the present sword may have been regarded as an heirloom.

239m. LÍN ACERAN. These *lín aceras* seem to be fields used for the growing of flax. In 385b we meet with *flexæcyras*, and in K1198 *flexhammas*. In 448h there is *linleah*. If the crop could give name to the ground, it would seem that special areas were reserved for flax, which it is not hard to understand, as the crop is, I believe, one that requires special management.

These *lín aceras* have left their name in the hamlet of Linacre, which is situated upon the Salewarp between Upper and Lower Tappenhall (Worc.); and although Johnstone's *Gazetteer* does not article it, yet it may be found in the inch Ordnance Map (Sheet 54); an observation for which I am indebted to my friend Mr. Shadwell, of Oriel. And this local name should be interesting to Oxford men, for in it we may pretty safely recognize the origin of the honoured name of Thomas Linacre, M.D. (1460-1524), after whom is named the Linacre Professorship of Anatomy at Oxford;—one of those distinguished men who made Oxford famous at the brightest moment in her history.

254b. ON FEOWER WEGAS. Manumission at four cross roads was a very ancient custom. Grimm, *Rechtalterthümer*, p. 211, quotes Lex Rip. 72:—'Manumissio in quadriuiis: ducat servum in quadrivium . . . et dicat sic: de quatuor viis, ubi volueris ambulare, liberam habeas potestatem.' In our laws, Hen. I. 78, § 1 'Qui servum

suum liberat in ecclesia, vel mercato, vel comitatu, vel hundreto, coram testibus et palam faciat, et liberat ei vias et portas conscribat apertas, et lanceam et gladium, vel quæ liberorum arma sunt, in manibus ei ponat.' In the history of Ramsey 29, Æthelstan, son of Manni, 'per omnes terras suas, de triginta hominibus numeratis, tredecim manumisit, quemadmodum eum sors docuit, ut in quadrivio, posit, pergerent quocunque voluissent' (quoted by Kemble, *Saxons* i. 222).

275m. HEO NAM (T). Kemble reads it *heónon*, i.e. all those men who stooped their heads (to slavery) for their meat in the evil days. He believes this to be a solitary instance in our records; but there is a like tale of the Britons in Gildas, *Hist. Brit.* xvii., and of the Franks in *Gregory of Tours* vii. 45. *Marculf* ii. 28 gives the formulary by which, among the Franks, a debtor surrendered his freedom to his creditor. *Saxons in England*, i. c. 8. Freeman, *N. C.* iv. 293.

275l. ÞIGEDE (T). Kemble reads *þingede* (which must be also the meaning of Thorpe's reading), and he explains thus:—When a criminal could not pay a legal fine, he was compelled to render himself to the plaintiff, or to some third party who (by agreement with the plaintiff) paid the sum for him, and this was called *þingian*. *Saxons* i. 197. She had relieved Gospatric of them and had paid their debts to him. Mr. Freeman, *N. C.* iv. 294, thinks that this incident points to as late a date as 1070.

276m. HEOLD ÐA GRÆGAN SWYN. *He kept the gray swine*. 'I cannot explain the distinction intended.' Kemble, *Ib.* i. 226. In the same place he has some excellent remarks upon the pedigrees:—'It is probable, nay even certain, that such records were preserved in all lordships: they were the original court-rolls, by copy of which the unfree tenants, perhaps also the poor freemen, held; who were thus the ancient copyholders.'

286m. SE BISCOP AND ÐARA HfNA WIOTAN = *the bishop and the advocates of the monastic household*. This *hina* is a short and syncopated genitive plural, which writ long would be *hiwena* or *higena*. The nominative plural *hiwan* or *higan* signified the members of a family in a collective way of speaking, and by transference the expression is commonly used for the personality of a religious corporation. Compounded with *sin*, which means complete, perpetual, thorough, we have *sinhiwan* for a married couple. This usage of *hiwan* is of very high antiquity, and it is found in essentials the same in OHG. and in Icelandic. Another word of the same stock, *hired*, is used for the religious society and also for the society of the king's

court, and this word is now represented in modern German by *Heirath*=wedding.

It appears due to the frequency of this shortened genitive plural *hīna* that two popular substantives were formed from it, *hyne* and *hind*. In Devonshire the *hyne* is the superior servant of a farmer, who is placed over the labourers, a farm-bailiff, foreman. In this sense *hind* (the *d* is excrement) is used in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire;—in the *York Herald* for 13 March, 1886, a hind advertises thus: ‘Hind. Wanted a situation as Hind, to manage a Farm.’ Then it is applied to labourers in general as may be heard in the Lothians; and the term is honourable, indicating that the men are members of the family. It has been in wide use, but appears to be despised and misunderstood in Norfolk, as Mr. Joseph Arch resented the application of it to his constituents, asking his antagonists how they would like to be called goats! (*N. and Q.*, 13 March and 3 April, 1886). At an early date it became a general word for ‘man,’ as in the York Mystery Play of the Resurrection 197;

Of ilke a myscheue he is medicyne,  
and bote of all;  
helpe and halde to ilke a hyne  
þat on hym wolde call.

Gawin Douglas has used it to translate *coloni* in *Æneid* i. 12, *Tyrri tenuere coloni*:

Thair was ane anciant ciete hecht Cartage  
Quham hynes of Tyre held into heretage.

See note on *hid*, p. 457.

292h. ON þA HLYDAN þÆT OF þÆR[E] HLYDAN. The [e] was originally there, but it has quite disappeared by some strong abrasion to which the vellum has been exposed. The same phrase recurs 448h and b. The nominative would be *seo hlyde*, but what the word means I do not know.

294l. þÆR þÆT CRISTEL MÆL STÓD: *where the Cross used to stand*. This spot was identified by the memory of a Cross that once had stood there, and this is the general significance of ‘Cross’ where it forms part of local names, although the historical fact is recorded only in a few instances, like Charing Cross. Every one who reads these boundaries must be struck with the frequency of Crosses: we come to the red rood 291t; the old rood 377t, 386m; to ðan langan cyrstel mæle 379m; to a cristelmælbeám, 385b, which seems to be a tree surmounted by a Cross:—unless indeed it means the ‘tree’ of a dismantled Cross,



i. e. the upright shaft, which would have been just a tree (*beám*). The Holy Rood must have been as frequent as it is now in Brittany or in a Catholic canton of Switzerland. Sometimes its presence is indicated by the word *cruc*, 296r, from the Latin *crucem*. 'At Addlestone near Chertsey, is an ancient and most venerable oak, called the Crouch (*crux*), that is Cross oak, which tradition declares to have been a boundary of Windsor Forest.' Kemble, *Saxons*, i. 53 note. These crosses were erected in prominent places as reminders of Christianity; they were perhaps placed on lines of boundary to render them sacred; they were put where any tragic incident had occurred, or where goblins were reported to haunt; and above all they were erected as consecrating the place of assembly where there was as yet no churchhouse. These would be surrounded by an enclosure (*lictún*) and within that enclosure a ring of yew-trees would surround the Cross, near enough to afford some shelter to the little band of worshippers. It was from the frequency of such places where prayer was wont to be made *ad crucem*, especially in the western counties (perhaps), that the word 'church' originated. There are places in the boundaries where it may be doubted whether *circ* or *ciric* does not still mean a cross, e.g. *be ciric stede*, 449h. In Cornwall such Cross-places have still their solemnities. At such Crosses the bearers of a coffin will halt to rest and to sing on their way from off-farms to the church.

327h. TO *ÞÆM MEGEN STANE*. Perhaps this *mægen stan* is a tautological compound of the British *maen* with the English word of the same sense.

328b. *PRONMYNET*. This looks very much like the modern Welsh *pen y mynydd* top of the mountain.

329b. *SCEOCA BRÓCES*. See below, note on 396m.

353b. TO *ÞON CRUNDELE ÞE SE IGÞ ONSTENT*: to the crundel in which the island stands. Thorpe (*Dipl.* p. 654) says he can understand a crundel on an island, but not an island on or in a crundel. That was because Thorpe had a definite idea of his own what a crundel was, but for those who have no idea about it, the one arrangement will be as intelligible as the other.

All Kemble could say was:—'This obscure word seems to denote a sort of water course, a meadow through which a stream flows.' Leo said:—'A crundel (*crund wel*) is a spring or well, with its cistern, trough, or reservoir.'

Thorpe tells us that there are above sixty crundles mentioned in the Codex Diplomaticus: some on hills, as, Crawan crundel on Wereſan

hülle (K698) *Crow's crundel on Weretha's hill*; sometimes it is stán crundel (307h) *stone crundel*: in one place we have a *triangular crundel*, on þone prýsctan crundel (K1198); and from such examples he came to the conclusion that crundel was a British word signifying a tumulus or barrow, akin to the Welsh *carnedd*, a cairn or heap of stones.

Thorpe's view seemed to get some support from words of Kemble in a paper on heathen interment. Kemble had said: 'I think, when we bear in mind how very numerous and widely spread over all England were the Stone-beds, Circles, Dolmens, and the like, that the very rare notice of them in these documents (the Charters) is strange and unintelligible.' So Thorpe asked whether the missing monuments are not our Crundels?

I have in my possession two tracings, made for me many years ago by my departed friend, Mr. Davidson, from a manuscript (I believe) in the Chapter Library at Exeter. These tracings both represent the same thing, namely 'Plym croundel'; and both drawings are so inscribed in a hand of perhaps the 14th century. The croundel here seems to be a circular pond formed upon the course of the river, an artificial round lake, through which the river runs. Now if crundel was a round pond, Thorpe's difficulty disappears, for a pond with an island in the middle was in early times a favourite device of landscape ornament. The descriptive expressions which we find with the numerous crundels do not help us much. The word *stan* would as well apply to a round pond, as to a mound, either might be or not be of stone. The adj. *rough* seems more fit for the heap: to ðan ruwan crundeles (374t); and the same may be said of Lillan læwes crundel (387r) because this might be the *crundel of Lilla's tumulus*. The expression crundeles suðgege, 427 (Group xiii), *crundel's south-edge*, might pass for either, though for the mound it seems most fit; but Fitelan slædes crundel (357) certainly sounds like the tomb of a hero. But there is a singular adjunct in K1177 rinda crundel: is this bullocks' crundel?

Altogether, Leo's idea seems to have most plausibility; only I do not think the last part is *-wel*, but rather *-del*=a hollow, a hole. In this way *crundel* would be much like what our people in Australia call a 'water-hole,' only that theirs would be always natural, ours mostly artificial. I figure to myself the *crundel* as like one of those puddled reservoirs of water for the sheep which we see here and there on Salisbury plain. In one place a crundel is 'deep,' and though it is in a charter of Group xiii, it may be worth quoting. In K392, the bounds

run onlong ðane herepaðe on ðene dépe crundel = along the great high-road on to the deep crundel. What deep thing could they come to along the herepað but a pond?

There is a place (4481) which looks as if the crundels were in a water-course: 'of gate wyllan on cyneges crundlu of cyneges crundlan andlang dene on risc mere' = from Goat-wells to King's crundels, from King's crundels along the hollow to Rush-mere. Lower down in the same page we have a *cyninga crundel*; and this designation might suggest either a stew-pond to store fish for the royal progresses, or a 'kings' cairn,' tumulus of kings.

In 2941, þæt crundel þær se haga útligeþ, I do not see what the description means.

Since this was in type I have found the following in some Homilies of the Twelfth Century, E. E. T. S. ed. Morris, p. 139. It is there said of John the Baptist dwelling in the wilderness that he 'ches þere crundel to halle and eorðhole to bure' = chose there a crundel for his hall, and an earth-hole for his bower. A recent novel entitled 'John Herring' describes a family housed in a Cromlech on Dartmoor.

3581. BRYTÆN WALDA. Here the word is given as the equivalent of *rector*, 356t; and on the next page we have *brytenwealda* for *rex*, 357b. This title has been the subject of much discussion. Sir F. Palgrave saw in this title a trace of the continuance among the Saxons of the imperial idea and institution of the Romans; against this Kemble, *Saxons* ii. 8ff., argued strenuously, maintaining that the first part of the word has nothing to do with Britannia, as the form *Bretwalda* in the Parker MS. of the Chronicle had led people to suppose. He maintained that the true form is that of the text before us and of the rest of the Chronicles, and that *bryten* here means extensive, and indicates merely the vague leadership which the strongest of the Saxon kings at any given moment would be able to exercise in relation to any of his fellow-kings. His argument is very strong, and seems to be clenched by the examples of this prefix *bryten* in poetic compounds, which may be seen in Grein; besides once adjectivally in Cædmon ii. 687, *breetone bold* = spacious mansions. Kemble injured the effect of his reasoning by a certain wrathful heat in which he did not spare the very manuscript which contained the impugned form *Bretwalda*, but declared it the worst of the set, whereas it is the best by a great interval. This has confused some people's ideas about the relative value of the Chronicles, and it has weakened the effect of Kemble's argument upon those who knew how wrong he was about the manu-

script. The whole question between Palgrave and Kemble has been revised by Mr. Freeman, *N.C.* i. 542ff., not without great enlargement of its bearings.

370h. *þonne forð on ða furh to furcumbæ*. This perhaps means *then forward to the fir-tree at Fircombe*.

Cæsar in his description of Britain (*B. G.* v. 12) says '*Materia cuiusque generis ut in Gallia est, præter fagum atque abietem.*' The apparent sense of this is that Britain has every sort of timber which Gaul has, except beech and fir. That is to say, there was no beech nor fir in Britain at that time. But this is so contrary to all other grounds of evidence, that it has been doubted whether the Latin might not mean something else. It has been suggested that perhaps *præter* in this place might mean not *except* but *besides*; and then the meaning would be that Britain has all the timber that Gaul has, besides (its well-known abundance of) beech and fir. I consulted a Latin scholar on the point, and he said that he could believe Cæsar to have been misinformed, rather than that he had expressed his meaning in such a manner. However, this explanation has satisfied many enquirers, and among others Dr. Rolleston, in the Essay on trees in his collected Scientific Papers and Addresses, by Dr. Turner and Dr. Tylor, p. 781.

The authority of Cæsar is so great that we need not wonder at the various efforts made to justify his words. Mr. Isaac Taylor in '*Words and Places*,' ed. 6, p. 249, says, '*In no single instance throughout the (Saxon) charters do we meet with a name implying the existence of any kind of pine or fir, a circumstance which curiously corroborates the assertion of Cæsar, that there was no fir found in Britain.*' If fir-trees and names from the fir are to be found they are certainly not frequent, and not conspicuous, and have never yet been noticed. As Kemble says '*The trees most frequently named in these land-boundaries are the oak, ash, beech, thorn, elder, lime, and birch.*' *Saxons*, i. 52n. But as Cæsar's information about the beech is not corroborated by our records, so neither (I think) is that about the fir. In the text Furcombe is, I think, so called from the fir-tree, and I identify it with the present Combe Farm in the parish of Farnborough, Berks.

This is the only instance I can produce from these documents of a name from the fir-tree, but there are (I take it) other places where fir-trees are mentioned. What has tended to obscure this fact is the formal identity of the word for fir-tree (*furh*) with that for furrow (*furh*). But we may discriminate them in two ways. The furrow is oftener spoken of in the singular number, the fir-tree in the plural :

thus the oblique singular *fyrh* always means furrow, as 'andlang fyrh to ðon heafdon' 374b; the genitive plural *fura* almost though not quite as constantly means fir-trees. The most frequent expression is 'andlang fura' = along by the firs, 291b, 386l. But there is an example of 'andlang fura' which seems to mean along the furrows, 387h. In 386l we have the firs in the dative plural 'to ðan furan.'

The observations of science tend to the inference that the Scotch fir is indigenous to England as well as Scotland. There is record of fir-wood having been found in the soil beneath some of the Roman roads. The Rev. Leonard Blomefield read a paper before the Bath Field Club in December 1885 on this subject; and he pronounced the firs at Bournemouth to be natives, offspring of a large forest which formerly existed on that coast. He also gave reasons for thinking that all the hills round Bath except Solsbury had at some distant period been clothed with a forest of Scotch firs. I understand Firle (Sussex), in Domesday Ferlega, to mean the lea of fir-trees.

373t. *ÆREST OF CATBORGE*. In the same document we have a *catmere*; the scene is in the Berkshire hills, where there are heathen burials, and forest, and generally tokens of wildness. In K1053 (v. 107) a perambulation proceeds 'of ðam wogan hlince innan ða catthola; of ðam cattholan innon ðone crundel,' &c. = from the tortuous slope into the cat-holes; from the cat-holes into the crundel, &c. We know that such places could not have been named after the domestic cat (*Felis domesticus*), because that animal has not been known in this country more than about a thousand years. The laws of Howel Dda (†938) show by their curious provisions that domestic cats were held to need the protection of law as a valuable property. It is the Wild Cat (*Felis Catus*), the most formidable of all the inhabitants of British forests, that is indicated by these names. This native of Europe and N. Asia was once common in the woods of this island, and is still surviving or has recently been thought to survive in some Highland coverts.

376m. *Fourteen CYTWERAS on Severn, and two HÆCWERAS on Wye*. 'The cytweras and hæcweras were weirs or places for taking fish, but I cannot distinguish their nature. The names would induce us to think the former were shaped like a modern eel-trap, the latter were formed with a slat or hatch.' KS. i. 320. An interesting comparison between this memorandum and the Domesday entry of Tidenham is made by Rev. C. S. Taylor, *Analysis of the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire* (1887): showing that the Conquest had made no

change in the tenure, and that much remains now as it was in Edwy's time. The hamlets of Stroast, Middeltun, now called Tidenham, Cingestun, now known as Sedbury, Biscopestun or Bishton, still stretch across it in order from the Severn to the Wye, the course of Offa's Dyke may still be traced, and Lancut nestles as of old under the bank of wood from which it derives its name,' p. 39.

377b. GÂ HYT EFT, *let it go back again to the minster*. It never did go back again; the church of Bath never recovered their land at Tidenham. For on Stigand's disgrace it went to W. Fitzosborn, and when his son Roger rebelled in 1075, it escheated to the king, and it was king's land at the date of the Survey.

389m. *rex ac prædux*. On the singularity of the title *prædux*, and of the significance of this and other peculiar expressions in the royal style of these documents, see Mr. Freeman, *N. C.* i. 552.

396m. SCUCCAN HLAU; *goblin's, fiend's low*. This is the pure Saxon form of the name 'Scutchamfly' which the rustics give to the great barrow over Wantage (KS. ii. 48), which we suppose to be identical with the Cwichelmes hlæw of the Chronicle 1006. Below, p. 421r, we have a *schokebrok* in Devon, a name which means *scuccan broc* = demon's brook. Does Shockerwick (Wilts) belong here? This word *scucca* was the native word for Satan in our early Christian literature, until it was superseded by *deofol*. It is still a name of dread in Suffolk. Belated travellers see the dog Shock; and it is told how he was once seen even in Becoles church. To Shakespeare it was a vague name of abomination—'curs, shoughs.' *Macbeth*, iii. 1. Ulfilas renders δαιμόνιον *skôhsl*.

409m. WIGELMIGNCTÚN. This is only a rather abnormal orthography for Wigelmington. And here we have an instance of the termination *-ing* in a merely genitival sense; in the later endorsement the place is called Wielmes tūn, which is after the text, Uueighelmes tūn.

410t. *actionaritis*. In the Parker Glossary of the eighth century there is '*actionaris* (=actionariis) folcgeroebum' and '*actionabatur* scirde'; in Ælfric's there is '*actionator* folcgerefa.'

413h. *Dorobrevi id est ciuitas Rofi*. The old name of Rochester took several varieties of form. In the Itinerary it is *Durobrovis*; in Tab. Pent. *Roibis*. Bede, ii. 3 is careful to add and explain the English form of the name: 'in civitate Dorubrevi, quam gens Anglorum a primario quondam illius qui dicebatur Hrof, Hrofscæstræ cognominat.' The Textus Roffensis gives the name as '*civitas Hrofi*' 331m, and *Hrofibreui* 3b; which latter is a remarkable compromise between the Latin and English forms. Camden made a suggestion:

'process of time contracted this name so, that it came to be named *Roibis* and so by addition of *ceaster* was called *Hrofeceaster*, and now with us more short *Rochester*, and in Latin *Roffa*, of one Rhuffus as Bede guesseth: but it seemeth unto mee to retaine in it somewhat of that old name *Durobrevis*' (tr. Holland, p. 332). Camden's suggestion goes against the personality of Hrof and supposes that his name has developed itself out of the closing sounds of the Latin name in its oftenest employed form of the locative case

436l. bodlaik. This is the Yorkshire form of AS. BÔDLAC proclamation, ordinance, decree. In the Chronicle of Peterborough A.D. 1129 (p. 258h in my edition) ne forstod noht ealle þa bodlaces = all those ordinances went for nothing:—where the word has been missed and is not in the Glossarial Index.

442t. *microcrosmum adam*. Perhaps the metathesis is of value as a mark of time, indicating that the term was a novelty. But anyhow we may ask; Had the revival of letters in England got so far as *μικρόκοσμος* by Edgar's time? Gervase of Tilbury spells it *microscosmus*, and he seems to introduce it as a sort of *ἀνέκδοτον* (to judge by the short extract in Du Cange), 'Et Græcus hominem microscosmum, hoc est minorem mundum appellat.' Affectation of Greek manifestly plays a part in the portentous verbosity which follows.

444m. WESTRINGE. I follow Kemble and print this as one word; it is true there is a chasm in the middle, thus 'west ringe' (which Mr. Bond has faithfully reproduced in his printed text), but I venture to think it is not meant for a division, although I am quite ignorant of the meaning of the term.

449h. ÞIS SIND ÆA LAND GEMÆRA INTO GYRD LEA. The boundaries of Yardley on the eastern side of Birmingham. The line runs first to COLLE, i.e. the river Cole, which lower down in its course towards the Tame has given name to Coleshill; and then in BROM HALAS we may recognise Bromwich Hall, especially as the next step is ON HWITAN LEAHE, now represented by Whateley Hall close to Bromwich. From this we make for the Cole again by a way that has the striking name of LEOMMANING WEG (?lover's way), and there is in the Ordnance Map, exactly in the right place, a stretch of road that arrests the eye, and is marked as 'The Green Lanes.' Then the line strikes the Cole and again leaves the Cole, but it is not apparent whether the river is crossed or not. But the next step is to MEOS MOR, and on the opposite side of the Cole is an ancient site with the uncommon name of Maxstoke, in the precincts of which occurs Morewoods Barn. Enough has perhaps been said to indicate that there is here some

attractive material for the scholars and archæologists of the region; and this remark applies not to this single perambulation only, but to a great deal else in this long and collectaneous record.

449m. ON BULAN WYLLAN=*at Bull-wells*. This *bulan* seems likely to be genitive of *bula* bull, a word not yet recognized by any glossarist except Leo. See Skeat v. Bull. If not from the bull, what else can have given name to these springs? The Vocabularies give us *bula* for the Latin *bullā*, a trinket worn as a personal ornament. Springs of water might possibly be named after this object through mythical associations, as of the princess who lost her *bullā* in the spring and a frog brought it to her again, which frog turned out to be an enchanted prince. Such a ground of naming is not impossible, but its area must have been very limited. In K1247 there is 'bulan dic'; and here it is hardly possible to think of anything but *bull-dyke*. In K133, a document which I regret to have omitted, if only because of that valuable guidance of Latin mixed with Saxon;—we have 'et sic in longum aggeris to bulcan pytte,' which I understand thus 'and so along the dyke to bullock's pit'—(taking *bulca* for diminutive of *bula*, now *bullock*). See Bosworth-Toller v. *bulluca*. May the *bulcan pyt* have been a rude amphitheatre for bull-baiting? The literary word for bull was *fearr*.

449l. TO BYRNAN SCYLFE, *to Byrna's shelf*. This Byrna would seem to be a mythological personage, perhaps divine. For a shelf belongs to a Divinity; in the Edda Odin's exalted seat is a *skiálf* from which he overlooks the world, it is Hlið-skiálf, hill-shelf. In K595 we find 'up to Hnæfes scylfe.' And hence the Swedish dynasty in the Beowulf are Scylfingas, which may be rendered shelfers, much as we say 'benchers.' In the Mendips just over Axbridge there is a hill called Shute Shelf, and I believe there are other local names with Shelf. See Scelfdūn, Scelfléah, in the Glossary.



# I. GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

The letters t, h, m, l, b, indicate top, high, middle, low, bottom, in the page referred to. The letter r signifies that the word occurs repeatedly in the page. Small n refers to the notes appended to the several documents; capital N (after a reference) to the Additional Notes. Roman Numerals refer to the Introduction.

Csh.	signifies Cornish.				<i>Village Community</i> . ed. 2.
Ksh.	" Kentish.				<i>Land Laws</i> by F. Pollock, ed. 1.
L.	" Local name.	PL	"		Sweet's <i>Oldest English Texts</i> .
Nm.	" Name of person.	ST.	"		Vigfusson's <i>Icelandic Dictionary</i> .
R.	" River.	FO.	"		<i>Die deutschen Ortsnamen.</i> , von Ernst Förstemann, 1863.
Dd.	" Domesday Book.	ND.	"		New English Dictionary edited by Dr. Murray.
Vcb.	" Vocabularies.	EP.	"		<i>English Philology</i> by J. Earle. Clarendon Press, ed. 4; 1887.
K.	" Kemble's <i>Codex Diplomaticus</i> .	EB.	"		<i>Beginners Book</i> by J. Earle. References to page and line of ed. 3.
KS.	" Kemble's <i>Saxons in England</i> .				Latin and Greek words are in Italics.
T.	" Thorpe's <i>Diplomatarium</i> .				German words for comparison are in Gothic Type.
S.	" Ordnance Survey Facsimiles, ed. Sanders.				= This sign when placed between Latin and English, is used to signify that such words are equated in a document referred to.
B.	" British Museum Facsimiles, ed. Bond.				
BC.	" Birch's <i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> .				
CR.	" Coote's <i>Romans in Britain</i> .				
FN.	" Freeman's <i>Norman Conquest</i> , ed. 1.				
SC.	" Stubbs' <i>Constitutional History</i> .				
SS.	" — <i>Select Charters</i> .				
SV	signifies Seebohm's <i>English</i>				

Local Names are sometimes rendered by a translation of their contents, and in this case the rendering has no capital initial. This plan is particularly suited to names of a recurring kind. Further identifications may be sought in the Indices of Kemble, Thorpe, and Bond.

aað (= æð). oath. 286b.  
 ábaedde. pt. tolled. 42m.  
 abba, father. 25t.

Abbandúnes wica. co. Worc. 447l.  
 ábeóðan. announce, introduce.  
 ábilhð. provokes. 350m.

ábredan. take away. 253h.  
*absoluta*. exempt. 317l.  
 ác. f. oak. 198t.  
 ácana g. pl. oaks. 309b.  
 Ac leah. Oakly, Kent. 51b.  
 áclofen. cleft. 351m.  
*actionarius*. agent. 41otN.  
 ácuman. 23ob.  
 adfini. limit. 354t. Du Cange v.  
 Affinis (CR): ash-heap of bea-  
 con (K).  
 ádle. d. sickness. 255h.  
*adoptivus, adoptativus*. K1196.1197.  
 ádranc. 203. EB. 17, 26.  
 ádrincan. to die by drowning.  
 adune. down. 301r.  
 adwæscan. 23ob.  
 ábbære. manifest. K874.  
 æc. Ksh. eke. 8ol. 81h.  
 æc. oaks. acc. pl. 198t.  
 æc. dat. sing. 198t, 355l.  
 æcc. oaks. 309b.  
 æcer. m. field, *ager*; acre.  
 æcerhæg. m. field-hedge. K549.  
 æcersplottes. 364l.  
 æcer tynning. fencing. 377h.  
 ædlean. Ksh. reward. 8oh.  
 æfisc. 291t.  
 æfsan. d. æfse.  
 æfse. f. eaves, edge of wood, 355m.  
 æfter. according to, *arad, secundum*,  
 353t.  
 æftergenga. m. successor. 253h.  
 ægefæle = *libera*. K1070.  
 ægera. (Ksh.) gen. pl. eggs. 8ob.  
 ægðer. either, each. 145h.  
 æht. property. 145h, 276m.  
 ælc. each, every. EB. 52, 7.  
 ælces. gen. of ælc. 242m.  
 Ælesford, Alresford, Essex. B. 366b.  
 Ælmham. Elmham, Norf. 241m.  
 Ælrithe. d. eel-stream. 282b.  
 Ænesford. Eynsford, Kent. 212h.  
 æn lænan. lease. 353t.  
 Æpslea. Apsley, Bedf. 206h.  
 ærbenumena. (Ksh.) g. pl. of heirs.  
 106.  
 éreafe. "detected." T. p 230.  
 ærende. n. errand, business. K1302.  
 ærn. n. dwelling, building. See  
 beoð-ern, tigel-ærnan.  
 æsc. m. ash. 166l, 179h.

Æscsburuh. Ashbury, Berks.  
 196m.  
 Æscsedún. Ashdown, Berks. 383h.  
 Æscmeres weorp. Ashmansworth,  
 Hants. 356m.  
 Æslingaham. Kent. 49l.  
 æt for *et*, and. 295m.  
 æt. at; of or from (a person) 235b,  
 253m.  
 æt brédan. wrest, rob. 251b. 303h.  
 æt broden. pt. *ibid*.  
 ætdéman. refuse. 202m.  
 ætsacan. deny the charge, 164m.  
 æwylm. m. river-head. 23m, 120b,  
 325b.  
 agele. Ksh. pres. subj. neglect. 106.  
 agiaban. Ksh. pay. 104b.  
 ágif (ágeaf). gave back, 201b.  
 ágiode (á-eode). turned out. 297b.  
 agon. they ought. 265h. EB. 29, 21.  
 águlde. should pay off. 223m.  
 ahnung = *calumnia proprietatis*,  
 claim. 212b.  
 áhreddan. get rid of. 164m.  
 áhredding. deliverance. 23oh.  
 aio (agio). áyaf. holy. 312b.  
 alæned. lent. 215h.  
 alætan. dismiss. 217l.  
 alende (alænde). 353t.  
 aldgeryhto. old rights. 286m.  
 aldorman. superior officer. 286l.  
 áléfde. would remit. 42t.  
 almousend. in franc almoigne. 435.  
 ND. v. Almoign.  
 aloð. ale. 8ob, 111t, 311b.  
 alr. alder. 446l, 447t.  
 altrinsecus. in and out, promis-  
 cuously. K1278. Du Cange: "qui  
 a sese invicem longo separantur  
 locorum intervallo."  
 ályfde (áléfde). 42h.  
 álysde. redeemed, bought free. 253m.  
 amansumian. excommunicate. 378.  
 amber. m. f. measure of 4 bushels.  
 pl. ambru, 312t. Vcb. *situla*,  
*urna*, *cadus*, *lagena*, *amphora*.  
*amissa* (*admissa*), transgression. 49l.  
 amundie. protect, act as guardian  
 to. 215b, 367t.  
 an(ic-). I grant. 366h. EB. 29, 11.  
 an(on). prep. 109m, 194l.  
 anburge (onburge), for surety. 256m.

andaga. appointed day. 163b, 201b.  
 andagian. adjourn. 163b.  
 andebornisse (ende-byrdnisse).  
   rule, routine, 206m.  
 and heafod. n. heading, head-piece;  
   unploughed head-land of a field.  
   370t, 380h. SV. 380.  
 Andscoresham. L. 33t.  
 anfengre. more acceptable. 251b.  
 Angemæriúgtun. Angmering, Suss.  
   147t.  
 angild. n. "simple payment" T. p.  
   130n. BC353.  
 ann. he grants. 251l. EB. 29, 11.  
 Anninga dun. Annington, Suss.  
   193m.  
 annuo = ic ge-an. K932.  
 anstigo. path (uphill ?). 166.  
 anstigon. 166.  
 ansyne. countenance. 341l.  
 anweald. m. sway, empire. 202m.  
 anwed. pledge, security. K499.  
 anxietates. burdens, worries. 412h.  
 aparade. 164m. "discovered" T.  
 apocrifas. unauthentic. 433t.  
 Apsleavinga. g. pl. Apsley, Bedf.  
 apulder. apple-tree. 179l, 373h, 445h.  
 ár. f. a large estate, "honour." 203,  
   224l, 226h, 349l. land ár. lxxx.  
 árædan. read out loud. 145r.  
 aræden. decided. 286l.  
 aratrum. land measure. 33t. SV. 395.  
 archisacerdos. archbishop. 93t.  
 áreccan. pronounce. 145l.  
 árful. gracious. 42h.  
 armuríolum. cabinet. K816.  
 armentum. ox.  
 arpenna. BC785. ND. v. Arpent.  
 asa. ? ass. 450h. ND. v. Ass.  
 ásitian. apprehend. 230h.  
 ástiðude. came of age. K499.  
 asweartode. turned livid. 298m.  
 at (ad). to. 137h.  
 áteon. to deal with, dispose of.  
 aucupationes. rights of fowling. 58l.  
 auerian. a sort of corvée-work. 377t.  
   ND. v. Average.  
 Austan (æt). 63l.  
 Austin (æt). Aust. 12m.  
 avernus. hell. 401b.  
 áwogode. wooded.  
 áwunige for áwanige. 344l.

Axa. R. Axe, Som. 21l.  
 Axan mûða. Axmouth, Dev. 146m.  
 áð. m. oath. 213h, 286l.  
 áþum. son-in-law. 264m. Gídam.  
 Bacegeat. Hants. 290l.  
 Bacganleáh. Bagley, nr. Oxford.  
   375h.  
 Badalacing. Balking, Berks. K1165.  
   1247.  
 Baddanbyrig. Badby, Nhants. 178h.  
 Badimyncgtun. Badminton, Glou.  
   444h.  
 bæc. m. beck, brook. 373l, 379b.  
 Bæcceshora. 304m.  
 bæd. requested. 201b, 217l. EB. 16,  
   12.  
 Bæddeswella. nr. Broadway, Worc.  
   450h.  
 bæren. barn. 351h. ND. v. Barn.  
 bærlíce. adj. of barley. K1257.  
 -bæro, -bero. n. pl. (?) swine-pasture  
   in woods.  
 bæst. K118. ? error for BÆC.  
 baldan hrycg. 447l.  
 Banawel. Banwell, Som. 430h.  
 bara broc. 449l.  
 basileus. king. 293t.  
 basilica. church. 333m.  
 bát swegen. boat-swain. 254t.  
 Bapum (æt). Bath. 56m.  
 be. prep. about, by, on pain of. 230l.  
 beád. offered. 203. EB. 16, 8.  
 Beaddingtun. Bedhampton, Hants.  
 beah. ring, coil, bracelet, 365b.  
 Bealdan hema. Baldon, Oxf. 395h.  
 beam. tree. 210h. 289.  
 Beansetum. 113n.  
 Bean stede. Banstead, Surr. 182l.  
 ——— Bunstead, Hants. 290h.  
 Beardestapl. Barnstaple, Dev. 421l.  
 bearn. n. child, bairn. 145t, 212.  
 bearnum. dat. pl. bearn.  
 bearo. m. wood, copse.  
 Bearruc scyre. Berkshire. 342l.  
 Beathum (æt). Bath. 56h.  
 Beber burne (= Beferburne K).  
   beaver-stream.  
 bec. n. beck, stream. 294b. (m.) 448h.  
 béc. f. dat. beech. N. p. 461.  
 béc. dat. sg. bóc. EB. 32, 25.  
 beccan léah. 446t.

- becwēðan. bequeathe. 145h, 147l, 148h.  
 bed. n. plot, bed. See risc-bed, wiðig-bed.  
 beden. pt. begged. 42t. EB. 16, 12.  
 Bederices wyrp. Bury St. Edmunds, Suff. 215b.  
 Bedewindan. Bedwin, Wilts. 146h.  
 be gá. attend to. 109h.  
 Begcebyra. Bedgebury, Kent. 96l.  
 begitan. acquire. 215l, 220t. BC529.  
 behéfre = *utilior*. K1070.  
 beleác. settled. 212h. EB. 20, 3.  
 belimpoð. belongeth. 289l.  
 bella. bells. 250l.  
 bén (synd) K1114.  
 bēn. f. petition. 42h.  
*beneficiūm*. beneficiary lease. 129l.  
 benioðan. beneath. 121.  
 Bennanham. Benham, Brks. 196m.  
 be nuge. have full right of. 109l. EB. 29, 24.  
 beocere. beemaster. 276h; *apiarius*, Vcb.  
 beod. table. 136b.  
 beóð ern. n. table-hall, refectory.  
 beóð land. land to supply the table.  
 Beoleah. ? Beoley, Worc. 449t.  
 Beohhæma. g. pl. Beckenham, Kent? 210m.  
 béon. summoned. K499. EB. 16, 5.  
 Beorchámstede. K39.  
 Beorcingas. Barking, Essex. 367l.  
 Beorgan stede. Bersted, Sussex. 281b.  
 beorh, beorg. m. hill, mount. 121, = *tumulus*, 284t, 383b. Berg.  
 beornena. g. pl. coats of mail. 222b.  
 Beornwoldes sætan. 447m.  
 Beowa. Nm. 166l.  
 -bera. wood-pasturage. 96l.  
 berascin. "bear-skins" (T). 250m.  
 berde. d. beard. 257t.  
 Bereueg. Berwick, Kent. 18h.  
 berewíc. f. barley-yard, hamlet. 302l, 340m. ND. v. Berewick.  
 beridan. seize, occupy. 297l.  
 bern, barn, 377h.  
 beswic. deceit. 338t.  
 betæht. part. committed, given up to. 230m, 244l.  
 bétan. amend. 230m, 231h.  
 betechan (betæcan). commit, entrust. 347t. ND. v. Beteach (and Betake).  
 betéon. dispose of. 240m. ND. v. Betee.  
 beweddade. engaged. 286l.  
 bewiotige. Ksh. procure. 109h.  
 bewitan. see to, execute. 212t.  
*bibliotheca*. The Bible. 313t. ND. v. Bible.  
 Bican stapul. K180.  
 bice. bitch (Vcb.). 197b, 383l.  
 Bidelinga. g. pl. Bidlington in Bramber, Suss. 193l.  
 bige. m. bend. 386l.  
 bigleofa (bileofa), 249b.  
 bilæua (bileofa). 341m.  
 bilefa (bileofa). 340h.  
 bileofa. support. 249b, 302l.  
 biling broc. 448h.  
 binemned. declared. 111r.  
 binnan. within. ~port, in town. 244t.  
 binnan eá. between two streams: cf. Latin *Interamna*. 99h.  
 biode. table, refectory.  
 Biohahema (Beohhæma). 289l.  
 birigels. burial-place. 294l, 379b.  
 bisceop ham. a bishop's residence. 365m.  
 biscop stol. bishop's seat, See. 249m, 286l.  
 bituihn. between. 96b.  
 biwindla. 352m.  
 Bladaen. R. Bladen, Worc. 20m.  
 blæc pyt. naphtha pit (Vcb.). 383l. ND. v. Bleak, Bleach.  
 blæd horn. blast horn. 225b.  
 Blean Heanhric. Blean forest, Kent. 410l.  
 blæda. 365h.  
 Bleobyrigdūn. Blewbury Down, Berks. 379h, 389l.  
 bletsing bōc. *benedictionale*. 250l.  
 Blife. R. 179t.  
 blōd wite. n. fine for drawing blood by violence.  
 Bobingseata. K175.  
 bōc. f. book, charter, conveyance. 177l, 251t.  
 boc aceras. chartered fields. 414h.  
 Bocking. Bocking, Ess. 215m.  
 bōc holt. beech-wood. 142mN. 284l.

- bōcland. land held by written title.  
   134t, 146r, 148h, 149m, 150r,  
   158m, 208h.  
 bocte (bohte). bought. 253m.  
 bodlaik. ordinance. 4361N.  
 boec. Ksh. books. 127b.  
 boega. Ksh. of both. 80l.  
 Boerlingas. Byrling, Kent. 60m.  
 bohscylð. 226l.  
 bohte. bought. 253l. EB. 28, 7.  
 bold. m. a building.  
 bonda. man, "husband." 265t.  
 bordriðig. 450h.  
 borh. m. security, debt, obligation.  
   223r, 228b, 241h, 255. ND. v.  
   Borrow.  
 Borh steall. Bostal, Kent. B.  
 Bosan hangra. K1136.  
 Bosen hangra. K752.  
 bót. amends. 42l; mending. 189t.  
   ND. v. Boot sb.  
 botl. n. building, dwelling. Büttele.  
 box. box-tree. 355m.  
 Boxora. Boxford, Berks. 196m.  
 Bradan laeh. Maiden Bradley, Som.  
   26m.  
 bradan stane (æt). broad stone.  
   255h.  
 brad ford. 447h.  
 Brad ham. large farmstead. 446l.  
 bradiola. K277.  
 Brad leah. Bradley, Worc. 447h.  
 Bradweg. Broadway, Worc. 450t.  
 bræce. ? brake. 393h.  
 bræd (brægd). guile. 337b.  
 Bramcæstre. Brancaster, Norf. 343l.  
 Brancescumb. Branscombe, Dev.  
   146m.  
 brand. sword. 225b.  
 Bregentford. Brentford, Midd.  
   56m.  
 bremer. bramble. 164, 184l.  
 bremel. bramble. 166l. EP. § 316.  
 bremer leah. bramble field. 448l.  
 Bremes grafa. Bromsgrove, Worc.  
   69m.  
 Breodun. Bredon, Worc. 56m. 313m.  
 brer hlæw. briar low. 450h.  
 bróc. m. brook. 182b, 296h, 446h.  
 brocc. badger. 239l.  
 Brocces ham. Brocksham, Kent.  
   210l, 289b.  
 Brocceslæd. K660.  
 Brochyl. Worc. K.? badger hill.  
   30l.  
 brocian. moleat, hurt. 145t, 148l.  
 Brocnanbyrh. 306m.  
 Brombrige, Hants. 290l.  
 Bromgeard. Bromyard, Heref. 118r.  
 Bromgeheg. Kent. 54m.  
 Bromleaginga. g. pl. of Bromley  
   folk. 289.  
 Bromleah. Bromley, Kent. 220m.  
 broðor ræden. f. confraternity. 264b.  
 Bru. Brue R. Som. 426h.  
 bryce. m. use, usufruct. 219l, 221t.  
 brycg. f. bridge.  
 brycg geleagan. 447h.  
 bryd broc. ? bird-brook. 447h.  
 bryde wyllan. 449t.  
 bryn (Welsh). hill. 267t.  
 Brynes fleet. 282l.  
 brytænwalda = *rector Britanniae*.  
   358l, 359l.  
 Bryt fordingea. Britford, Wilts.  
   185t.  
 brytnian. distribute. 81t.  
 Buegan ora. Bognor, Suss. 281b.  
 Bucysheal. Buxhall, Suff. 367t.  
 Bulan ham. nr. Higham, Kent. B.  
   51b.  
 bule. m. ? *bulle*. 221m.  
 búr bærd. boor-born. K1079.  
 burg hege. castle fence. BC. 630.  
 Burgwaramedum (on). 130l, 414h.  
 burh brice. m. breaking into castle  
   or house, burglary.  
 burh geard. castle court. 328b.  
 burh-ðegn. m. thane of borough.  
   K857, T361. Cf. scír-ðegn.  
 burh weal. K61.  
 burh wella. K274. CR. 40n.  
 búr land. 384l.  
 burn stow. 373b.  
 burna. m. small stream, bourn. 200.  
 burne. f. the same. K. 549.  
 Burne. Bourn, Kent.  
 buruh, burh. f. fortified house or  
   town; borough, burgh, -bury  
   Burg.  
 butan. besides. 287m.  
 Buter mere. Buttermere, Wilts.  
   168b.

but putt. K416.  
*butta*, butt, firkin. 119t.  
 Bydenhæma. Beedon, Berks. 373h.  
 Byderices wyrð. Bury Abbey. 365l.  
 Bydictún. 101l.  
 byge. m. bend, turn. 371t, 376l.  
 byht. m. angle, bight. K308.  
 byligan fen. 446h.  
 -byras. m. pl.? brakes, copses.  
 BC339.  
 Byrætun. Layer Breton, Ess. B.  
 366b.  
 byre. wood-pasturage. 96l. 293l.  
 byrigels. m. burial, grave.  
 byrnan scylf. 449lN.  
 byrst. n. burst, break in hill-side.  
 K559.  
 Byrstan. 402h.  
 byrðen. f. load, charge, duty. K942.  
 bysmor. disgrace, scandal. 164m.  
 bytme. f. bottom. K136; where  
 "bytine" is wrong.  
 bytt. K571. ? target, "the butts."  
 Byxlea. Bexley, Kent. 95h.

Cadan mynster. 450h.  
 Cæafle. Cheveley, Camb. 368h.  
 Cæges ho. Cashiobury, Herts. 397h.  
 Cælic hyth. Chelsea, Midd. 47h.  
 Cæorles weorp. Chelsworth, Suff.  
 200l.  
 Cæresige. Kersey, Suff. 369h.  
 Cærswyl. Cresswell. K442.  
 Cært. Chart Sutton, Kent. 96l.  
 cæse. cheese. 80b.  
 cald wyll. cold well. 445m.  
 calewan. 95l. 174h. calu.  
 caliceas. chalices. 250h.  
 calu. bald, bare, callow. 8uþf. 95l.  
 174h.  
 camp (*campus*?). field, plain. 183t.  
 candel-sticcan. candlesticks. 250m.  
 canter kæppa. 'chanter-copes' (T)  
 250m.  
 canter stafas. 'chanter-staves' (T)  
 250m.  
 Cantuc. Quantock, Som. 146h.  
*captura piscium*. fishing rights. 12l.  
 Cantwara burh. Canterbury. 365h.  
*caraxare*. to write. 314m, 317t.  
 Carn nŕð bran. in Cornwall. 296h.

Carn wlicet. Csh. 296h.  
*carraba*. cart-load. 288h.  
 Carrec wynn. Csh. white stone.  
 296h.  
*cartula*, land-charter. K177.  
 Carumtún. Carhampton, Som. 146h.  
*casallis*. 112m.  
*cassatus*. a hide of land. SV. 395.  
*castellum*. city, town. 60h.  
*casula*. hut. 19b.  
 Catmæringa. Catmore, Berks. 370l.  
 Catringatún. Catherington, Hants.  
 226l.  
 Cattan eg. 294r.  
*causæ*. things. Ital. *cosa*, Fr. *chose*:—  
*causæ publicæ*, the three neces-  
 sary burdens. 48h.  
 Ceadelan wyrð. Chaddleworth,  
 Berks. 196m.  
 ceafor. cockchafer. 446t.  
 Cealc mere. Chalk-mere. ? 282b.  
 cealc pyt. chalk-pit. K593.  
 cealc seað. chalk-pit. 449b.  
 Cealcweallas. Chalkwells, Glou. 41l.  
 cealf. calf. 294b.  
 Cealf loca. Challock, Kent. 111h.  
 ceáp. cattle. 148b; bargain. 247r.  
 ceap stræt BC630.  
 Cear wyl. Charwelton, Nhants.  
 179b.  
 ceastel (L. *castellum*). village, huts.  
 166m.  
 -ceaster (L. *castrum*). f. -caster,  
 -chester, -cester; city.  
 Ceddanelah. 289l.  
 Celchyth. 61b, 398h.  
 celd. n. a copious spring, "Keld"  
 (N. England) K. Quelle.  
*celia*. 119t. ale. Plin. xxii fin;  
 Florus ii. 18; Oros. v. 7; = ælað,  
 Felix *Vita S. Guðlaci*. Prompt.  
 Parv. pp. 9. 193.  
 Cendefer. Candover, Hants. 146l.  
 cennan. to declare, prove. 201.  
*census*, revenue. 315b.  
*centurio*. ? hundredes ealdor. 273l.  
 Ceodre. Cheddar, Som. 146h.  
 Ceolbolding tun. Chilbolton,  
 Hants. 290m, 356h.  
 Ceolselden. ? Chiseldon, Wilts. 351t.  
 Ceolsig. Cholsey, Berks. (*pron.*  
 Choseley) 365h.

ceorl. 229h, 351h, lxvff.  
 Ceorlagráf. Chalgrove, Oxon. 292h.  
 Ceorla tun. Charlton. 281b.  
 Ceorles wyrð. Chelsworth, Suff.  
 200l, 365l.  
 Ceortesege. Chertsey, Sur. 150h.  
 SC. i. 171n.  
 cepe. purchase-money. 254h.  
*cespes*. turf, sod. 50t. 66h, BC296.  
*cessus* (*census*). 56b. Du Cange in v.  
 Cestel merit. Kestlemerris in S.  
 Keverne, Cornwall. 296m.  
 Cétwudu. Chetwood, Bucks. 371m.  
 Cifan leah. Chieveley, Berks. 196  
 m. 373h.  
 Cigel marc. Chilmark, Wilts. 428l.  
 Cildatún. Chiltern, Berks. 393h.  
 Cilla rið. Childrey, Berks.  
 Ciltacumb. Chilcomb, Hants. 349h.  
 Cilte wudes gemæro. Chiltern  
 Forest (K). 373h.  
 Ciollan den. Chillenden, Kent.  
 109h.  
 cipa. 263m. chapman (T).  
 circan lād. K530.  
*circius*. the North. 51b. Du Cange :  
 "in iis [old deeds] *Circius* pro  
 Borea seu Aquilone sepiissime ac-  
 cipiendus est." Old French *Cier*,  
*cerce*, *cierce*, *ciers*; Roquefort.  
*circianus*. 822b.  
 circ steal. church place. K559.  
 circic. ? cross. 449t.  
 circic sceat. church-due at Martin-  
 mas (Nov. 11). See Schmid.  
 circic sócn. church privilege, sanc-  
 tuary, jurisdiction.  
*cirographum*. conveyance, 65b, 196t,  
 216b. xliii.  
*Civitas Aeamani*. Bath. 416.  
*Civitas Scrobensis*. Shrewsbury.  
 160l.  
 Ciwtún. Chewton, Som. 146h.  
 Clæne feld. Hants. 291h.  
 clénun legere. consecrated grave.  
 203.  
 Cleara. Clere, Hants. 146l, 361h.  
*cleronomus*. heir. 208. 293h.  
 clif. n. cliff. 450t.  
 Clifwara. Cliffe, Kent. 55r.  
 clito. cild, ædeling 323h. K457.  
 cliwen. skein, 377m.

Clofeshoas. *where?* 36bN, 63l, 65l,  
 68m, 72h, 286h, 453.  
 clofenan beorh. cloven hill. 293l.  
 Cloppaham. Clapham, Sur. (K).  
 149l.  
 clop hyrst. 450t.  
 clot. clot-bur; *Arctium lappa*. 445m.  
 clud. mass, lump, clod. K408.  
 cniht. m. boy, page, 'knight.' 219b,  
 225l, 227t, 228b, 238l, 241t, 366  
 m. Ruedt. SC. i. 156. lxxi.  
 cnol. m. knoll. 248m, 267t, 381m.  
 Cobba ham. Cobham, Kent.  
 Coccham. Cookham, Berks. 66r.  
 Cochan feld. Cockfield, Suff. 367l.  
 Cohhanfeld = Cochan feld.  
 col. coal. 446l.  
 Colanhomm. Colham, Midd.  
 Coll. Cole R. Worc. 449m.  
*collectaneum*. 250l.  
 Colles hyl. Coleshill, Wilts.  
 Colling. Cooling, Kent. 51b.  
 coll pytt. coal-pit, Bedf. 206l.  
 Colne. Earls Colne, Essex. 367m.  
 Columtún. Collumpton, Dev. 146l.  
*comes*, 24t, 29m, 31h, 33r, 47b, 50l,  
 83l, 96l, 285m, 291l, 295t.  
*commodando commodant*, of leasing  
 land. BC648; not in Du Cange.  
*communio*. common. 134, 336b.  
*communis terra*. folc-land. 394l.  
*concivis societas*. BC905.  
*congestio*. collecting troops. 283.  
*conlaterana*. consort. 442h, 451h.  
*comparatio*. 284l.  
*conprehensio*. capture. 120m.  
*Constabularius*. 348t.  
*contenditum*. 64t.  
*contra*. in exchange for. BC536,  
 638.  
 copped. polled, pollarded. 351b.  
 Corf. Corfe Castle, Dor. 427t.  
 corn. corn. 312t.  
*corographum* (*chirographum*). 161l.  
 Corsa burna. in Wilts. (K). 151.  
 coruan. Csh. circle-place. 296h.  
*Corviniensis*. Ramsbury, Wilts.  
 K737.  
*costes pæs* ~ ðe, on condition that.  
 217b.  
 cot. n. cot, cottage. 388r, 394m.  
 K551.

cotlif. n. hamlet. 302l, 340h.  
 cotstow. hamlet. 385b.  
 cotu. pl. cot. K551.  
 cræfede. demanded. 259m.  
 cræfinge. d. claim, demand. 259l.  
 Cræga. Cray, Kent. 212r.  
 Cræge, R. Cray, Kent. 95r.  
 cram pul. 447m.  
 Crancfeldinga. Cranfield, Bedf. 206l.  
 crauigge = cræfinge. 258m.  
 cravantise. submission. 436b.  
 Craweleainga. Crawley, Hants. 290l.  
 cregsetna. 289.  
 Cridia. R. Creedy, Dev. 421t.  
 Cridiamton, Crediton, Dev. 421l.  
 cristel mæl. n. christian sign, cross. 294l.  
 cristel mæl beām. 385b.  
 Crochyrsta. 381l.  
 croft. m. small field. 239m. BC. 954.  
 Croglea. Crowle, Worc. 113l.  
 Crombe. Croom d' Abitot, Worc. 444t.  
 Croptun. Crofton, Kent. B.  
 Cruærn. Crewkerne, Som. 146m.  
 cruc. Csh. ? hill or cross. 296r.  
 Cruc wæð. Grugith, Cornw. 296m.  
 crundel 190b, 294l, 353bN.  
 Crundelas. Crondall nr. Farnham, Hants. K595.  
 Crymes ham. Sussex. 281b.  
 Cuces ham. Cuxham, Ox. K311, 691.  
 Cucolan stán. 338m.  
 Culeford. Culford, Suff. K691.  
 culfre. dove. 445m.  
 Culinga. Cowling, Kent. 55r.  
 Culum. R. Culm, Devon. 327h.  
 Culumstocce. Culmstock, Devon. 328h.  
 cumb. m. a combe. Welsh *cwm*. 179r, 184l, 446m.  
 cumb. a liquid measure. 311b.  
 Cumbhæma. Combes, Suss. 129m.  
 Cumbringtun. Comberton, Worc. 443b.  
 cum feorm. f. entertainment for travellers. K261, T102.  
 Cunden. Combden, Kent. 96l.  
 cunnian. try. 163l.  
 cup. m. (n.) ? a hollow. K149.

cuppa. cup. 365h.  
 curagulus. caretaker, chief, 173mN.  
 curs. malediction, curse. 253h.  
 curtis. f. court, mansion. 317r.  
 cust Leah. 447l.  
 Cupenes dūn. Cuddesdon, Ox. 291l. K1053.  
 cwæb. quag, marsh. Fr. quab. K547.  
 cwealm stow. f. killing-place. 290l. K1053.  
 cwic. living. 148b, 149l.  
 Cwicelmes hlæw. Scuttham fly barrow, over Wantage. 391h.  
 cwide. m. will, testament. 212l, 217r, 222l, 365h.  
 cwideleas. intestate. 212m.  
 Cwyrnburna. R. mill burn. 200b. nr. Chelsworth, Suff.  
 cyl. ? enclosure (K). 82l.  
 cyld (child). child, children. 254t.  
 Cylfantūn. Chillington, Som. (K). 146h.  
 Cylling cote. Kilcot, Glou. 444h.  
 Cymesinc. Kensington, Kent. 101h.  
 cynehām. royal manor. 41l.  
 cyne hlaford. royal lord. 221l.  
 cyne rihta. g. pl. royal prerogatives. 202.  
 cynescipe. royalty. 230l.  
 Cynete. R. Kennet. 394m.  
 Cynetan burh. Kintbury. 168l.  
 Cynges byrig. Kingsbury, Mid. (K). 222b.  
 Cynges steort. K556.  
 Cynibre. Kinver, Staf. 29h.  
 cyniges heiweg. 'The king's highway,' 130l.  
 Cyninges cua lond. king's cows' land. Kent. K201.  
 Cyninges tūn. Kingston. Sur. 119t.  
 cynlic. fitting. 81b.  
 cýping. fair, market. 231l.  
 cyre. choice, 148l.  
 cyrelif. 1481N.  
 cyresceat. 'church-shot' (T.). 236t, 353t.  
 cyric sceat. 236t.  
 cyricstede. K571. 587.  
 cyrstel mæl. cross. 379m, 380m.  
 cysa. g. pl. cheeses. 312t.  
 Cysse stan. Keston, Kent. K700.  
 cyste. chest. 250l.



Cyta sihtes ford. nr. Welford, Brks.  
190l.

Cystaninga, *id.*

cyt weras. 376r.

cyð. makes known. 256l.

dæd. deed. 298m.

dægee. f. dairy-woman.

dægfeorm. f. day's provision. 226t.

Dægles ford. Daylesford, Worc.  
20m.

dæl. n. dell. 235t, K559. 595.

dælan. distribute. 215l.

dælnemencg. participation. 42m.

daenberis. 50m, 59t.

dapsilitas. profusion, bounty. 172h.

datalicū (? dotalicū), dowry. K1305.

Deccan haam. Degenham, Ess. 13b.

Deccet. Datchet, Buck. K693.

decenouelis. 295b.

decimatio. tithing. 336l.

decusatim. becomingly, decently.  
450m. Du Cange: 'honorabiliter,  
apte.'

dei = dæg. day. K238.

del. valley. 290l, 448t.

demandavit. gave orders. 84h.

deme. ordeal. 439t.

den. n. lair, swine-pasture. 176r,  
210l, 289l, 381m.

denbera = *pascua porcorum*, 126l,  
134h, 174h.

Dene(æt). Dean, Hants. 146m.

denepyt. K1177. ? danehole.

Denices wyrð. Denchworth, Berks,  
196m.

Denmearcon. Denmark. 230t.

denu. f. valley. 200l, 291h, 293l,  
387m, 448l.

Deopford. Defford, Worc. 443b.

Deone(æt). Downton. Wilts. 146m.

Deoran treow. nr. Welford, Berks.  
190l.

Deorham. Dyrham, Glou. 449t.

Deormodesæld tūn. Dormston,  
Worc. 444h.

deorwyrðe. valuable. 250l.

Derantūn. Darenth, Kent.(K). 171l.

Dertan. R. Dart. 266m.

deu mæn. Csh. ? two stones. 296h.

díc. m. dyke, ditch. 120, 449l.

—f. 166r, 449b.

dictitare. to draft a deed. 283.

Dictun. Fenny Ditton, Camb. 365l.

difficultas. burden. 112m, 137l.

Dilingtūn. 5h.

Dilingbróc. 5l.

Dinra beorh. 383b.

Diorente. R. Darent, Kent. 101h,

diso pegn. dish-thane, i.e. steward.

seneschal, *dapifer*, *discifer*. 226l;  
KS. ii. 109.

*discretus*. decisive. 60l.

*discus*. dish. 313l.

*dispendium*. loss. 65.

*diuise*. boundaries. 330l.

*documentum*. deed, bōc. 68l.

Doddaford. Dodford, Nhants.

Doddanford. *id.* 178h.

Doddinchyrne. Rochester. 332l.

dogor. day. Ksh. 109l.

dohtig. competent, 'doughty.' 229h.

EP. § 283.

dolh. 357h.

*dolia*. salt pans. 444m.

dóm. judgment, sentence. 202m,  
212l.

Domraham. Damerham, Wilts 148l,  
365h.

dōr. n. gate, pass. 250t. 447h.

Dorhurst. Deerhurst, Glou. 340h.

Dornwarana ceaster. Dorchester,  
Dors. 120l.

*Dorobernia*. Canterbury. 186l.

Dorobreui = *civitas* Roß. 412hN.

*dotionem*. endowment. 137m.

Douorcort. Dovercourt, Essex. 366b.

dréam. joy, happiness. 221l.

dreogan. sustain, conduct. 243l.

Ducan seað. duck's pit. K308.

Duclingtun. Ducklington, Oxf.  
386h.

Dumeltan. Dumbleton, Glou. (K).  
219h.

dún. m.f. down, hill, moor. 248; adv.  
235t.

dun. dun (colour). K1129; adv. 253t.

Dunningland. Donyland, Essex.  
366m.

Dúnhám. Downham, Norf. 344h.

Dún tūn. Downton, Wilts. 184m.

dux. ealdorman. 20t, 38b, 149m. SC.  
§ 49, 66.

Dyddanhám. Tidenham, Glou. 375b.

Dydimere tun. Didmarton, Glou.  
dynestede. K535.  
Dyrnan ford. Worc. 449m.  
Dyrn geat. nr. Ham, Wilts.  
dyrnunga. slyly. 297b.  
dyrstig. audacious. 230m, 231r,  
378h.

eá. f. river, stream.  
éaca. addition, 249b.  
Eadbrihting tun. ? Abberton,  
Worc. 444t.  
ealað. ale. 351h.  
Ealdanbyri. Oldbury on the Hill,  
Glou. 444h.  
ealdefader. grandfather. 346r.  
eald land. ?ēðel. 327m.  
ealdor. governor. K563.  
ealdordom. chief authority. 219b.  
Vch. *ducatus, primatus*.  
ealdorman. 193b, 202l, 217m, 230m.  
SC. § 49.

ealdum timan(on-). 302b.  
ealh. m. edifice, temple.  
Ealh fleet. 90l.  
eam. uncle. 277t. *Dheim*.  
earace. watercourse. K1064.  
Earhið. Erith, Kent. 212h.  
earn. eagle. 184m, 289h.  
eard. dwelling-place. 164l.  
earðe. d. "crop" (T). 149b.  
earð lond. arable. 208h. BC608.  
Easterege. Eastry, Kent. 82h.  
Easterne. Easter-tide. 344m.  
eawa. g. pl. ewes. 109l.  
eaðmodlice. humbly. 69l.  
Eccantreo. 449t.  
*ecclesiasticum jus*, 317m.  
Eecyneg tūn. Eckington, Worc.  
443b.

éce. perpetual. 195m.  
ecg. m. edge. 389t, 447t.  
Ecgheanglond. 89b.  
ecnys. eternity. 253l.  
edesc, edisc. m. pasture, *edish*,  
*etch*. 101h, 385t, 447t. SV. 377.  
edgift. restitution. K499.  
*edis* (*ædes*). church. 450l.  
edmeltid. K1088.  
ednywon. newly. 185.  
efese. edge of wood, *eaves*. 166l.  
-eg, -ig. f. island.

ege. fear, awe. 145l.  
egeslic. dreadful. 217l.  
egsan mor. awful moor. 450t.  
eige. d. island. 206.  
eihwelc. 106. Kentish for *ægh-*  
wilc.  
eftum. d.pl. eyots. 302b.  
elebeam. ? elder or privet, 379l.  
ellen. elder-tree. 386l.  
ellen stub. elder stump. 293b.  
ellen styb. 389t.  
emniht. equinox. 351h, 353t.  
ende. district, region. 230m.  
endemes. unanimously. 299t.  
Enede mere. duck pool (nr. Bex-  
ley). 95l. *Ente*.  
Enedford. Endford, Wilts. 356h.  
englisc. English. 250b.  
enta hlæw. hill of the dwarfs. K752.  
Eoccem. Oak R. Berks. 381b, 387l.  
Eofes ham, Eoues ham. Evesham  
Abbey, Worc. 235l.  
Eomer. Nm. 446m.  
eorl. 229l. lxvff. Vgf. v. Jarl.  
eorð. earthen fort. 327h. burh.  
eorð byrg. earth-fort. 327h, 391h.  
eorð geberst. land-slip. 379b.  
Eowniglād. Evenlode, Worc.  
*epactæ*. Epacts. 295b.  
*erecta fides*. orthodoxy. BC410.  
erfes. heir-land. 149; PL192.  
erndian. send word. 69b.  
ers (*perso*). 445b.  
ersc. m. ? stubble-field. 282b, 290l.  
Eisne. Nm. 120l.  
est. favour, grace. 223b, 337l.  
et (*æt*). at. 102b, 126t, 130l, 286l,  
315l.  
etelond. pasture. BC524.  
Exan mynster. Exminster, Dev.  
146l.  
eyt. river-islet. 340m.

faceað. BC630.  
*facescunt*. 173; not in Du Cange.  
fadian. dispose of. T522.  
fæles græf. 447m.  
fæsten dīc. fort-ditch. 95h.  
fæsting men. officers on King's  
errand (T). 100b, 112m.  
fagan floran. K340.  
fah. spotted, dappled. 226l.

fald. fold. 290b, 448h.  
 faldwurði. 343b.  
*faleratus*. embossed, furnished. 313l.  
 BC524.  
 falod. m. fold, stable. 166l, 172h.  
*familia* = hired, the conventual family.  
 faðan. K1293; dative (bad form) of faðu. maternal aunt.  
 Fealuweslea. Fawsley, Nhants. 179m.  
 Fearnbiorginga. Farnborough, Kent. 289m.  
 Fearn hām. Faruham, Sur. 129.  
 Fearn lege. Farleigh, Kent. 150b.  
 fearnlesuue = *pascua porcorum regis*, K277 [? fearu-].  
 Feaxum. nr. Reculver, Kent. 188l.  
 Febresham. Faversham, Knt. 126l.  
 Fefres ham. *id.* 90m.  
 fehta. 126m.  
 feld land. K529.  
 Felh ham. Felpham, Sus. 147t.  
 fen, fæn. n. mud, dirt, *fen*. 241r, 446h.  
 feoh, feo. n. money. 220b. 223r.  
 feorm. f. rent in kind. 111m, 212l.  
 feorm fultum. aid of refection. 150h.  
 feormian. supply with food. 169r.  
 feower wegas(on). 254. 255. 256.  
 ferd socn. 242m.  
 ferdwite (fyrd wite). 343m.  
 ferðwurðe. fit for fyrd. 343b.  
 festingmen. 313l.  
 fetel. sheath. 215m.  
 Fífác. Five Oaks. 309h.  
 fíht wite. n. penalty for fighting. 343m.  
 filican. 389h; ? *fulica*, coot.  
 findan. arrange. 244h.  
 Fingringa hō. Fingringhoe, Essex. 367b.  
 finie. limit. 354t, 355m, 363t.  
 fird wæn. travelling carriage. 250l.  
 fírhde. n. 96b.  
 Físces burna. 16l.  
 Físcnæs. K179.  
 Fítela. Nm. 357l.  
*fixæ res*. immovable property. 397h.  
 fíxnoc. fishing, fishery. K1097.  
 flæscmangere. butcher. 364m.  
 fleáh. fled. 164m.  
 Fleferð. Flyford, Worc. 446h.

fleot. running stream, *fleet*. 121.  
 flexacyras. flax-fields. 385b.  
 flíce. flitch. 80b.  
 flit gara 357l.  
 flód. m. flood. Vcb.  
 flóda. m. flood. K535.  
 flóde. f. flood. 120.  
 flóðhammas. K224.  
 flota. fleet, 217h.  
 flotan rycc. 447l.  
 flýma. banished man. 164l.  
 flymena fyrmð. f. runaway-harbouring. 233t.  
 Focginga byra. Hockenbury, Kent. 96l.  
 folc land. public land. 126m (n), 150m.  
 folc ryht. common law. 141h, 145l.  
 Folcunining land. in Eastury, Kent. 82r.  
 folgað. following, followers. K557.  
*fone*. *φωνή*, voice, 362b.  
*fonnis*. 8m. Not in Du Cange; perhaps from *fani* before it was changed by umlaut to *fen*. EP. § 127.  
 foran ongen. over against. 391h, 392t.  
 for béh. eluded. 201b. EB. 76, 10.  
 for berstan. go by default. 201.  
 ford. m. ford. 206.  
 for dealf. delved. 120b. EB. 17, 15.  
 for déman. prejudice. 145l.  
 fore. for. 80h.  
 for ealdod. decayed. 251t.  
 fore cyddon. made it known to. K1302.  
 forespæc. f. advocacy. 274.  
 forespeca. advocate. 162b, 217r, 221.  
 forespræc. advocacy. K492.  
 forestall. 340b, 343l. See Schmid, Gesetze v. forsteal.  
 foreword. agreement, bargain, covenant. 220l, 223h, 228m.  
 forewyrð. pl. conditions. 243m.  
 forewyrðan. d. pl. 243b.  
 forfang. m. cattle-rescue. T384.  
 forgef. gave as a gift. 203.  
 forgyldan. make good, indemnify, 148m, 201b, 217b.  
 forgylt. condemned. 223b.  
 forleortan. surrendered. K313.

forn agean. fronting. 327m.  
 forstandan. signify. 147b.  
 forsteal. forstalling. 233t.  
 forwyrcean. forfeit, undo. 164l, 219,  
 238b. EB. 76, 10.  
 forwyrhtan. ruined persons. 341m.  
 forwyrnan. refuse. 298b.  
 foss. ditch, *fossa*. K136.  
 fosterland. n. land for sustenance  
 of recipient. T227.  
 foðr. load. 105t, 293b, 351m, 377h.  
 ðuber. ST641.  
 fótmael. K461.  
 franca. javelin. 215m.  
 Frencisc. French. 270b.  
 Freoðomund. Nm. 110r.  
 freodom. franchise, charter. 69l.  
 freols. m. freedom. 141h, 148l, 256l,  
 275h, 349r.  
 fréols bōc. charter. 221b.  
 freolsman. freedman. K694.  
 freondredden. friendliness. 155r.  
 Fresan tūn. Freston, Suff. 367h.  
 friadom. Ksh. charter. BC536.  
 Frigedægestreow. Friday's tree.  
 387m.  
 frigelice = *libere*. 342l.  
 frodmortell. 438h, 439t.  
 fruere (*frui*), enjoy. 96l.  
 fryð sócn. f. sanctuary.  
*fugatus* exile. 114l.  
 fugelnoð. fowling. K715.  
 fugelslæd. K556.  
 Fugel mere. fowl-mere. 166b, 449b.  
 fūl. foul. 95r, 179m.  
 Fūle wyl. muddy well. K442.  
 fulle. pl. full, complete. 250l.  
 fulgere. Ksh. full well. 111h.  
 fulliæ. Ksh. I confirm. 80h.  
 fulluht fæder. god-father. 349m.  
 fultum. help. 298l, 360r, 456l.  
 Funtgeal. Fonthill, Wilts. 168m.  
 fura. g. pl. furrows. 291b.  
 fure. g. sg. furrow. 291b.  
 furh. furrow, trench. 208l, 357r,  
 384t, 387b.  
 furh. f. fir-tree, 370mN. 386l.  
*furis comprehensio*. thief-capture,  
 338l.  
 furlang. n. furlong. 373l, 387h.  
 fyhfang (feohfang). m. guilty  
 money-taking. T411.

fylstan. support. 230m.  
 fylð. falleth. 392l.  
 fyrð. f. military levy. Veb: *castrum*,  
*expeditio*, *præparatio exercitus*.  
 fyrðsócn. f. 242m.  
 fyrðstræt. K449.  
 fyrðwite. n. fine for default as to  
 fyrð. T359.  
 fyrh. d. gully. 179h, 357l.  
 fyrhðe. ? enclosed plantation. 158m.  
 K595.  
 fyrmdig. 146h.  
 fyrs. m. furze. 266l.  
 fyt. feet. 141h.  
 fyxan dic. 120b.  
*gablum*. rent. 412l. gafol.  
 gærsuma. treasure. 249l.  
 gafelap. renteth. 215l.  
 gafol. rent. 244h, 298l, 337b, 353t.  
 gafol bære. rent-barley, 351h.  
 gafol land. let for rent. 376r.  
 gafol mæd. 351h.  
 gafol tining. hedging done as rent.  
 351m.  
 gafol wudu. firewood as rent. 351m.  
 galh treow. gallow-tree. K443.  
 Gaing. East Ginge in Wantage  
 Hd. Berks. (Gain, Dd. 8a.) 387h.  
 Gamelan wyrð. Folkestone. 181h.  
 gangdagas. Rogation Days. 344m.  
 gára. jutting *gore* of land. 23h,  
 208l, 352m, 448b.  
 gare. wf. ? 215l. K61. KS. i. 319.  
 gares ceping = *annuis nundinis*  
 344m = 346t.  
 gata. of goats. 188b.  
 Gata tūn. Gatton, Sur. 160m.  
 gauol tining. fencing for lord.  
 351m.  
*gaziferus*. lucrative. 315h.  
 geafing lace. 382m.  
 ge . . ge. both . . and. 242b.  
 geættred. envenomed. 242m.  
 geahnian. to claim. 213t.  
 geahsian. hear of, learn. 147b. EB.  
 76, 20.  
 ge an (ic~). I grant. 365r.  
 geap. spreading, 310b.  
 geard. m. enclosure, yard.  
 Geard cylle. Yorkhill, Heref. 82l.  
 gearhwamlice. annually, 226h.

geat. n. gate, opening. 357b.  
 geau for eow. 347h.  
 gebád. acquired. 299m.  
 gebécte. he booked. 202l.  
 gebeón. he summoned. 154m. EB.  
 16, 5.  
 gebétan. amend. 378m.  
 gebidan. attain, get. 299r.  
 gebirian. happen. 155l.  
 gebócian. to book land. 212t & h.  
 geboned. inlaid. 250h.  
 gebon ger. Indiction. 154m, 161l.  
 gebrocude. ruined. 145t.  
 gebruce. enjoyed. 144b. EB. 16, 27.  
 gebúr, boor. 276f, 377t. *colonus*,  
 Vcb.; ND. v. Boor.  
 gebyht. bight. 95m.  
 gebyrd. birth. 286t.  
 geceapod ceap. stipulated bargain,  
 247h.  
 gecor. n. decision. ST436.  
 gecnæwe. cognisant, aware, con-  
 scious. 217m, 229h, K874; noto-  
 rious. 213t.  
 gecnawen. acknowledged. 250h.  
 gecnawnis. acknowledgment. 265t.  
 gecyðan. declare. 286l.  
 gecweðan. agree, settle. 145t.  
 gedál land. land in divided occu-  
 pation. K1234. Ine's Laws, 42.  
 gedelf. n. a digging, quarry, trench,  
 canal, 299h.  
 geeðmedden (heo~). that they  
 would condescend. 42h.  
 geearnian. earn. 212, 236t.  
 geedfreolsade. re-chartered. 197m.  
 geérian. plough. 351h.  
 gefadod. disposed of. 366b.  
 gefera. companion. 42l. lxii.  
 geferræden. fraternity. 377b.  
 geferscipe. m. society. 264b.  
 geflit. n. contention. 165t.  
 gefór. died. 145h.  
 gefreode. freed, manumitted. 255.  
 gehæg. enclosure. 188b, 282b.  
 gehændre = *vicinior*. K1070.  
 gehagian. impers. suit. 150h. *be-*  
*hagen*.  
 geheald. guardian. T391.  
 gehwearf = *vicissitudo*, BC381.  
 geinnian. restore. 382b.  
 gelád. passage, ferry. 385h.

gelædde. conducted. 286l.  
 gelæstan. fulfil, obey. 148t.  
 gelætan. let (land). 377b.  
 gelæto. outlets, cross-ways. 292t,  
 379b.  
 geleáful. faithful. 42m.  
 geleánian. repay. 148t.  
 geleohtan. light with candles. 215l.  
 gelomlice. frequently. 42h.  
 gelyfe. imperative. believe. 299m.  
 gemaca. fellow, match. 368h.  
 gemæne. common. 224t, 364t.  
 gemænlice. 256t.  
 gemære. n. boundary. 176m, 370r.  
 gemærhaga. 388h.  
 gemærhege. ~hedge. 371l.  
 gemærlacu. boundary-stream. 387l.  
 gemæro. boundaries. 369b, 385t.  
 gemærwyl. boundary stream. K636.  
 gemána. company. 80h.  
 gemáne. wf. communion. 144l, 221l.  
 gemearcod. marked. 355m.  
 gemecca. consort. 80h, 109t.  
 geméde. n. approval, consent. 244h.  
 gemédo. covenants. 202l.  
 gemennisse (in~). K241.  
*gemina*. reiterations. 186h.  
 gemót. meeting. 286h.  
 Gemót biorh. moot-hill, nr. Canter-  
 bury. 171b.  
 gemynd. commemoration. K942.  
 gemyndian. K1097.  
 gemýðu. mouths, openings. 370m.  
 geneát. tenant who works for lord.  
 377t. *Genofte*. In Vcb. *inqui-*  
*linus*, *fasellus* (vasallus), *para-*  
*situs*. lxvi.  
 gerád. n. condition. 146r, 164t, 219r,  
 251b, 353t.  
 gerædde. took counsel. 298t.  
 geræden. f. stipulation. 144l.  
 gerædnysa. 242m.  
 geréfa. reeve. 77t. KS. ii. 151, 177.  
 gereafian. rob. 382b.  
 geræhte. directed. 286m, T201b.  
 geréf mæd. public meadow. K559.  
 geriden. seized. 298m. EB. 76, 15.  
 gerisan. be agreed on. 243l. EB. 20,  
 22.  
*germanus*. brother, 45m, 305m.  
 BC524, 571.  
 gerysnu. pl. dignities. 232l.

gerysne. fit, meet. 149t.  
 gerythe (on-). straightforward. 121.  
 gesaēh. saw. 286b.  
 gesahte. ? pleaded. 164l.  
 gesaldnis. grant. 122l.  
 gescarode. apportioned. 382l.  
 gesceawade. beheld. 286b.  
 gesceot. n. scot, payment. 265h.  
 gesceygean. to shoe. T616.  
 geseted. pt. situate. 42t.  
 geset land. let to tenants. 376m.  
 gesib. kin. 145b.  
 gesomnuncg. assembly. 80h.  
 gestaġelian. found. 221b, 341l.  
 gestōd. stood, constitutum est. 366m.  
 gesufl. 81t, 105h. See sufol.  
 gesyne. manifest. 298m.  
 geteld. tent. 223m.  
 getidde. it happened. 202.  
 getilian. earn. 350m.  
 getiġian. consent. 217b.  
 gepæf. consenting. 69b.  
 gepafa. consenting party. 144b, 163l.  
 gepafian. acquiesce, permit. 303h.  
 gepafung. consent, agreement. 42h, 353h.  
 gepeaht. counsel, purpose. 238b, 298m.  
 gepeahtung. advice. 144h.  
 geġian. 110h. ? gepiogan (T).  
 gepiogan (v.l). feed off, 286.  
 gepiagian. bargain. 337b.  
 geġristlæcan. dare. 42m.  
 gepywian. enslave. 253m.  
 geunnan. χαρίζεσθαι. 227m.  
 ge upe. granted. 212m, 349m.  
 geūde for geūtige. 340b.  
 geūtige. alienate. 303h.  
 geuueorġiæ. honour. 80r.  
 Geuuiissi. 194h. K. i. xxiv.  
 gewæald. government. 236t.  
 gewearġ . . . set. set to work. 299h.  
 gewearp (me and ~). was agreed between me and ~. 349m.  
 gewemman. pervert. 242.  
 gewitnis. witness. 155l, 202l.  
 gewoman. to obliterate. 151m.  
 gewonian. diminish. 242l.  
 gewrixl. exchange. 192t.  
 gewrit. writing, writ. 255m.  
 gewylde. adj. subject. 144, 250t.  
 gewyrda. times. 202h.

geyflade (hine-). was taken ill, he fell sick. 212l.  
 gib. Ksh. if. 102b.  
 gifeġe. granted. 109h, 110h.  
 Gifla. Ivel valley, Som. 146m.  
 gilda. guild-brother. 265t.  
 gildræden. guild-right. K942.  
 gildscipe. m. guild-brotherhood. 265r.  
 Glæstinga burh. Glastonbury. 365h.  
 Glencincg. tributary of Ledden, Wor. 447r.  
 Gleppan feld. 289l.  
 godeund. divine. 80r.  
 goddohtor. goddaughter. 221n.  
 Godelmingum. Godalming, 146b.  
 godfæder. godfather. 219.  
 goes. Ksh. geese. 80b.  
 gos fugl. goose-fowl. 111h.  
 Gōsig. Goosey, Berks. 387t, 87m.  
 græg. gray. 121t, 294b.  
 græwan stane. grey stone. 121.  
 gráf. m. ? grove. 239h, 248r, 351b, 448m, 449t.  
 grafet. n. 354r, 355h.  
 Grafon eah. Graveney, Kent. 90l.  
 Graftūn. Grafton, Worc. 444h.  
 graphium. register. 183b.  
 grauet (grafet). n. 354t.  
 gravido. 120m, 126l. =  
 gravitas. burden on land. 100b, 413l.  
 grēfan, grēfan. hole, quarry. 166b.  
 gremium. lap. 84b.  
 Grendles mere. near Ham, Wilts. 167t.  
 grestūn (gærstūn). grass enclosure. 393h.  
 grētte. greeted, challenged 286b.  
 Grimastūn. Grimstone, Norf. 240l.  
 Grimes dīc. K456.  
 grindan broc. K1063.  
 Grindel. K59, 570.  
 Grindeles pytt. Worc. K59.  
 Grindewyl. a stream. 389t, 392l.  
 Grindles bece. 448t.  
 grifbryce. m. breach of the peace. 233t, 343l.  
 grūt. meal, 'grout.' 109b. Vcb. Ūriġe.  
 grundeliesā. bottomless. 352h.  
 gundenling rycg. 448t.

Gundes stige. K209.  
 Gundwine. Nm. K957.  
 guðfana. banner. 250m.  
 gyltes. 344m = *fortisfacturas*. 345b.  
 gyltwite (gyltwite). fine for unpaid tax. K514 (vi. 240).  
 gyrð. f. ? yardland or landyard. 248h, 322b, SV92, 94. 351m, 364t, 376m.  
 Gyrðleah. Yardley, Worc. 449m.  
 gyrnde. begged. 299t.  
 hac, hæc. hatch, half-gate. 393l.  
 Hacapen. 328l.  
 haccan bróc. 380h.  
 háð. order. 221b. EP. § 326.  
 hæc weras. 376m.  
 Hædleah. Hadleigh, Suff. 369t.  
 hæg. m. hedge. K354.  
 hægræwe. hedgerow. K193.  
 hærfæst. autumn. 353t.  
 hæring. herring 378t.  
 hæringa tima. herring season. 297l.  
 hæsl wride. hazel copse. 179l.  
 hæsel ræwe. hazel row. 445l.  
 hæsl wrip. m. hazel thicket. 354m.  
 hæð. m. heath. 206m.  
 — n. 184b.  
 hæpen. heathen. 294l, 379b.  
 Hæpfeld. Hatfield, Herts. 276r.  
 hæðgara. 449m.  
 hæð halan. 445b.  
 hæð hyll. 449b.  
 hæð hricg. heath-ridge. 447t.  
 hæðiht. heathy, 309h.  
 Hæfingseota. K175.  
 haga, enclosure, 87m, 95r; town-house, 194l, 239l, 244t, 289h, 294l; = *villa*, 336l, 364r, 447h; = *civitatis habitaculum*, 402h.  
 Hagena treou. L. 410l.  
 hál. hale, sound. 202l, 212h.  
 halas. pl. HEALH. 449m.  
 haligdom. ? chapel. 218h.  
 Hallingas. Halling, Kent. 58m.  
 ham, hom. m. enclosure; pl. hammas. 377m. 386b. 387l. KS. i. 320.  
 hám, haam. *villa*, home.  
 Hama. Nm. 286l.  
 hámettan. to 'home' serfs. K1079.  
 KS. i. c8 fin.

Hamfleot. Hamfleet, Kent. 192h.  
 Hamleas sceaga. homeless wood. 354h.  
 hamm. inclosure. 282l.  
 Hamme (æt). Ham, Kent. 142t.  
 — Ham, Wilts. 166h.  
 hammum. K1177.  
 hám sócn. domus invasio. 233t, 343l.  
 hámsteal. homestead. K123.  
 ham stede. homestead. 445l.  
 hám stede. homestead. K570.  
 Ham tún. Southampton. 194l, 246m.  
 hán. f. 'hone,' stone, 174t, 294b, 357h, 380t. K1199. Vgf. Hein.  
 Hanchemstede. in Essex. 14m.  
 hand. person as holder, taker; e.g. meghond, wæpned hand, wifhand.  
 handledon. handled. K929.  
 hand lin. handcloths. 250m.  
 hand seten. signature. 141h, 145b, 163r, 353h.  
 hangra. slope. 370l.  
 hangra. hanger. 166l, 190, 363b.  
 hangwite. penalty for miscarriage of justice.  
 hár stán. hoarstone. 121t.  
 hassuc. m. coarse grass. K655.  
 hassukes more. K174.  
 Hat Bathum. Bath. 7h.  
 hatte. was named. 276.  
 háwe. m. a look-out. K161.  
 Headan scraf. 282b.  
 heafoc. hawk. 448h.  
 heáfod. n. head. 206.  
 heáfod land. head-land, 208l, 291b.  
 heáfod stoccas. 290b, K442.  
 heahdeor hund. staghound. K492.  
 heah gerefa. 370b.  
 heal. corner. 447h. Vcb.  
 healdan. hold, keep.  
 healh. m. hall. 95m. 206b, 386m.  
 healh tun. 292h.  
 healic. superior, lordly. 376b.  
 healma. of helmets. 222b.  
 Heanburg. Henbury, Glou. 12m.  
 — Harbury, Wor. 112t, 311m.  
 hean ersc. low arrish. 282b.  
 Heanhámstede. 397h.  
 Hearg. Harrow, Midd. K220.  
 hearm. harm, damage. 230r.

Hearpden. 294b.  
 heasel dic. hazle-ditch. 388h.  
 hebban. raise. 217m.  
 Hecenes hangra. K752.  
 hecge. f. hedge. 167t.  
 Hed ham. Much Hadham, Herts.  
     365m.  
 Hedleah, Hadleigh, Suff. 366h.  
 hege. m. hedge. 447m.  
 hegstow. 446h.  
 Hēgyðe ðorn. ? Eythorne, Kent.  
     75l.  
 heht, commanded. 286b. EB. 18, 33.  
 heiweg. highway. 130l.  
 hel. m. K556.  
 hela. Ksh. health. 8oh.  
 helde. slope. K987.  
 helle wite. hell-pains, 244l, 350m.  
 hemed. marriage. 109m.  
 hencgest. stallion. 221l.  
 Hengestes ig. Hinksey, Berks. 384l.  
 Henna leah. Henley, Wilts. 166l.  
 henn fugl. hen-fowl. 8ob.  
 hennuc. m. 446h.  
 heónon (v. l.). they stooped. 275m.  
 heorod. chapter, college. 161l.  
 heorot söl. hart-mire. 178l, K118.  
 heorð. hearth. 265r.  
 heorð penig. Peter's penny. T432.  
 Heorting tūn. Hardington, Som.  
     146h.  
 hera. mistress, lady. 361b.  
 herdice. 194t.  
 Heregeardingc hiwisc. Harden  
     Huish, Wilts. K270.  
 heregeat land. 220l.  
 heregeatu. heriot. 217m, 223m.  
 herepað. m. military road. 121h,  
     184m, 322l, 392t.  
 herestræt. K569.  
 heretoga. *dux*. K530, 557, 612,  
     680, 681, 682. *Herzog*.  
 herewian. scorn, spit upon. 212l.  
 herfest. autumn. 351h.  
 hergæ. d. fane. 47h.  
 Hergeardes ham. Harrietsham,  
     Kent. 247m.  
 Hermodes þorn. K174. BC279.  
 herpað ford. highway ford. 292h.  
 herpsac. Pheritage. 439h.  
 herwið. herewith. 236m.  
 hese. brushwood (K). 288m.

hiabenlic. Ksh. heavenly. 106b.  
 hic=ic. I. 226h.  
 híd. f. hide of land. 457ff.  
 Hideburninga. Headbourne, Hants.  
     290b.  
 Hige leah. Hants. 291h.  
 higen. fraternity. 286m.  
 higid. hide. 122rN. BC524.  
 higna (hina). the brethren. 226.  
 higweg. 375h.  
 hilcan. ilcan. 351h.  
 Hildes dūn. Hillersdon, Bucks.  
     (K). 371m.  
 Hildes hlæw. ? Ilsley, Berks. 274h.  
 him feowrum. them four. 147h.  
 hina. g. pl. of the brethren. 137m,  
     181l, 286mN.  
 hincstes gréfa. K597.  
 hind. ?tenth. K538, KS. i. 113.  
 Hindeslep. hind's leap. K530.  
 hired. m. conventual household,  
     chapter, 212b, 215m, 224h, 271r,  
     299h.  
 hired preost. collegiate priest, 255.  
 hirmæd. K. 461. 1097.  
 hiwe for hida, hides. 428l.  
 hiwisc. hide. 351h. = *mansa*, K454.  
     BC952. SV. 395.  
 hlabard. Ksh. lord. 102l.  
 hlæsting. toll on loading. T359.  
 hlæu. 282l. = *monticulus*, 309t.  
 hlaf-brytta. bread-spenser. 255m.  
 hlafhwæt. bread-wheat. 351h.  
 hlaford. lord. 109t, 215m, 221h.  
 hlau, hláw. m. mound, *low*. 206.  
     291b.  
 Hleap-mere. 282b.  
 Hleo byri. Cleobury, Salop. 444h.  
 hlidegeat. 290l.  
 hlinc. m. bank, *link*, linchet. 166l.  
 hlincæwe. turf balk. 370t. SV.  
     382.  
 hlíf. n. hill, eminence.  
 hlíf weg. hill-way, 292h.  
 hluttor. clear. 311b.  
 hlyd. lid. K649.  
 hlyde. f. 292hN, 448h.  
 hlype. f. leap ? K813.  
 hlyp geat. 445b.  
 Hnæfleah. 373m.  
 hnæp. m. bowl. 250m. Napf.  
 Hnut hyrst. 310m.



Hnut scillinc. Nutshalling, Hants.  
 290m.  
 ho, hoas. m. point of land. 447m.  
 Hodes &c. 446m.  
 Hodes hlæw. K1129, 1246.  
 Hodes mære. K533.  
 h6h. 371l.  
 hol. adj. hollow. 246r.  
 hol. n. hole. K408.  
 hola. m. hollow. K543.  
 Holan beorges burna. hollow hill's  
 rill. 288h.  
 Holan horan fleot. 282m.  
 Holan spic. 336t.  
 holan weg. hollow way. 448l.  
 Holapyll. K461.  
 hold. gracious, loyal. 229l, 340h.  
 Holm. Hulme, Norf. 240l.  
 holne. d. 121t.  
 holt. n. wood, *holt*. 501.  
 Holunga burne. Hollingbourne,  
 Kent. 225m.  
 homm. 449l. K1358.  
 homlond. pasture enclosed. 208h.  
 honeris (*oneris*). burden. 196h.  
 hornas. horns. 250m.  
 Hornemere. A hundred in Berks.  
 342m.  
 Horninga mære. K556.  
 hór pyt. mud-pit; Vcb. 445m,  
 450h.  
 horsa broc. horse-brook. 448h.  
 Horsagehæg. horse-close. 282b.  
 Horsaleh. Horsley, Sur. 149l.  
 horte. whortle, *vaccinium* (Vcb.).  
 389h.  
 hór wyl. muddy stream. 445l.  
 hrædlice. suddenly. 244l.  
 hréac. 'reek,' rick. 351m.  
 hremn. raven. 267t.  
 hreod broc. reed-brook, 447l.  
 hreod p6l. reedpool. 121h.  
 Hricg weg. Ridge Way. 327h, 379b,  
 383b.  
 Hridraleah = *campus armento-*  
*rum*. 284l.  
 hringinde (ringenne). 260m.  
 hrisc. rush. 357m.  
 hriðer. ox. 80l, 105t, 109b. Rind.  
 hriðru. horned cattle. 311b.  
 Hrobi (castellum). Rochester.  
 336l.

Hrofes ceastor. Rochester.  
 Hrofi. Rochester. 331m.  
 Hrofi breui. Rochester, 3b.  
 hruðeru. oxen. 250h.  
 hrycg. m. ridge. K308. Rūðen.  
 hrycg weg. ridgeway. 370m.  
 Hryðerafeld. Rotherfield. 147t,  
 225m.  
 Hryðera ford. ford of oxen. 291l.  
 huæten. wheaten. 80l.  
 Huga beorgum. 22b.  
 Humbra. the Humber (K). 392t.(?)  
 Hunbergefleot. L. 121m.  
 hund. dog, hound. 183. 5undb.  
 Hunddes ig. dog's island. 380h.  
 hundred. political district. 253l.  
 hundredes tre6w. KS. i. 75n.  
 hundred penig. T432.  
 hundred s6cn. T187.  
 Hunes cnol. 381m.  
 Hunstanes tūn. Hunstanton.  
 240l.  
 hunta. huntsman. 227t, 363t, 364t.  
 Huntena tūn. hunters' farm. 64l.  
 Husan treo. Husingtree, Worc.  
 446l.  
 hús carl. guardsman. KS. ii. 123.  
 hústing. house-court. K745. See  
 Vgf. hús-ping.  
 hwæte den. wheat-valley. 293l.  
 Hwæte dun. Wotton, Sur. 150m.  
 hwæt mundes stán. 317m, 318n.  
 hwer. kettle (Vcb.). 225m.  
 hwerf. m. wharf, dam. 299t.  
 hweðre. nevertheless. 286b.  
 Hwitan cyrican (æt). Whitchurch  
 Canoniconum, Dors. 146m.  
 Hwhite celde. white well. 126l.  
 hwyrfel. m. 328b.  
 hyht. m. hope. 80h.  
 hyl. m. hill. K354.  
 hyle. f. ? hollow. K354. 505hfe.  
 Hylsan seohtra. 282l.  
 hylt. holdeth. 146t.  
 hylte. d. ? holt. 206b.  
 hymel broc. 446t.  
 hype. d. hip. 203t.  
 Hyppeles fleot. Ebbsfleet, Kent.  
 hyrne. wf. corner, angle. 4t, 322b,  
 393h.  
 hyrst. m. scrub. 101. 126, 172h. 505t.  
 hyrst geard. K308.

Hysseburne. 146r.

hyð. f. shore, *hithe*. 42m.

Ibbinetún. Kent. 411h.

Iccawurð. Ickworth, Suff. K.

Icene. R. Itchen, Hants. 29obis.

Icenhilde weg. Berks. 379m, 383l.

Ide, near Exeter; 25ot. EP. § 117.

ielem. 10oh.

iehwerfed. exchanged. 128t.

ifht. ivied. K624. BC630.

ig (f.). island. 182b.

ignostici for gnostici. 322h.

igð. m. ? islet 354t.

Illan leh. Monks Leigh, Suff. 367l.

ille, illa, as def. art. 118l, 309r.

immunis. not liable. 209l, 234l, 293h.

inbærð. home-born. K1079.

inblawen. inflated. 242m.

inbyrd. inborn, born on the estate. 276h.

incerre. alter. 123t.

incessum i.e. *vectigal*. 27l.

inclifa. chamber. K591.

incontaminata. 196h.

indeterminabiliter. without limit of time. 186b.

indictio. Indiction. 286t.

indolis. 38b, 307n, 323h. "Indolis vel Indoles, Adolescens." Du Cange.

infangentheof. jurisdiction over thief taken on the estate. 233t, 343m.

-ing, 90lN. EP. § 318.

ing (in). 185h.

ing. m. meadow. T.

Ing pen. Inkpen, Berks. 168l.

inland. domain. 161b, 376m.

inlade. water-passage inland. 344h.

inscriptions. title-deeds. 66t.

insigle. n. seal in a ring; writ. 164r; xl. SC. § 73 n.

Intanbeorgas. Inkberrow, Wor. 62t, 68l.

Intebeorgas. Inkberrow, Worc. 68l.

interdicta. 196.

inware. 235b.

iocled. 82l. ST582.

ioclet =  $\frac{1}{2}$  *mansiuncula*. 89b, 90b.

iocleta. "yokelet" (S) 142t. SV. 396.

Iol. Yule, Christmas. 344m.

iow (Ksh.). you. 81b.

isen gráfas. K1118. ? iron-mines.

KS. ii. 70.

ingiter. perpetually. 25h, 27h.

iw. m. yew. 362l, 376t.

iwitnis (gewitnis). 258h.

*Jus ecclesiasticum*. 30b, 53t. BC348.

*juris mei*. 25t, 35t, 45m, 332m.

*katalectico versu*. 313h.

kinshelm. crown. 344m.

Korstun. Corston, Som. 268m.

kynescipe. royalty. 230m.

kyð (cyð). makes known. 253.

lacu. f. stream. 179mN, 306l, 322l, 376l, 38oh.

lacum. ? Epiphany. 142m.

lād. exculpation, purgation. 231t, 237t.

lād, ladu. f. water-way, path.

læce. leech, doctor. 388m.

læcedóm. healing. 42h.

lædan. carry. 145m.; beat the bounds. 155h.

læfan. to leave. 215m.

læfel. m. spoon. 250m. 255fel.

læg hrycg. 374l.

læn. f. = *præstitum*. 164l, 212r, 214t, 353t. Vceb. *commodum*, *depositum*, *commendatum*, *fenus*. See Introd. lxxxii, xc.

læn lond. 208h. 361h. KS. i. 517.

læs. pasture. 188b.

læten. handed over. 203h. EB. 19, 27.

læwede. lay folk. 244m.

Læxadyn. Lexden, Essex. 366b.

láf. f. relict, widow. 212m.

lagu. law. 229l.

láh. lent. 109t. 1e1hen. EB. 19, 34.

læð. n. lathe (Kent). K1258. KS. ii. 47.

lám seað. loam-pit. 448h.

land ár. landed estate. 217l, 221h, 237m.

land boc. land-charter. 199b, 243b. K648, 816.

land feoh. KS. ii. 329.

land hlaford. landlord. 376b.  
 landscaru. portion of land. 185t,  
 266m, 296r, 301m.  
 lāne. f. lane. 4t. K485, 549.  
 Langafelda. Lingfield, Sur. 149l.  
 Langport. long town. 282m.  
 Lantocal. 10h.  
*larvaricus*. diabolic. 401l, 442h.  
 lastweard, successor. 42m.  
 laðlic. hateful. 244l.  
 Lauan ham. Lavenham, Suff. 366t.  
 Lauington. Barlavington, Suss.  
 23h.  
 leac. v.l. 212h, 213.  
 léad gedelf. lead-mine.  
 léaf. permission. 227r.  
 leah. m. lea, peaty (?) ground.  
 178m, 385b.  
 — f. 445l.  
 leahe gest. 448h.  
 Leanaham. Lenham, Kent. 126b.  
 lecdome. v. l. 136b.  
 Lechámstede. K208.  
 Leden. Latin. 250b.  
 Ledene. Leadon R., Worc. 447h.  
 leger. bed, grave. 202l, 203h.  
 legerstow. burial-place. 109l.  
 Lenbrunn. Csh. 296m.  
 léod biscop. suffragan. 230m.  
 leodscipe. 217l.  
 leof. Sire. 162l, 164b, 232m.  
 Leofsnhama. Lewisham, Kent.  
 210t.  
 leoð. song. 251t.  
*libellus* for b6c. 66r.  
*liber vitae*. 308l. 414l. BC82.  
*libera* = égefæle. K1070.  
*liberaliter*. seigneurially. 64b, 196h,  
 208h, 315m, 371m.  
*liberare*. give. 63l.  
*libertas*. privilege. 284b, 313b, 314h,  
 315r.  
 lifc. body, corpse. 258b; image, por-  
 trait. 164l.  
 lifcema. body. 42m.  
 lifcode. was pleasing. 350h.  
 lifcwurð. acceptable. 242h.  
 lifetún. churchyard. BC605.  
 Liminæa. R. Limene, Kent. 24b,  
 29b, 34b.  
 Limingæ. Ksh. Lyminge, Kent.  
 18h, 109l.

lin áceran. flax-fields. 239mN.  
 lind. f. lime tree. 266b, 447l; *tilia*  
 Vcb.  
 lind hoh. lime-tree hill. 445m.  
 linland. flax-land. K308.  
 lin leah. flax-ground. 166h.  
 Linnecum. Lincomb, Som. 268l,  
 269b.  
 Liolfshema, Lewisham, Kent. 289t.  
 Liowsan den. 289m.  
 lipperd. K559.  
 Lissingtun. co. Essex. 368l.  
 lif. mild, soft. 311b.  
 lif. flows. 380h. EB. 20, 2.  
 Liwtún. ? Devon. 146b.  
 loc. n. bargain, agreement. 230t.  
 Loddan bróc. 325b.  
 Loddra wellan. 449t.  
 lof. praise. 229b, 243l.  
 lond éar. estate, honour. 69l.  
 lond ceap. purchase money. 122l.  
 lone (lane). K549.  
 Longanleag. Langley, Kent. 96l.  
 long on gerihte. straight along.  
 292t.  
 Loxa. R. 282m.  
 Loxan leah. 282m.  
*lucrere* (lucrari). 305l.  
*ludibundus*. ridiculous, queer. 173m,  
 181t.  
 Luf bec. 447t.  
 lufe-an. love. 145m.  
 Lulan treow. 282b.  
 Lunden tun. London. 42m.  
*Lundonia*. London. 27l.  
 lust fullice. heartily. 42h.  
 Lyn cenin. Csh. 296m.  
 lysde. released. 254t.  
 lytel. little. 354h.  
  
*machera*. sword. 318h.  
 madmun. d. pl. treasures. 250h.  
 mæd. f. mead. 176l, 371l.  
 mæd lacu. meadow-stream. 198h.  
 mædwe. meadow. 445b.  
 mæg. kinsman, brother, 144l, 147t.  
 mæg cild. 145l.  
 mægen. valour, efficiency. 161b. EP.  
 § 316.  
 mægen stán. 327hN. K1056.  
 mægð. province. 42h.

- mæl. n. sign, mark, esp. the Cross. K266. EP. § 437.  
 mær broc. boundary brook. 192m, 447h, 449l.  
 mær enol. boundary knoll. 445m.  
 mær dic. boundary dyke. 306b.  
 mær hege. 447m.  
 mær lacu. 383h. gemærlacu.  
 mær pul. boundary pool. 445m.  
 mær pyt. 192l, K442.  
 mær stan. 192m, K442.  
 mær weg. boundary-road. 294l, 446h.  
 mæsene. 250m. "brasen" T.  
 mæsse béc. missals. 250t.  
 mæsse reaf. pl. massrobes. 250m.  
 mæsten. mast for swine. 293b.  
 mæstenræden. 155m, 377m.  
 mæð. dignity, merit, rate. 232m, 377h.  
 magas. relatives. 277t.  
 malswyrd. 226lN; 227t.  
 mancus.  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a £. 100t, 122l, 284l.  
 manens. hide. 15m and passim.  
 mamerium. 201m.  
 mansa = hid, 182l, 234l, 380b.  
 mansiuncula. id. 89b.  
 manung. claim. 148l.  
 marc.  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a £.  
 materia. wood, timber. K236.  
 maw pul. 447b, 448h.  
 Mayn bip. Csh. 296h.  
 meagl. munificent. 382b.  
 mealmeht. sandy. K290.  
 mearc. f. boundary, mark. 95lN, 152b, 153t, 179m, 188l, 194l, 198m, 200r, 210h, 355l.  
 mearcbeam. KS. i. 75.  
 mearcbiorh. mark-hill. K364, 535, 624. KS. i. 56. xlv.  
 mearc díc. mark-dike. 293l.  
 Mearcella. R. 201t.  
 mearc ford. 382t.  
 mearcian. mark. 380h.  
 mearcland. moor, K633.  
 mearc weg. mark-way. 191t, 351b.  
 mearc will. mark-fountain. 293l.  
 Mearsæt ham. Merstham, Sur. 182l.  
 méd. meed, reward. K821.  
 medemest. middle. 146l.  
 medemung. f. 389h.  
 mediam partem. half. 89, 90.  
 meghond. natural heir. 103t.  
 meihanda (Ksh.) i. e. meghond. 102l. See hand.  
 Meldunensburg. Malmesbury. 15m.  
 mele. m. cross. 225m.  
 Melebroc. Millbrook. Hants. 194h, 246t.  
 Melentun, Milton nr. Canterbury. 244t.  
 memerinn. K663.  
 Meolæn beorg. Hants. 291h.  
 Meoluc cumb. Hants. 291h.  
 meolwes. of meal. 312t.  
 Meone (æt). Meon, Hants. 146m.  
 Meos dun. 283t.  
 Meosgelegeo. ? Moseley, Worc. 45l.  
 Meos hlinc. 166l.  
 Meos mor. 449l.  
 meox. 449b.  
 meran. d. famous. 286h.  
 merc. 250l "flag" T.  
 mercemót. K568. KS. i. 55.  
 Mercstuninga. Marston, Bedf. 206l.  
 mere. m. lake, mere. 95l, 382h.  
 mereswin. porpoise. 376b, 378t.  
 mersc. m. marsh, K537.  
 Merscetun. Merston, Kent. 51b.  
 metsinc. K556.  
 Micla mersc. Michelmarsh, Hants. 362h.  
 microcosmus. man. 442tN.  
 mid ealle. altogether. K1302.  
 midreca. mattresses? or caskets, Veb. 250m.  
 minister. thane. 124t, 126t, 133h, 135m. See Intr.  
 misellus. poor, unworthy. 47b.  
 miskonning. wry pleading. 340l. T359. SS. 525.  
 missurium. mass vessel. T2. But see Du Cange.  
 mitta = 2 ambers. 351h. T460.  
 mobiles res. movables. 397h.  
 moddrige. maternal aunt. 276b.  
 Modingahema. Mottingham, Kent. 289.  
 mór. m. moor. 371h, 374l.  
 morgen gifu. morning-gift. 163h, 212m. 217l, 368h.  
 mór sléd. moor slade. 388h.

morð. n. crinating thing. K591.  
 morð crundel. K543.  
 mos. n. moss. K588.  
 mosten. they might. 286m. EB. 29,  
 24.  
*motare* = *mutare*. disturb. 297t.  
 mótgerefe = *præpositus*. 342l.  
 mótwurði. qualified formót. 343b(n).  
 mül. mule. 374t.  
 Mulan tún. Moulton, Norf. 241l.  
 mund. f. guardianship, trust. 202b.  
 mund. guardian. 219b, 221m.  
 Mundan ham. Mundham, Suss.  
 282t.  
 mundbyrdnesse. security, inde-  
 pendence. 303m, 341t.  
 mundbora. protector. 110m.  
 mundbryce. breach of *mund*. T332.  
 mundes dene. 449l.  
 mundgenne. to protect. 202b.  
 mundiend. protector. 368m.  
 Muneca tun. Monkton, Dev. 329l.  
 munuc regol. monastery. 219t.  
*muscipula*. cat. 183l.  
 müða. m. estuary, harbour.  
 mydrece. mattress. K1290.  
 Mylenburne. Milborne Port, Som.  
 146l.  
 mylen gear (geard). mill-yard.  
 BC630.  
 mylenham. m. mill-farm. K633.  
 Mylen tun. Milton, Kent. 100m.  
 mylen war. f. mill-weir. K479, 775.  
 mylier. m. 179t.  
 myln. f. n. mill. 192m, 241m.  
 myln steal. mill-place. K259.  
 myngude. mentioned. 202b.  
 mynster. monasterium.  
 Myres ig. Mersea Island, Essex.  
 365l, 366h, 367m.  
 Mytún. Mitton, Worc. 393b.  
 myxan. K61r.  
 næs. m. promontory. K440.  
 nage. let her not have power. 219.  
 nah. has no right. 376b.  
 namon. they took. 253m.  
 Nanes mannes land. No man's  
 land. 450h.  
 nant (Osh.) valley. 296m.  
 Natangrafun. Notgrove, Glou. 40l.  
*naturale*. birthright. K601r.

nebb. n. nose. 164m.  
*necessitas*, obligation. 397t.  
 nédbád. toll. 42r.  
 nédbadere. toller, 42m.  
 neodful. diligent. 230m.  
 neor. Ksh. nearer, 103t.  
 nettgern. knitting-yarn. 377m.  
 newest. society. 42m.  
 nican. ? Nick's. K1091.  
 niht sang. m. complines. 250l, 251t.  
 Nitimbre. Newtimber, Sus. 196m.  
 Niuanantun. Naunton, Worc. 444t.  
 Niwantúninga. of the Newton  
 people. BC784.  
 Niwanhéma. Nuneham, Oxf. 395h.  
 Nodre. Nadder R., Wilts. 429h.  
 norðgeard. K308, 538.  
 Norð h6. 215l. Suf. K. (?)  
 Norð mupa. nr. Reculver, Kent.  
 188m.  
 Norð stok. Som. 268b.  
*numen*. sovereign right. K1136.  
 nyd peowetling. bond-slave. 274.  
 nygoða. ninth. 349m.  
 nyhst. last. 145b.  
 nyt. beneficial. 136b.  
 nytlicas. most useful. 103t.  
 nyttnessum. uses, conveniences.  
 K1097.  
 ob. Ksh. of. 104b.  
*obrizi* (auri). pure or alloyed ?  
 BC648.  
*obstaculum*. obligation. 176h, 209l.  
*obtimates* (optimates) 295m.  
 ofaxode. learnt. 298b.  
 ofer. m. bank, shore. 306l, 446t.  
 ofer. prep. after. 148h.  
 ofer bád. survived. 212.  
 ofer brædelsas. 250m. 'coverlets'  
 T.  
 ofereca. surplus.  
 oferhyda. 242m.  
 ofer ricte. should convict. 155l.  
 ofersæwnes = *paua delicti*. K514.  
 Offan díc. K1051.  
*offensaculi*. small offences. 196h.  
 ofgan. obtain. 244h, 337b.  
 ofspring. 253m.  
 oftal. defence, counter-statement.  
 ofteáh. withheld. 212h. EB. 22, 28.  
 ollunc. along. 371r.

olluncges. K551.  
 ollung. 234b.  
 ombra. 8ob, 312t. See amber.  
 omerlond. K586.  
 on byrg. 81, 82.  
 oncnawennis. acknowledgment.  
   25oh.  
 oncuðe. would blame. 145l.  
 ondeta. consenting. 69l, 286m.  
 Ondred. Andred, Kent. 101m.  
 on efen. abreast of. 166l.  
 onfeng. began. 392h.  
 onægum. 287n.  
 ongean. against, in exchange for.  
 onn (an). I grant. 149m. EB. 29, 12.  
 on spæc. f. imputation. 217l.  
 onsting. claim. 303h, 34ob.  
 ontalu. claim. K929.  
 onwendan. pervert. 42m.  
 óra. m. shore, edge, bank. 174h.  
 ora.  $\frac{1}{8}$  of £. 268m.  
 ordel. n. ordeal. T432.  
 oreste. K813.  
 orf. cattle. 25oh.  
 orf kynnes. 25ot.  
 Orhæma. Oare, Berks. 389h.  
 Orices pul. Worc. 447t.  
 Orrices den. L. Kent. 126l.  
 orthodoxus. 187t.  
 orwéne. despairing. 298h.  
 os = gemyðan. 308b.  
 Oter hola. otter hollow. K543.  
 oðer healf. one and half. 164m.  
 oðfæstan. entrust. 144l, 146m, 147b.  
 oðre. others, other ones. 25ob.  
  
 Pæccingas. Patching, Suss. 196m.  
 pællen. costly stuff, silken or velvet.  
   25om. Vgf. v. pell; Leo p. 518.  
 pæn. ? head (British). 389r.  
 pæð. m. path. 388t.  
 pæðfeld. pathfield. 95m.  
 pagina. written deed. 50t, 423l.  
 paginaliter. documentarily. 27m.  
 paginem. document. 35h.  
 Pangan burne. Pangbourn, Berks.  
   385l.  
 pantorum. παντων. 16oh.  
 parafrithus. posting-horse. T67.  
 pastinatio. 6ol. in Columella ground  
   prepared for vines: not in Du-  
   cange.

patricius. 11t, 317h.  
 Paulus burh. St. Paul's, London.  
   365m.  
 pausat. rests. 6oh.  
 paw (ecclesiæ). sanctuary. 438t.  
 pearroc. m. enclosure in the open  
   country, park. 95l. BC778. Vcb.  
   clatrum.  
 Peatting tún. prob. Shropsh. 159b.  
 pecunia. cattle. K1089.  
 pedesecus. 127h.  
 pedes sessor 88b.  
 Pefesig. Pewsey, Wilts. 146h.  
 pellas. skins, furs or robes, or hang-  
   ings. 365h. Vcb. *purpurum*.  
 pen. n. cattle-pen. K485.  
 Pencric. Penkridge, Staff.  
 pending. penny. 11ot.  
 Pendifig. Cornwall. 19oh, 192t.  
 penig. m. penny. 265t.  
 Pennhal. Csh. 296m.  
 pennino. 181m.  
 pensa = wæg. a wey of cheese. T467.  
 Peon mynet. 328bN.  
 perpes. 283l.  
 perpetualiter. 291l.  
 Perscora. Pershore, Worc. 34oh,  
   445b.  
 pertica. perch. 326l.  
 pes broc. 45ot.  
 Peuenisel. Pevensay. BC259.  
 philargyria. covetousness. 361b.  
 piddes meres weg. 445b.  
 pietas. mercy, favour. 1ol (n); bene-  
   faction. 314t.  
 Pihtes lea. Pytchley, Nhants.  
   K443.  
 pincan denu. finch valley. 45ot.  
 pincernus. butler. 35b, KS. ii. 111.  
 Pipan. R. Pipa. K118.  
 pipe. pipe. 25om.  
 pirie (pirige). wf. pear-tree. 322b.  
   EB. 2, 25.  
 Piriford. Worc. 445h.  
 pis brece. 446b.  
 piscationes. rights of fishing. 58l.  
 pistol bec. Epistle-books. 25ol.  
 Pisteles ec. L. 198t.  
 piwindla ? for biwindla. 352m.  
 placabilis. acceptable. 101m.  
 Pleghelmes tún. Kent. 18h.  
 Plumwearding. of Plumweard. 95l.

pocalege. K705.  
 Poincg wic. Powick, Worc. 447m.  
 pól. m. pool. 182b, 322b, 371l, 388h.  
 Pollicerr. Polkerris in S. Keverne.  
 296t, 30rh.  
 Polstede. Polstead, Suff. 368b.  
 Populfinige. poplar landmark.  
 363t.  
*porcorum pastus* = uuealdbaera. 60l.  
 port. m. town.  
 portgeréfa. port-reeve. 247m, 273h.  
 KS. iii. 173.  
 portreua. port-reeve. 258h.  
 port strét. 391h.  
 portweg. 387b.  
 pos hliwan. 449l.  
*pradux*. 389mN.  
*præfectus*. gerefá, reeve. 36t, 50l.  
 KS. ii. 123. SC. p. 113.  
*præstare*, grant as læn. 25t.  
*præstatio*. 25t.  
*præstitum*. LÆN.  
*præuaricari*. 333l, 409t.  
 Prentsan hlau. Kent. 172t.  
 Prescora. Pershore, Worc. 238b.  
 Presta tún. Preston, Kent. 142r.  
 prie porn. 291b.  
*primicerius*. of a king. 383t.  
*primicherius*. 'the Dean.' 67.  
*princeps*. ealdorman. 64l, 194t. SC.  
 § 49.  
*privilegia*. charters. K323, PL192.  
*procuratio monasterii*, 311; advo-  
 catio mon. Ducange.  
*prolixius*. prolongedly. 319m.  
 pul, pull. m. 376. PóL.  
 Puneceawurðl. Ponsworthy (Dart-  
 moor), 267t.  
 Puningas. Poynings, Suss. 196m.  
 Pyddes geat. Wilts. 166m.  
 pyrige (pirie). pear-tree. 445h.  
 pyrt broc. 446b.  
 pyrtan heale. 446b.  
 Pysere. Wilts, S. of Salisbury,  
 184m.  
 pyt, pytt. m. pit. 206l, 387b.  
 pytted. diapered. 225b.  
 Raculf cestre. 410t. See Reculf.  
 rád. rode. 202, 286l. EB. 20, 21.  
 ræcan. 377t.  
 ræd. counsel, rede. 227m, 298m.

rædan. read. 145m, 218t.  
 rædes man. adviser. 298t.  
 ræwe. f. row. K776.  
 ráh den. roe-vale. 306b.  
 ráh hæg. 446h.  
 ráh weg. 306l.  
 Ramesege. Ramsey, Hunt. 343m.  
 read. red. 294l.  
 Reada beorg. name of a tumulus.  
 284h.  
 Readingas. Reading, Berks. 365h.  
*reatus*. guilt. 25t.  
*reconciliatio*. Concordat. 115r.  
 Reculf. Reculver, Kent. 8b, 188b.  
 redan. to clear land, stub. 179m.  
 FO.78. Weigand v. reute.  
*relevatio*. relief. 317h.  
 reóð mædwe. reed-meadow. 306l.  
 reogolward. 81r.  
 riog rægél. mantle. 250m.  
 rím. counting, reckoning. 286t.  
 rima. rim, verge. K550.  
 rinda crundel. K1177.  
 Ringstye. Ringstead, Norf. 343l.  
 rip. 181.  
 ripel. K547.  
 risc. m. rush. 179l.  
 riscbed. rush-bed. 192l.  
 Risc den. rush vale. 292h.  
 risc healh. 447m.  
 riscmere. rushy pool. 282b.  
 riscsléd. K441.  
 rið. f. small stream. 95r, 193m.  
 Riðer ceap. L. cattle-market. 413h.  
 riðig. n. streamlet. 291l, 306l, 450h.  
 roccas. rochets. 250m. Ruff.  
 ród (1). f. a clearing in the wild,  
 road. 153t, 248m, K354, 1229.  
 BC562. sealt ród.  
 ród (2). f. rood, cross. 250h, 291t.  
 ród (3). a land-measure, rood.  
 BC608.  
 ród stybban. 393m.  
 rode tacn. sign of cross. 103h, 162t.  
 rues. of rye. 312t.  
 rúh. rough. 357l, 371l, 374t, 379l.  
 rum. space. 141m.  
 rum beorgas. 449b.  
 Rumenea. Romney R., Kent. 412l.  
 Rumining seta. Kent. 18m.  
 rumodlice. liberally. 382l.  
 rune. read rime. 343l.

rusce. f. ? rushy ground. K596.  
*rura*. manors, farms. 444l.  
*rycweg* (hrycgweg). 306b.  
*rýmet*. 382l.

*Sabrina*. Severn. 21l.  
*saccles*. 258h.  
*sacu* and *soen*. 233t, 343m. xxivf.  
*sadol hongra*. saddle hanger. 449h.  
*sæ*. f. lake, pool. 95l, 198t.  
*sæd*. n. seed. 377h.  
*Sægham*. Soham, Suf. or Camb.? 368h.  
*sælen*. gift. 141h.  
*sæma*. arbitrator. CR. 303.  
*sæmestre*. 241t.  
*Sænget hric*. Sundridge, Kent. 210l.  
*sætan*. occupation. 447m.  
*Safernoc*. Savernake forest. K1109.  
*sage*. d. tale, report. 298m.  
*salamander*. 22t.  
*salī coquenda*. 107l.  
*salpice*. trumpet. 167h.  
*salsilagene*. 33h. 'Salina, ubi sal conficitur.' Du Cange.  
*salsuges*. salt-marshes. 90b.  
*salsugines*. 87l.  
*salteras*. Psalters. 250l.  
*Saluuerpe*. Salwarp R., Wor. 19r. 239l, 446l.  
*samening*. community. 437h.  
*sanctimonials*. nun. 31m.  
*sand*. f. mission, deputation. 298h.  
*sand broc*. sandy brook. 450h.  
*Sandford*. near Oxford. 385t.  
*Sandhyrst* (*silva*). 126l.  
 — Sandhurst, Kent. 410l.  
*sandiht*. sandy. 239m.  
*sand seæð*. sand-pit. 448h.  
*sang béc*. hymn books. 250l.  
*sartago*. fryingpan. 196l. Vcb.  
*sationalis*. arable. 11b, 16l.  
*saul sceat*. soul-scot. 222l.  
*Saxonica lingua*. 313l. BC636.  
*Saronice*. 64b, 112m, K589.  
*scæceling scer*. 382h, 384b.  
*Scaga*. name of a marish. 54m.  
*scalu*, f. ? hovel; Scot. 'sheal.' 306m.  
*sceaddgeuge*. shad-season (T). 219.  
*sceadda*. of shads. 219m.

*scead wellan*. 448h.  
*sceaga*. shaw, wood. 166b = *silva*, 284t. K571. Vgf. sk6gr.  
*sceala*. dishes. 250m. &ðalē.  
*sceaphammas*. sheep-closes. 373b.  
*sceap wæsce*. sheep-washing. 380h.  
*sceardan swyrdes*. 226l, 227t.  
*sceardan beorge*. scarred hill. BC978.  
*scéat*. he discharged, paid. 223b.  
*sceat*. money. 242h, 243m.  
*sceatas*. sheets. 250.  
*sceawian*. K755.  
*sceawing*. toll on showage of goods. K771.  
*sced*. 210r, 289h.  
*scedula*. sheet. 117m, 134b, 196t.  
*Scelfdun*. Shelton, Beds. 396m.  
*Scelfleah*. Shelly, Suf. 368b.  
*Sceoca bróc*. 329bN.  
*scéoldan*. they owed. 223b.  
*Sceon*. Sheen, Sur. 221t.  
*sceopa* (*scipa*). of ships. 42m.  
*sceort*. short. 375t.  
*sceotað*. they flow. 201t.  
*scid hræc*. a sort of rick. 351m.  
*Scildwic*. Sheldwick, Kent. 410t.  
*scipbryce*. jetsam and flotsam (T). 343l.  
*scipfyllæð*, *scipsócn* = *naucupletio*. ship's outfit. Kvi. 240. SC. 105.  
*Scipleah*. Hants. 290l.  
*scip wealas*. 376l. 'Welsh navigators.' KS. i. 320.  
*scíra óc*. shire oak. KS. i. 75.  
*sciran*. shear. 351m.  
*scir gerefa*. shire-reeve. KS. ii. 157.  
*scírigman* = *judex comitatús*. 212b, 213h, 214l.  
*scírlætt*. 239m.  
*scírpegnas*. gentlemen of the county. K1337, SC. § 73.  
*Scokebroc* (*Sceoca bróc*). 330l.  
*scolasticus*. scholar. 283h.  
*scole*. school. 350t.  
*Scorham*. Shoreham, Kent. 101h.  
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*Scottarið*. Shottery. Warw. 310m.  
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*Scræwan leg*. 327h.  
*scrift béc*. shrift-book. 250b.  
*scrin*. pl. 250h.



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*seges*. BC380.  
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*sigillum*. sign of the Cross. 170b; seal. K816. Intr. xxxviii.  
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 sílfren. adj. of silver. 250r.  
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*singularis*. standing alone by itself, detached. BC442.  
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 síonoflic. synodical. 286h.  
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